Isaac Heard Esqr. Lancaster Herald

THE HISTORY Of the EXECRABLE Irish Rebellion

Trac'd from many preceding ACTS,

TO THE

Grand Eruption

The 23. of *October*, 1641.

And thence pursued to the

Act of Settlement,

MDCLXII.

By Edmund Borlase Esqȝ MD.

Spartanos (genus est audax,
Avidumque feræ) nodo cautus
Propiore liga. Sen. Hippolytus.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, *Robert Clavel*, and *Richard Chiswell*, in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCLXXX.

TO THE
READER.

Reader,

I *Am not ignorant that he expoſes himſelf (as a publick mark) to many inconveniencies, who appears in Print; Yet there hath been ſo long an expectation of the Proceedings of the whole War of* Ireland, * *as (by an evil ſilence) ſome interpretately queſtion, whether there was any ſuch thing or no? Whereby thoſe Pamphlets, the* Roman Catholicks *of* Ireland, *have diſperſed through* Europe, *get Credit and Reputation;* That his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, firſt fell upon and murther'd them; *which being ſo openly and frequently aſſerted (even on the very Place) where thoſe dire Tragedies were acted, and that averr'd alſo in a time when many are yet living, who have ſeen and felt thoſe miſeries in themſelves, and their Relations, I could not but let that drop from me, which might flow from others, niceneſs in this Caſe being the next degree to unfaithfulneſs; Yet I cannot ſay, what I have perſued here is not to be cavell'd at, no! that were to preſume my fate were happier than others; but I may aver, that nothing is impoſed on the Reader, but what I have either Records, publick Evidences, credible Relations, or my own knowledge for its Ground; ſearching the beſt Intelligence I could reach to, though in clearing ſome doubts, I have encountred Obſtacles, I could not rationally have expected, which I impute to my own misfortune, no ones Deſign; None (treated with) being ſo little affected, as not frequently to deſire the digeſtion of a Hiſtory, the* Engliſh *Intereſt in* Ireland *was not leſs concern'd in, then Humanity it ſelf: The*

* *Peter Walſh* in his Epiſtle to the Reader, *Fol,* 47. as alſo from *R. B.* the zealous Nuncioniſt, and firſt Legate to *Rome*, from the Confederates, and others, whoſe obſervations have been ſingular.

horror and cruelty (there committed) bidding defiance to whatsoever before had been acted in the World.

——Hinc Terras Cruor
Inficit omnes fusus & rubuit mare.

So that after all, if there be any Deficiency in what I shall relate, it may well be pardon'd, where there hath been as much Artifice to parget Truths, as Countenance could reach to; though as to what may be objected, (in reference to my Relation) I have been so cautious, that in Disputes I have not let Interest bias me: no! where I have found any Humanity, though it may be conjectur'd to proceed from self-Interest, that it may be return'd in gratitude, I have not designedly let it o're-slip me; but of this nature there hath been little: indeed the whole Scene hath been so barbarous, as I have scarce found any into whose wound the Traveller hath pour'd Oyl: and yet willingly (more then what a just account of the Business requires) I would not fester the least Soar; However I expect all will not think so, 'tis natural for the Wasp to be angry; yet when it shall be weighed on what little reason the Irish *more then the* English, *(equally, if not beyond them, concern'd in all Levies, Oppressions, and Grievances,) had to be enraged,* pretending to be held in with a ruder Bit, *I doubt not but the more Intelligent will allow them no common Sinners.*

I am not ignorant what examples (some say) they had to encourage them to their Insurrection; though that encouragement (how confidently soever affirmed to be their Guide) never commenc'd in Blood, or march'd on in Murthers and Surprisals, of an innocent, naked, and unarm'd People, or (at first) seiz'd on those (much less murther'd them) who contrary to their Judgment, lived peaceably amongst them: However it is not my intention, to mitigate the flame they light their Torches by; all Rebellions being detestable; But certainly the Copy exceeded the Original, and what they would solely intitle to their Religion, (as interdicted by the Age) more justly is to be imputed, to their Detestation of the English *Government and Nation, which from the Conquest to this instant, hath been the grounds for all Rebellions, even when both Nations were drunk with the Wine of* Romes *Fornication; So that though some (to mitigate the Result of so horrid a Rebellion)*

bellion) *place the grounds of it on Religion, which* (*as my Lord* Bacon *obſerves*) Erects a Monarchy in the minds of Men, by which they would enforce all to that yoke; *Yet it is evident, they never had ſo free an exerciſe of their Religion,* (*under Pretexts of Civil Contracts, and Politick Agreements,*) *as when the Troubles began; not ſo much then as the leaſt Violence being offer'd to their* Diana, *nor afterwards, till they made* it *one of their principal Demands; ſo that if at any time* (*ſince or before*) *they found a check*, That muſt be attributed to the rude and boiſterous behaviour (as a Statiſt* ſeaſonably notes) of ſome of them, who diſturb'd the happy Calm they all enjoy'd, rather then to any willing ſeverity in the State, whoſe bounty and generoſity towards them, hath (by their ill uſage of the Indulgence) been interpreted a Product of the Kings Affection to their Religion, not his charity and compaſſion towards their Perſons; That thence ſome have proceeded to Acts, which have alienated the affections of thoſe, who deſired they ſhould not have been diſquieted; *Till Recuſancy began over-boldly to look Government in the Face; in as much as thence ſome have ſuſpected whether* Hannibal *were not at the Gates: Elſe could any vaunt at home? as others write to their Friends abroad, that they hope all will be well, and doubt not to prevail and win ground upon us; in as much as* (*meerly from this encouragement*) *a* Romaniſt (*well obſerv'd by the Silver-Mouth Trumpet*) *not long ſince congratulated in Print*, That the Face of our Church began to alter, and the Language of our Religion to change; (ſaith *Sancta Clara*) So as if a Synod were held *non intermixtis Puritanis*, (O thoſe are Peſtilent fellows!) our Articles and their Religion would ſoon be agreed. Upon which and other Circumſtances, the learned and foreſeeing Primate, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, once in an Aſſembly of the whole Nation, averr'd, That the Magiſtrates yielding to meet the Papiſts, as far as they might in their own way, in the firſt Reformation in *England*, had (upon the experience of many years) rather hardned them in their Errors, then brought them to a liking of our Religion. This being their uſual ſaying, *If our Fleſh be not good, why do you drink of our Broth?* The conſideration of which, made King *James* of bleſſed memory, take notice*, That having after ſome time ſpent in ſetling the Politck Affairs of this Realm, of late beſtowed

* The Author of the Animadverſions upon Fanaticiſm. *Page* 88.

As Sir *Edward Dering* (in his Collection of Speech, *P.* 6.) obſerves of Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, treating of Religion, 1641.

In his Proclamation at *Weſtminſter*, 22. of *Feb.* in the firſt year of his Reign, afterwards reprinted at *Dublin*, 1604.

ſtowed no ſmall labour, in compoſing certain differencies we found amongſt our Clergy, about Rites and Ceremonies, heretofore Eſtabliſhed in this Church of *England*, and reduc'd the ſame to ſuch an Order and Form, as we doubt not, but every Spirit that is led only with Piety, and not with Humour, ſhall be therein ſatisfied. It appear'd unto us in the debating of thoſe Matters, that a greater Contagion to our Religion, then could ariſe from thoſe light differencies, was imminent by Perſons, common Enemies to them both; namely, *the great number of Prieſts, both Seminaries and Jeſuits*, abounding in this Realm, as well of ſuch as were here before our coming to this Crown, as of ſuch as have reſorted hither ſince; uſing their Functions and Profeſſions with greater liberty, then heretofore they durſt have done, partly upon a vain confidence of ſome Innovation in matter of Religion, to be done by us, which we never intended, nor gave any man cauſe to expect, and partly upon the aſſurance of our general Pardon, granted according to the cuſtom of our Progenitors, at our Coronation, for offences paſt, in the days of the late Queen, which Pardons, many of the ſaid Prieſts have procur'd under our great Seal, and holding themſelves thereby free from the danger of the Laws, do with great Audacity, exerciſe all Offices of their Profeſſion, both ſaying Maſſes, perſwading our Subjects from the Religion Eſtabliſhed, and reconciling them to the Church of *Rome*, and by conſequence, ſeducing them from the true perſwaſion, which all Subjects ought to have of their Duty and Obedience to Us; *Of which though I might urge more, I have no itch to enlarge, their own Scourge may be their Puniſhment*, Sæpe in Magiſtrum ſcelera redierunt ſua: *Certain it was, the* Iriſh *hop'd to ſhake off the* Engliſh *Government by that attempt; but how improbable, a Series of* 500 *years Succeſſion, ſufficiently evinces, every defection in the People having rooted the Prince more intire; that at length (methinks) they ſhould be wean'd from further Aſſays of that nature; though where there are a People who look towards* Egypt, *there will not want ſome to cry out for a Captain to lead them.*

But to deſcant hereupon, is not my deſign, being willing to believe that Janus's *Gates may henceforth be ſhut, Allegiance being the aim, not the pretence of their preſent Submiſſion: what*

To the Reader.

What I here endeavour, is to clear by what Steps the late Rebellion arrived at its Height, and how it came (in ſo ſhort a time) to ſweep all before it.

In handling of which, I ſhall firſt ſhew the Condition of the Kingdom ſome years before the Rebellion.

Then I ſhall ſpeak of the preliminary Acts thereunto, and therein detect the vanity of thoſe who would fix the Rebellion at firſt, upon a few diſcontented inconſiderable Perſons, a Rable (Authors of all the Civil War that followed) in Ulſter *onely; when the Plot was a long laid Deſign, determin'd by the main Body of the Nation; as* Rory-Mac-Guire *ingenuouſly told Colonel* Audley Mervin*, That this great undertaking, was never the Act of one or 2 giddy fellows: We have (ſaid he) our Party in *England*, we have our Party in *Scotland*, that will keep ſuch (as would oppoſe us) buſy from ſending you any Aid: in as much, as I could tell you, who the Perſons were that were deſigned for the Surpriſal of all the Places of Strength; *And in the Declaration of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of* Ireland, *at* Jamestown, *the* 12. *of* Auguſt, 1650. *It is there acknowledged*, That the Catholick People of *Ireland*, (ſo not the Rable) in the year 1641. were forc'd to take up Arms for the defence of Holy Religion, their Lives and Liberties, *which ſome (very induſtriouſly) would fain wipe off, as being too undeniable an evidence of their inclinations, before thoſe vain pretences they fly to, (as their main Subterfuge) drove them into the Net with others; Yet we ſhall herein ſo clear the folly of what they would have the World believe, as their Excuſe ſerves mainly to aggravate their Crime.*

* Col. *Audley Merv.* Exam. 5. *July*, 1643. *Husb.* Collect. *Fol.* 253.

Mens Impudicam facere, non caſus, Solet.

Afterwards I will fall on the Subject, till the Ceſſation, manag'd by ſubtil Inſtruments of State; Yet not without great Diſguſts to ſome, highly improv'd to the event of what afterwards enſued.

Then we ſhall proceed to the Concluſion, which (betwixt the Ceſſation and that) will appear to have many notable changes, ſuch as though ſome Hiſtories may lead you through many varieties, this more.

In clearing of which, I ſhould have been glad of more Originals than I could meet with, eſpecially ſuch as might have

have detected the whole Proceedings at Kilkenny, *where the Deſign was ſo cloſely anvil'd, as all things afterwards were found* there *in defiance of his Majeſties Authority*: There *firſt the Clergy compact a General Congregation, which ſummon'd a General Aſſembly, equivalent (in their Veneration) to a Parliament; and that Eſtabliſhed a Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks, which received from them Sanction and Laws, by which Coin was ſtamped, National and Provincial Courts Eſtabliſhed, Eſtates ſetled, their Clergy Re-eſtabliſhed, the Popes Nuncio receiv'd Ambaſſadors ſent* thence, *and others entertain'd from Foraign Princes; all under a Soveraign Seal of their own, and what elſe might beſpeak them independent on any, but their own Power: But the Evidence of theſe and ſome other Records, being the Treaſure of fearful men, (whom a ſpecious Artifice had charm'd) eaſy Keys of Intereſt could not freely purchaſe. The Records however of that preſumptious Aſſembly, are (notwithſtanding the unfortunateneſs of the Age) yet ſecur'd in his Library, which (though before it wanted little to make it venerable) will in future Ages be reſorted to, as a Treaſure invaluable, ſecuring thoſe Secrets, which the malice of ſo potent an Enemy would have improv'd, to the ruine of an Empire: Yet (as I have already ſaid) I ground little, (if any thing) but on Proofs; Nay! I have ſo well ſifted* Kilkenny *it ſelf, (though no Art hath been omitted to ſhuffle up the Proceeding there) as the Original Progreſs and State of that Conclave, is not without faithful and notable Remarks, more being under the Vizard, than appear'd in the Diſguiſe; though the Retirement I have now betook my ſelf to, (ſuitable to the effects of ſo diſconſolate a Rebellion) deprives me of thoſe Councils and Societies, which (by a free'r Commerce) might have rectified either my Sence or Stile.*

For the moſt part, I have in the Appendix *ſet down Copies of the weightieſt Records, they carrying ſo much (even of the Hiſtory) in them, as they eas'd me in the Story: I ſhould have been forward to have enlarg'd more, nothing of that nature being otherwiſe than important; But in that, his Majeſty's Works, Sir* John Temple, *of the* Iriſh *Rebellion,* Husbands *Collections of Orders, Ordinances and Declarations of both Houſes of Parliament, the Commiſſioners of* Ireland's *Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons in* England, *of the condition of the Clergy and Proteſtants, the Speeches*

of

of ſeveral Members, Diurnals, Walſhes *Loyal Formulary, the Anſwer to the* Iriſh *Remonſtrance, preſented at* Trim, 1642. *And other Prints being extant, I have rather choſe to refer the Reader often thither, then engage him in too Voluminous a Tract; though where any Relation, act, or other Material Inſtrument makes up the Story, (not without injury to be abreviated) we have tied our ſelves to the Words. It was my happineſs (I muſt acknowledge) to meet with a Manuſcript, whence I was ſupplied with much of the latter part of this Hiſtory, though a part of it was ſo weaved, as if Juſtice could not have been done to ſome, without* [redacted] *of others, which we had reaſon to wave; and if there be any obſtinacy in that Particular, we are ready to clear the truth.*

In handling of which, I have inſiſted on the Proceedings of the King and Parliament too long, (I ſuſpect) ſome will judge, conſidering the diverſity of the Subject; but when it ſhall be weighed, how jointly they were intereſſed in the proſecution of the War againſt the Iriſh, *and that the unfortunate difference betwixt them, retarded the ſucceſs in* Ireland; *I fear not that any ingenious Perſon ſhould eſteem this addition Alien: However the affections of the King (whom ſome have traduced) were ſo legible to chaſtiſe the Rebels, as without injury to his Sacred Memory, leſs could not be collected for Poſterity, leaſt the* Iriſh *by their Pamphlets, (plentifully ſcattered at home and abroad) ſhould entitle the Parliament, more then his Majeſty, to their juſt Correction; The bleeding Iphigenia, being forward to caſt more upon a Malignant Part of the Council, (whom he would have the World believe, miſinform'd his Majeſty) then his Majeſty of himſelf was really ſenſible of: A Conſideration ſo important, as he abuſes Poſterity, who delivers not the Truth intire. And that we may yet further aſſume this Particular, I muſt affirm,* That *when the Confederates Agents inſiſted paſſionately, why Ordinances of Parliament ſhould be in force againſt them? It was moſt judicially anſwer'd by the Committee (then managing that Affair) that the conſtitution of our Laws, (indeed) receive their Eſſence from the Royal Aſſent: but yet when they perus'd the Act* 17. Car. 1. *wherein a particular Truſt is in an extraordinary, and unuſual manner, devolv'd unto the Lords and Commons in Parliament;* It is poſſible, *that ſuch Ordinance or Ordinances may equitably continue, when others are juſtly laid aſide; And* tis obſervable, *that during the time*

of the unhappy and unnatural War betwixt his late Majesty and his two Houses; That *his Majesty was so far from discountenancing any Ordinances or Proceedings of them, in order to the War of* Ireland, *that his Majesty* (*in all his Condemnation of* the Injustice of that War, *betwixt himself and them*) *laid it as an aggravation of their Fault, that* (*by such Diversion*) *his Protestant Subjects of* Ireland, (*the care of whom he had intrusted them withall*) *were exposed to the Butchery and Rapine of their mercilesse Enemies: Nor would his Majesty have charg'd them, for not affording Protection to his said Subjects, if the onely Mediums for effecting* it, viz. *Their Ordinances had been unjust, irregular, or unreasonable*; *as is evident in his Answer, the* 5. *of* May, 1643. *to a Bill brought him to* Oxford, *by Commissioners for the Service of* Ireland, *could they have secur'd the Ends, his Majesty desir'd might be observ'd in that Bill.*

I had thought (*for the fuller Illustration of the History*) *to have inserted constantly the Articles on the delivery of each Place, but finding those sometimes many, I rather chose to exemplifie a few, that thence the scope of the rest might be conceiv'd, that* (*which in the whole*) *was most considerable, was, That none who Contrived the Rebellion, or had a hand in the first years Murthers, were ever to have any other Conditions, then to be left to Justice.*

It must be confessed, I have missed it some times in the Syneriſis, *as in such variety and confusion of Matter, it is impossible to be exact*; *But then considering that Relative Affairs are brought sooner under on Head.*

The Descrepancy of the other may be better excused.

I shall find it a hard task to run the Gantlet, for that several have (*in their Prints abroad*) *vented already their venom, not only as to what may skreen the Rebellion, but on the proceedings of the State before*; *So* Carue *in his Annals of* Ireland, 1603. *insinuates,* * *That when King* James *had forgiven* Tyrone, *he says,* Quidem sub specie (*observe the Rancour of the Author*) In *Anglia* omnia condonavit sed cum in *Hiberniam* rediisset ac *Dublinium* devenisset, confestim omnis rei seriem & Catastrophen in se molita percepit, *Then which, a greater Calumny could not be cast upon a Prince, imposing on the World a Belief*; *That though in* England *he favour'd* Tyrone, *yet clandestinely, he took all advantages to undo him*; *Which* Tyrone *perceiving,* Clanculò

* P. 312.

culò (*writes this Author*) In Ultoniam, deinde desertis omnibus suis ditionibus in *Galliam*, post vero in *Flandriam*, & demùm *Romam* perexit ubi ultimum diem vitæ exul terminavit, *Whereas in truth, going out again into Rebellion, (through his detestation of the* English *Government) he was forced to fly, being absolutely routed by the Kings Forces.*

If I should plead for what my self apprehends amiss in this Work, (much more others) I should too long fix the Reader here: I shall therefore submit to the fate of Books liable to the Capacity of the Reader, *to whom I must affirm, that if some of these Transactions had not been (through the Providence and Integrity of a Reverend and eminent Person) prevented to have fallen into his hands, who (if he plead not for it now?) was no mean Instrument of the Rebellion; And that one* * *under the Title of the bleeding Iphigenia, (a virulent and scurrilous Piece) had not of late* (viz. 23. *of* December, 1674.) *aspersed the State; I should willingly have excused my self. That*

* *Nicholas French,* Titular Bishop of *Ferns* in *Ireland,* about 80. years old.

Me dulcis saturet Quies
Obscuro positus Loco
Leni perfruar Otio.

But considering what Glosses, what Depravations of credible Witnesses, and expurgation of their own, what Evasions, what leavings out, and Insertions would have happen'd, had this History (in his hand) proceeded: I rather chose to expose my Weakness, than leave Truths (of this consequence) nipt and sullied to Posterity, not much valuing whose Teeth corrode most, Truth being in its Lenith.

And truly when I consider how many are excellently skilled in Foraign Histories, who scarce know our common occurrences at home, I think their omission hardly pardonable, A man (as one * well observes) being most morally edified by reading such Men, and Matters as are his own Contemporaries; *the Recitement of those things, which come nearest to our times, being of most force and efficacy to instruct and delight us: A sence of which made a most Reverend, and Intelligent Person (some months since) so apprehensive of this Story, to be necessarily writ, that (upon Discourse) he professed his observing so little of it before, became his wonder,*

* *Full.* Col. of Speech. in the Preface.

having ſatisfied himſelf (as moſt do, where the Concern touches the State, not their Perſonal Intereſt) with the bare ſound of the thing, rather then enquire into the Nature, Growth, and Virulency thereof, (the Commons crying loud) which throughly conſidered, is the import of the Nation; Though when ſuch deſigns are blaſted, as the preſent tremendous Plot againſt his Sacred Majeſty, and the conſtituted Government, ſome often undervalue them as fooliſhly laid, and weakly attempted, though that was not (as it ſeems) to determin here, but (as a place more combuſtible and fit for fewel) to extend to Ireland, *carefully provided againſt by Proclamations,* ★ *(if not ſince relaxed?)*

* *Dubl.* 16th. *Octob.* 1678. 2d. *Novemb.* 20. *Novemb.* 13. *Decemb.*

The Management of which Affairs fell to be very difficult on thoſe then at the Helm, which I cannot but ſay, ſome might have more eaſily carried on; yet when it ſhall be impartially conſidered, I believe the caution and prudence of the State, then will in their Acts to Poſterity, appear more ſignificant and valuable, than Malice or ingratitude can juſtly ſully them with: Beſides, what Exigences? what Miſapprehenſions? *what Straights? did theſe daily encounter in their own, and the State Affairs, (ſupportable by none that had not been of an even and great Courage) is not to be paſſed over: Yet as to the Integrity of their Service, few ever waded through their Task with greater Acquieſcency, what ever hath been their misfortune to be cenſur'd at Pleaſure, That being their aim, which was their Glory,* His Majeſties Honour, and the Proteſtants Support, *how ſlenderly ſoever the Merit of that Service hath been ſince looked on, in their Poſterity; To whom little hath been indulg'd,* Præter Nomen & Famam & ea quoque a multis calcata.

And as then, ſo ſince, the State *hath labour'd under great Difficulties, (many pangs and throws) to Eſtabliſh the Settlement of* Ireland, *witneſs* all thoſe Intereſts, *which his Majeſty (in his Declaration for the* Settlement *of* Ireland ★) *crouding one upon another, carefully and with ſingular caution, as well provided for,* as could reaſonably be expected after ſo great Troubles and Confuſions, and ſuch bleſſed Circumſtances of his Reſtauration: ★ *Though how obſerved by the Court of Claims, is not my work to inſiſt on, that having been (with ſingular Perſpicuity and Judgment) ſpoken to* ★ *at large by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in* Ireland, *and ſince then, by the* Adventurers Caſe Stated, *&c.*

* 30. of *November*, 1660.

* Act of Settlement. *Fol.* 10.

* 13. *Feb.* 1662.

The

The ſtate of the Queſtion ariſing chiefly from the diſtinction of Nocent and Innocent: *In reference whereunto; Firſt,* ſome *were to be conſidered, as fit to be reſtored to their Eſtates, who not only gave early evidences of their Crimes, but alſo perſever'd in their Loyalty; As* 2. others *who ſubmitted to the Peace without Apoſtacy; And* 3. ſuch *as being tranſported into Foraign Parts, united and ſerved his Majeſty through many difficulties, and accepted not of other ſatisfaction; As* 4. others *who in an eſpecial manner merited the reſtoring of their Eſtates, which Grace and unparalel'd Favour (whether ſufficiently reflected or no by the Confederates) took off* many of thoſe, *who by the Declaration were to be* Nocent, *as all of the Rebels Party before* 1643. *As alſo* ſuch *as enjoy'd their Eſtates in the Rebels Quarters, except the Inhabitants of* Cork, *and* Youghall, *or* thoſe *who entred into the* Roman Catholick *Confederacy before the Peace*, 1648. *adhering to the Nuncio, oppoſing the Kings Authority, Excommunicating ſuch as adhered to the King, impowering Commiſſioners to treat with any Papal Power, or bringing into* Ireland *Foraign Forces; As alſo* ſuch *as had been Wood Kerns, or Tories before the Marqueſs of* Clanrikards *leaving the Government, on whom the Letter of Condemnation is writ in their foreheads, as having been not only eminently Guilty of that horrid and unprovoked Rebellion, but alſo active in the very Conduct of it, as Generals, Lieutenants, and Major Generals, Councellors in the Supream Aſſembly,* &c. *though many of theſe ſince enjoy a plentiful Eſtate.*

Act of Settlement. *Fol.* 37.

In this War the Souldiers were forced on many ſad inevitable ſtreights; Yet their Gallantry, Courage, and Patience, carried them on ſo unanimouſly, as in all the Encounters they had with the Rebels, (as far as an honourable Perſon writ) they never (writes he) receiv'd any Scorn or Defeat, and (what was more) without any aſſiſtance either from the meer *Iriſh*, or *Engliſh Iriſh*, that were Gentlemen of Quality; In as much as one * (who knew as well the Genius as the Progreſs of the *Iriſh*) in his excellent Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, (ſince * publiſht in Print) thought it no Scandal to affirm, *That amongſt all the Perſons that have been reſtored, (as Innocent we cannot) ſaith he) underſtand of one, neither can we ſay upon our own knowledge, (and we come from all parts of the Kingdom)*

* Sir *Audley Mervin*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*. P. 11. and 12.
* *Anno Sc.* 1662.

Kingdom) *that any one of them from the* 23. *of* October, 1641. *to* September, 1653. *ever drew a Sword againſt the* Iriſh *in Rebellion, or ever aſſiſted our* Engliſh *Forces in proſecution of them.* Nor is it to be thought ſtrange, *That none of the* Iriſh *gave any aſſiſtance to his Majeſties Forces*, for that (beſides thoſe Decrees of *Salamanca*, &c. Cited by *Philip Sullevan*, * mention'd in our *State of* Ireland *before the Inſurrection?* To this Hiſtory) *Mahony* in his *Diſputatio Apologetica.* Pag. 43. (having ſullied much Paper in quoting Bulls againſt *Engliſh* Hereticks invading *Ireland*) there inſiſts upon it, * That it was then alſo to be added, (as altogether certain) that the *Iriſh* are engaged by a Divine, Human, and Natural Precept, unanimouſly to joyn to extirpate Hereticks, and to ſhun Communion with them, and much more to be obliged not to aſſiſt them with Aid, Councel, Favour, Arms, or any Accommodation, &c. againſt Catholicks; which Principle of *Mahony*, *Walſh* Fol. 741. tells us, with his Book was condemned to be burn'd, by order of the Supream Council of the Confederates at *Kilkenny*; Yet we do not find, whilſt the *Iriſh* were themſelves, that (in Deteſtation to *Mahony*'s Principle) they ever aſſiſted the *Engliſh*, nay! Father *Nich. Redmond* Secretary to the Congregation, (giving *Walſh* an account of the Acts of that Congregation) tells him, *That they were never formal ones, ſeriouſly digeſted and couched by ſelect Committees, nor were they the Principal Scope of that meeting*; whereby it may be conjectured (without violence to their good Intentions) that their Cenſure (on *Mahony*'s Book) was rather a Fucus caſt on their preſent Complexion, than any abhorrency thereof; what at other times they Solemnly intended, being ever ſeriouſly digeſted.

* *Tom.* 3. Hiſt. Cath. *Hiber.* Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Fol. 202. Fol. 11.

* *Addendum eſt hic etiam tanquam omnino certum omnes* Hibernos *teneri ex Præcepto Humano, Divino & naturali convenire inter ſe ad Hæreticos expellendos, & ad evitandam cum illis Communicationem, & multo magis obligari ad non præſtandum illis aliquod Auxilium Conſilium, Favorem, Arma, aut Commeatus*, &c. *contra Catholicos.* *Fol.* 742.

* And for thoſe who joyn'd with his Excellency after the Peace of 1646. (who would be thought to have merited thereby, after they had aſſumed a Contradiſtinct Government; and in defence thereof, maintain'd a War, and (which is worſe) a Ceſſation with Detention of his Majeſties Forts, and the Inheritances of his Subjects) It cannot be ſaid (without the forfeiture of our Reaſon) that their pure Loyalty (but ſelf-preſervation) engaged them thereunto: For ſeeing how reſolute the Parliament of *England* was to purſue that War, their ſecurity could be no where, but in ſiding with the King; And that this (not

* 1ſt. Some (it muſt be confeſt) there were who (cleaving a Hair) ſo demean'd themſelves, as they were Deniſons in either Quarter, an Artifice ſo well forg'd as they had the fortune to be more countenanc'd than ſuſpected; though its believ'd their Acceſs to both ſides, was a prejudice to ours.

(*not affection or ſence of what they had done*) *was the grounds of that Compliance, appears in their ſubſequent Acts, ſhamefully afterwards diſerting the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *fixing upon him incredible Scandals, when he had expoſed himſelf* (*at their requeſt*) *to all the inconveniencies imaginable, for their Peace and his Majeſties Intereſt*; First, *parting with the* Engliſh *under his Command*, (*an evidence that* thoſe *were* they whom *they ſtill endeavoured to root out*) *and* then *ordering their Biſhops and Commiſſioners of Truſt, to ſhare in his Councels, and the management of Affairs*; At laſt *ejecting him as queſtionable before his Majeſty, for his injuries to them, and his ill Government*; *whilſt they aſſumed the Management of all, in acting, That* no Temporal Government or Juriſdiction, ſhould be aſſumed, kept, or executed in that Kingdom, or any Province or County thereof, other then what is approved or inſtituted by their General Aſſembly or Supream Council, *which was indeed the firſt Common-Wealth ſet up in his Majeſties Empire: And yet theſe are thoſe who were receiv'd as Penitents to Mercy, ſtrange Penitents! Who after ſo much blood, and ſpoil of Innocents, ſuch ſins againſt Indulgence, and Oaths of Obedience and Submiſſion, were ſo far from ſatisfying* their wrong doings, *that they were never brought to profeſs themſelves* Guilty, *whoſe Penitence ſeems to be only, in that they fail'd to accompliſh their evil in fulneſs: Twice Conſpir'd they a Peace, the better to accompliſh* (*to the utmoſt*) *what they might not need further Penitence*, * *thereby fooliſhly forfeiting all the Grace* which *they might have expected from his* Majeſty; *though amongſt the General, there were ſome, who upon the Peace made with them,* honeſtly perform'd what they had promiſed to him, though with inconveniency enough to themſelves, whoſe demeanour could not but be thought very worthy of his Protection, Juſtice, and Favour, *as they find fully enlarg'd in the Act of Settlement.*

* Act of Settlament, in *Fol.* 19.

And here *I cannot but take notice, that though ſome would impute the Irregularity of theſe Proceedings to the Clergy only*, (*who indeed were the main ſpoak in the Wheel*) *yet ſome of the Committee of Truſt, and of the Nobility*, (*who ever elſe were free?*) *were alſo privy thereunto*, (*how cloſe ſoever they behav'd themſelves*) *as appears in their cheriſhing privately the ill Humors and Jealouſies of the People,*

People, and their averſeneſs to puniſh the greateſt exorbitancy, wherein the Clergy were concern'd without the Cooperation of the Biſhops, whoſe conſent they were ſure never to have: Indeed I dare not but ſay, (having it from an excellent Pen) that ſome of the Iriſh Diſcent *have in the late Troubles (as in all Ages) well deſerv'd of the Crown, though it may wrack the Memory of the ſtricteſt obſerver to enumerate many, few having aſſiſted the Proteſtants againſt the Mighty.*

However great ſtrugling there hath been, That the Peace of 1648. ſhould be inviolable, *whereas beſides other important Reaſons referring to their abominable Reſervation;* That if thoſe Articles of Peace were not in every particular for their Advantage performed, they would not be concluded thereby: *It muſt be conſidered, that when the King was neceſſitated to comply with the Rebels, he was then under ſad ſtreights;* The odious Court (*by which his Sacred Life was afterwards taken away*) *being then erected: So as* no body could wonder, that he deſir'd (though upon difficult Conditions) to get ſuch an united Power of his own Subjects, as might have been able with Gods bleſſing, to have prevented that infamous and horrible Parricide; *Yet then in that Article of time, the* Iriſh *preſt for the concluſion of the Peace: Whereas if they had been truly Loyal and Unanimous? Generous Souls, would never have took that opportunity to have enhaunc'd their Price: But (in ſubmiſſion to what Grace they might afterwards find) freely have waded through the difficulties they were call'd to, having long before promiſed a vigorous Aſſiſtance, which they never attempted: Though many of theſe ſince,* muſt confeſs, that they have been as well provided for, as after ſo great Troubles and Confuſions, and ſuch bleſſed Circumſtances of his Majeſties Reſtauration, they could reaſonably expect; *And yet the bleeding Iphigenia (that piece of Ingratitude and Scandal) will tell you,* That the Body of a noble, antient, Catholick Nation, (*Ireland*) clad all in red Robes, is not now to be offer'd up as Victime, but is already Sacrificed; not to a Prophane Diety, but to the living God for Holy Religion, *As if after all the Indulgence, (which hath been and is vouchſaf'd, that Nation) nothing attends it but Miſery and Ruine, a Trumpet certainly to another Inſurrection.*

But

But to proceed, the ſucceſs of our Armies (conſidering the numbers they often oppos'd) exceeds a common Belief; in as much, as ſome have extenuated the Glory of their Service, by the Cowardlineſs of the Enemy, who ſeldom made a noble or brave Defence, ſave where an extremity reduced them to an exigence, or a ſurprize made them cruel: *But on this ſubject Sir* Francis Bacon (*in a Letter* * *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *going for* Ireland) *obſerves*, That the juſteſt Triumphs that the *Romans* in their greateſt Greatneſs did obtain, and that whereof the Emperors in their Stiles took Additions and Denominations, were of ſuch an Enemy, that is, People barbarous, and not reduced to Civility; magnifying a kind of Lawleſs Liberty, Prodigal of Life, hardneſs in Body, fortified in Woods and Bogs, placing both Juſtice and Felicity in the ſharpneſs of their Swords: It being a higher Point of Honour to reduce ſuch to Civility, than to be enrich'd by a Præditory War.

* Scrin. Sacr. P. 46.

I am ſenſible that the undertaking of this War hath paſſed with many, as an opportunity to enrich the Servitour; *nor can it be denied, but that reward is the juſt expectation of* Merit: *But when it ſhall be conſider'd at what rates Debenters were paid off, what hardſhip the* Souldiers *encountred, how many in Rebellion ſhar'd the mercy of a Gracious Prince, what were the Difficulties attended all in Government; it cannot be denied, but more then a Præditory War, even the Eſtabliſhment of a Religion and Nation the* Iriſh *would have extirpated, the ſettling of his Majeſties Rights, and the reducing of a People (looſe in their Principles) to Civility, were the main Ends of this War, to which his Majeſty was forc'd by the cauſeleſs and inhuman Inſurrection of the* Iriſh: *In reference to which, the Rebels (being before prepar'd thereunto) ſoon Marſhall'd a conſiderable Force; But though it was for their Altars and Inheritance (as they pretended,) never any Nation fell under greater Puſillanimity, which ſome impute to their want of Warlick Proviſions; their ignorance in the Diſcipline of their Army, the lack of unity amongſt themſelves; and the Supplies of the* Engliſh *ever found of all neceſſaries: But certainly the greateſt Defect was in the badneſs of their Cauſe, which* Conor O Mahon * *in his* Diſputatio Apologetica *urges from an Ethnick Poet, (led meerly by the light of Nature) is moſt material.*

* Alias Cornelius a ſancto Patrico virulent Jeſuit.

To the Reader.

Frangit & attollit vires milite Cauſa
Quæ niſi juſta ſubeſt, excutit Arma Pudor.

For it muſt be allowed, (not to be denied by the Ingenious) that the Natives have Courage and Abilities ſufficient, few (in their Imployments abroad) proving better Souldiers, more temperate, better vers'd in the World, or readier to be put on the forwardeſt Action.

Here I might enlarge much in the Encomiums of thoſe who ſo vigorouſly oppos'd them, though at length the *Iriſh* got Courage, or rather (from the certainty of what they were ſure to ſuffer) grew deſperate; extremity forcing that, no ſence of Honour before could Animate; And yet then, the Conduct and vigor of the *Engliſh* appear'd ſuch, as the Rebels though in ſome skirmiſhes (aſſiſted by ſurpriſals) prevail'd, they could never arrive at a perfect Defeat: Here though I am ſometimes lead to mention eminent Perſons in their Places, I am yet forced to omit many, whoſe Offices and Names I cannot attain to, which by their Proweſs and Virtue, would have added Date to the Hiſtory; And yet I know ſome Perſons are ſo apprehenſive of their Merits, that not to expreſs them in Terms æquivalent, may be worſe than to omit them; willingly I inſiſt on None, with a Diſreſpect to others.

Here I cannot (without injury to a Reverend Prelate) but take notice, what I find clearly, and moſt eloquently expreſt by Dr. *Loftus*, Vicar-General of *Ireland*, in a Speech at a Viſitation in the Dioceſs of *Clogher*, touching Dr. *John Leſley*, Lord Biſhop of *Clogher*, who (during the firſt fury of the Rebellion in *Ireland*) vigorouſly oppos'd the Rebels; and when Sir *Ralph Gore* (a worthy Servitor) at *Machrebeg*, and many other *Britiſh* Inhabitants, were reduced to great extremity by a long Siege, and neceſſity of a ſuddain Surrender of themſelves, without hope of Quarter to the enraged Cruelty of the *Iriſh*; He ſallied forth amidſt the Flames of the whole Country, and reliev'd him at that time reduc'd to ſuch Streights, as they were forc'd to caſt their diſhes into *Ball*; And the *Laggan* Forces (conſiſting of three Regiments) refus'd to hazard them for the Relief of the Beſieged, whilſt the Biſhop (with his Company, Tenants and Friends) attempted their Relief and perfected it, evidencing at that inſtant as much

much Perſonal Valour, as Regular Conduct, yet mention'd with much aſtoniſhment.

Affairs thus carried on, its evident how the Royal Throne (by whom the Army advanc'd) is juſtly to be vindicated from thoſe Calumnies ſome would aſperſe it with; as if they had not proceeded by his Majeſties Command; So impudently did theſe Rebels affront, not his Authority only in his Inſtruments at the Helm, but thereby gave his Proclamation, Speeches, Acts, and Vows, the Contradiction; And when his Execellency had made the firſt Peace with them, notwithſtanding his Majeſties Letter, To proceed no further in Treaty with the Rebels, *that Letter (as* Pernachief *well obſerves) having been ſollicited by the* Scots *(in whoſe Power he was then)* to make their War more valuable. *The* Iriſh *yet ſo ill managed that condeſcention, as nothing in Hiſtory equals their ingratitude, that thence the Integrity of the Prime Miniſter of State being to them, and his Maſter Signal their Defection, remains a Blot to Poſterity: Indeed it is ſeldom ſeen that where a People (by Inſurrection) obtain their firſt pretentions, but they aſpire to greater; Whence it is obſerved of* Hen. 7. *that he was ever in the Head of his Army, leſt Rebels prevailing, (at the beginning) they might ſoon rowl into an Hoaſt: Nor is it found that ever he complied with their requeſts, how plauſible ſoever, leaſt they might be thought to purchaſe that by their Inſurrection, which they did not dare to impetrate by their Prayers; Upon which Account it may be thought his late Majeſty deſired to go for* Ireland, Conceiving that the Rebels were capable of no greater Terrour, than by the Preſence of their Lawful King in the Head of an Army, to chaſtize them, *though the conſequence of it were otherwiſe apprehended, and his Journey ſtay'd thereupon,* He not being ſo weary of his Life as to hazard it impertinently, *whereby the Parliament conceiving (by a Commiſſion under the great Seal of* England*) that they had Power to Adviſe, * Order, and Diſpoſe of all things concerning the Government and Defence of* Ireland, *wholly applied themſelves to that Work, till the unhappy Difference betwixt his Majeſty and them fell ſo conſiderable, as though they ſent (ſometimes) ſcattering Supplies, the wants of the Army grew clamorous; Yet in the end, they ſo far prevail'd, as to declare * the Rebels ſubdued: In accompliſhing of which, ſo many changes, ſuch variety of matter, and ſeveral alterations of Scenes happen'd,*

* According to an Order of the 4th. of *Febr.* 1641. That there ſhould be Commiſſioners to manage the Affairs for *Ireland*, whereby the Parliament might be eas'd in that Particular.

* 26 *Sep* 1653.

as a Pen (arm'd with the Rhethorick of the beſt Hiſtorian) is but ſufficient to Regiſter them to Poſterity; Inferior Pens being probable to leſſen ſo conſiderable a Story; However it is now fallen to my Lot, (it may be thought voluntarily) indeed thus much I muſt alledge for my ſelf, that beſides a ſtrong impulſe, ſo many (and conſiderable Perſons) have drawn me to it, that without a more than ordinary Hardieſſe, *I could not well reſiſt their Importunity, which if any judge too eaſie a Flexibility, I ſubmit to their Cenſure, ſo they think* the Work (*ſhun'd by many*) really neceſſary, *conſidering the affront ſome bold Pens have offer'd to the Sincerity of the State and their Gallantry, who (in Honour of the Empire) have ſuſtain'd the Inſolencies of a ſad and unnatural War, which if I do not expreſs anſwerable to the ſubject, it may ſatisfie the Reader, that my aim is to be intelligible and ſignificant, though rude and plain.*

Amongſt ſeveral encouragements, I ſhall here only inſert One *from a Perſon better vers'd in the Language he writes than* Engliſh.

Vir Clariſſime.

TAntâ fide & induſtriâ, tantoque ſucceſſu, finem impoſuiſti operi diù expectato, quod texit nobis *Hibernicæ Rebellionis Hiſtoriam*, quæ cœpit Anno, a reparatâ Salute, 1641. *Octobris* 23. Gratulor tibi hocce calamo, quo è tenebris eruiſti veritatem, & penè obrutam per hujus Ætatis negligentiam, in apertum protuliſti: Non puto quicquam unquam horridius & funeſtiùs ſua origine, ſuo progreſſu & eventu excogitatum fuiſſe ab orbe condito, quam quod machinati ſunt Authores execrabiles *in Britannos Proteſtantes*, quibus ſola defenſionis Arma erant in ſua Innocentia; cedunt huic Immanitati *Siculæ Veſperæ*, *Rabies Paparum in Convallenſes & Pidemontanos*, & *Laniena Pariſienſis:* Non queo ſatis prædicare noſtra tempora, quæ tulerunt te virum, Qui vivis coloribus & graphicè depingeret, exprimeret, palam faceret Sicariorum cœpta incœpta complexus, facinora nefanda, ſingulosque actus horrendæ Lanienæ; In qua tamen, tanquam in re benè geſta, triumphant ejus *Patroni* Mahony & *Alii* Satanicarum

Artium

Artium *Consortes* & perinde homicidarum & percussorum *Advocati*, ut ulterius animos addant contribulibus suis *perstandi in Incæpto, ut Hæreticorum, quos vocant, Jugum semel excussum non admittant, unquam iterum nec permittant, sed potius Eligant sibi Regem Catholicum & vernaculum, seu naturalem Hibernum, Qui Eos Catholicè gubernari possit*, quemadmodum Loquuntur in sua exhortatione ad Catholicos; utique Jesuita Hibernus *Mac-Mahon* (ut recte observat *Walsh*) insinuavit, *quod liceat occidere non solum omnes Protestantes, sed & quoscunque Hibernos de Romanis Catholicis Qui starent à partibus Coronæ Regis Angliæ & tuerentur Jura Regia in Hiberniam, Quique interdixerent ne sibi proprium Regem Eligerent.*

Profecto circa initia Rebellionis immensum quantum obstitit in cœptis & molitionibus Rebellium Illustrissimus Parens tuus destinatus ad id *à potentissimo Rege*, Cui nota erat virtus fortissimi viri, pacis & belli artibus clari, Cujus prudentia par erat animi Robori, & qui hacce virtute res nutantes & ad ruinam properantes incompositasque firmavit, adversus Consiliarios Magna negotia administrantes, majori cum Studio privatæ quam publicæ Utilitatis; quo in Conatu & per virtutem vitamque piè & innocenter actam muneri magis suo consuluit quam facultatibus parandis, Cujus Vestigiis insistens Johannes ejus filius eques auratus frater tuus clarissimus ob res fortiter gestas, Droghedam, & Rossam, nec pro meritis pensatas non debuit à te præteriri, Quanquam nulla privata ratione sed solo Elatere veritatis proferendæ commovearis ad imputandum publicò *Historiam tuam*, Quæ tua est Modestia.

Idus Novembris 1678. *Vale.*

To this (as a Respect I must ever acknowledge) I cannot but annex the following Letter, lately receiv'd from the Honourable and Eminent Lord Bishop of Meath, *a constant Assertor of the* English *Interest and the Protestants Sufferings, minding, me from whom I had several Passages in the ensuing History: A History which must want much of its due Method and more Eloquence, not having his.*

Doctor

To the Reader.

Doctor.

I Underſtood by Letters from *London*, and after by Two from your ſelf, of your forwardneſs in the *Hiſtory of the* Iriſh *Rebellion*, Anno 1641. that being, I find, now in the Preſs.

How far you have therein proceeded, or what is your way in that, I know not, that not having been to me by any communicated; To that therefore I can ſay no more, than, that its paſſing your hands, aſſures me of what may ſatisfie.

What may ſatisfie, I mean not thoſe, *who ſhut their eyes againſt light*, and even *Rebel againſt it.*

There are, who contrary to all evidence, confidently averr, write and openly proclaim to the World, that there was then no ſuch Rebellion of the *Iriſh*, neither ſuch Maſſacres of the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants in *Ireland*; but that they themſelves, *the* Iriſh *and Papiſts of* Ireland, were then *the Sufferers*, and that by the Proteſtants, (they ſay) the firſt aggreſſors.

This bold aſſertion in the face of the Sun; and in that very age, when things were acted, there having been many alſo then, and ſome yet living, who can ſpeak to the truth in that; This (I ſay) might gain on Strangers to the Kingdom, and hath already on ſome, even at home, eſpecially at this time, about 40 years after.

But the contrary appear'd *by thoſe Collections*, which you had from me, to which herein, as in other particulars, I refer.

And what do they in this, but what was before, and is by them done ordinarily? Have they not with like confidence diſclaimed that black and helliſh Powder-Plot, *Nov.* 5. 1605. from being Popiſh? do they not give that out for falſe, and as a forg'd Calumny caſt on that Party, of whom none of theirs (they ſay) was therein concern'd? whereas, it is well known, that *Hammond*, *Baldwin*, *Gerard*, and *Teſmond*, Jeſuits, with their *Provincial Garnet*, were all in that Conſpiracy; *Thomſon* alſo, a Jeſuit boaſted after at *Rome*, *that his ſhirt was often wet with digging under the Parliament-Houſe in* London, beſides others in that Conſpiracy, who were all Papiſts, and many of them

Suffering

Suffering for their ſo practicing; the publick proceedings on thoſe Tryals remaining extant on Record.

And do *They* not now, even now, cry down what our eyes behold of their horrid and bloody Deſign, and helliſh Treaſon againſt the Royal Perſon of our Gracious Sovereign King *Charles* II. and againſt his *Proteſtant Subjects*: and for *total extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion* out of the Three Kingdoms? The truth of which is every day, even as by miracle, more and more evidenc'd, to the Glory of Gods watchful Providence over this his Church and People.

Among which, I find our ſelves threatned with a yet *other like demonſtration of zeal, for the promoting of the Catholick Religion, and Intereſt in* Ireland, (Dr. *Oates* Nar. §. 50.) ſo they term thoſe Maſſacres, and Blood, for rooting out the Proteſtant Religion, and caſting off the *Engliſh* Government in *Ireland*; which their *other demonſtration of Zeal*, (as they term it) ſhews the former actings in that kind to have bin theirs, and how ſuch their Actings are by them eſteemed; *a demonſtration of Zeal for promoting the Catholick Religion.*

But *He that ſits in Heaven laughs them to ſcorn, and hath them in deriſion, ſpeaking to them in his wrath, and vexing them in his ſore diſpleaſure, ſaying; yet* (or notwithſtanding all ſuch their Deſigns) *have I ſet up my King*; preſerving our *Gracious Soveraign, the breath of our Noſtrils*, by the care and vigilance of thoſe our *worthy Patriots* whom God hath raiſed up happy inſtruments in it.

As to *Ireland*. To evidence the reſtleſs Spirits of ſuch there for miſchief: I ſhall mind here in brief, what in the mentioned Collections, had bin given you more at large, ſo to lay all open at one view; thereby not to wonder at Rebellions here, than which, comparing times, nothing will appear ſo ordinary.

In which, paſſing what occurs of that kind in elder ages, and fixing only on ſuch as had Religion for a pretence, and was by *Rome* influenc'd, and by its Emiſſaries fomented: Therefore I begin with the Reign of that Queen of famous memory, Queen *Eliz.* of whoſe Troubles in *England* from *that Party*, I ſpeak not, as not of preſent conſideration, but recounting what work they found *Her* in this her Kingdom of *Ireland* only.

To the Reader.

I. *Anno* 1567. There was a Rebellion in the Province of *Ulſter* of *Shane O-Neal*, who for the ſuppreſſing of the *Title of O-Neal*, had bin by King *Hen.* 8. created *Earl of Tyrone*, His Forces were broken by Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy, and he himſelf fleeing for ſuccour to *Alexander Mac Donnel*, then in the *Clandeboyes*, with 600. *Highlander-Scots*: He was by them there ſlain, in revenge of one of theirs by him formerly killed; his Head was (*June* 20. 1567.) ſent to the Deputy by Captain *William Piers*, then eminent for Service and Command at *Carrickfergus* and thereabout, that Arch-rebels head was pitch't on the Caſtle of *Dublin.*

II. Since after, *Anno* 1569. followed in the Province of *Munſter* the Rebellion of *James Fitz Mauris Fitz Gerald*, and *John Fitz Gerald*, brothers to *Gerald Earl of Deſmond*, in which the Earl himſelf after declared, *Anno* 1578. His Parties were conſiderable in *Leimſter*, to whom joyned the *Viſcount Baltinglas*, with the *Pools*, *Birns*, and *Cavenaughs*, having alſo Foraign aſſiſtance, the deſign being pretended for Religion, the *Pope*, and his giving therefore Aid and Countenance; but *Deſmond* being defeated, he was after by his own murthered.

III. About 6. years after, *Anno* 1595. brake out in *Ulſter* (alſo for Religion) another *Rebellion*, that of *Hugh O-Neal*, commonly called *Tyrones Rebellion*, whoſe Forces, together with the *Spaniſh* aſſiſtances were overthrown by *Mountjoy Lord Deputy at Kinſale*, Dec. 24. 1601. he himſelf ſubmitting *March* 1602. Theſe were during the Reign of Queen *Eliz.*

IV. After whoſe death King *James* ſucceeded, and within one Month after *Anno* 1603. the Cities of *Waterford*, *Cork*, and *Limerick*, ſtood out, and oppoſed the Proclaiming the Kng, he not being (they ſaid) a Catholick, theſe acted Hoſtility, inviting all other Cities to a conjunction, to which *Kilkenny*, and *Wexford* were inclining, but by the Deputy *Mountjoys* marching againſt them with an Army, they were forced to Submiſſion.

V. After, *Anno* 1607. was a Providential diſcovery of another Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Lord *Chichiſter* being Deputy, the Diſcoverer not being willing to appear, a Letter from him not ſubſcribed, was ſuperſcribed to Sir *William Uſher*, *Clerk of the Council*, and dropt in the Council Chamber

Chamber then in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, in which was mention'd a Deſign for ſeizing that Caſtle, murthering the Deputy, *&c.* with a general revolt, and dependance on *Spaniſh* Forces, *&c.* and this alſo for Religion; for particulars whereof, I refer to that *Letter*, dated *March* 19. 1607. which you have.

VI. The very next year *Anno* 1608. was the breaking out of Sir *Cahie O Dogherty's Rebellion in Ulſter*, by whom *Derry* was taken and burnt, the Governor Sir *George Paulet* murther'd, and *Culmore* Caſtle, ſome miles diſtant, ſurpriz'd, that being the Magazine for Arms and Ammunition for thoſe parts: His Confederates were conſiderable, his Forces increaſing, and expecting *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnil*'s return with Forces from *Flanders*. Againſt him was the *Marſhal* Sir *Richard Wingfield*, ſent with a ſtrong Party, the *Deputy* following with more Forces from *Dublin*: But this ſhort, yet ſmart Rebellion, ended with the death of the Arch rebel, and the diſperſing his followers.

VII. Seven years after *Anno* 1615. was a Providential diſcovery made by one *Teige O Lenan*, to Sir *Thomas Philips* of *Lemovadey* in *Ulſter*, of a Deſign of *Alexander mac Donel*, *Bryan Croſſe O-Neal*, and other the principal of the *Iriſh* in *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnil*, with large Confederacies for Religion; They firſt deſigned the taking *Charlemount*, commanded by Sir *Toby Caulfield*, where was then Priſoner *Conne Greg O-Neal*, *Tyrones* Son, and about the ſame time by ſeverally appointed Parties, was order'd the taking in the principal Forts and Towns in *Ulſter*: and murthering the Proteſtants in that Province and elſewhere. They had promiſes of Foreign aſſiſtance from *Spain*, *France*, and *Rome*, the particulars you have: During the Reign of King *James* were theſe 4 laſt mentioned.

VIII. After *Anno* 1634. under the Government of the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* Lord Deputy, *Ever*, or *Emerus mac Mahon*, a Popiſh Prieſt, privately diſcover'd to Sir *George Radcliffe*, principal in truſt with the Lord Deputy, that there was a Deſign for a general riſing in *Ireland*, to be ſeconded and aſſiſted from abroad: The Diſcoverer having aſſurance of Pardon, acknowledging himſelf engaged in that Conſpiracy; having been employed ſome years on that account in Foraign Courts, ſoliciting ſupplies for

carrying on that work for Religion. This Diſcoverer was after the Popiſh Biſhop of *Down*, and after of *Clogher*: Hereof the Lord Deputy inform'd his Majeſty King *Charles* I. who thereupon by his Ambaſſadors, watching practices in Courts abroad, there were at length, general and dark hints given of ſomething tending to a Rebellion in *Ireland*, but how, or when, or by whom, was not then ſo appearing.

Hereof his Majeſty by his Royal Letters, Signed by Sir *Henry Vane*, one of his principal Secretaries, dated *March* 16. 1640. and directed to the then Lords Juſtices, Sir *William Parſons*, and Sir *John Borlaſe*, did charge them with the care of that danger imminent, of which his Majeſties Letter you have likewiſe a Copy.

And this brings to that Rebellion *Anno* 1641. which on the 23*d*. of *October*, did break out unexpectedly, notwithſtanding all cautions concerning it, this, like a violent *Hurricane*, bearing all down before it, which gives you your work at preſent.

The reſult and deſign of all which, thus here briefly collected, ſhews.

1. That from *Shane O-Neals* Rebellion, *Anno* 1566. until that in 1641. there paſſed about 75 years, a ſpace of time within the ordinary age of a man.

2. That within thoſe but 75. years, there had been in *Ireland*, *Five open Rebellions*, one as it were in the neck of another, (*viz.*) *Shane O-Neals*, Anno 1566. *Deſmonds*, *Anno* 1569. *Hugh O-Neal*, called *Tyrones* Rebellion, *Anno* 1595. *O Doghertyes*, Anno 1608. and this *Grand Rebellion* 1641. this ſurpaſſing all before, I know not why that Rebellion of the *Cities of Waterford*, *Cork*, and *Limerick*, may not add to that number, this being as open as any, and dangerous, and requiring the preſence of the principal Commander, and the marching of the Forces of the Kingdom to ſuppreſs it. Add to theſe, thoſe 2 Diſcoveries mentioned, *Anno* 1607. and 1615. (not to mention apart that *Anno* 1634. falling into that of 1641.) which 2 former had been diſmal to the Kingdom, if not by Gods providence, ſeaſonably, and wonderfully diſcovered, and happily prevented.

Therefore have we herein not to wonder at Rebellions in *Ireland*, than which, nothing there more common, from generation

generation to generation, and may not the like be yet expected, when opportunity ſhall be for it, the ſame Spirit and Cauſes remaining.

This is not (Sir) to foreſtal your work, but ſerves as an Index directing to what follows of yours: giving alſo an edge to this deſire of fihding the breviat as by you enlarged, if you have thought fit to make uſe of it.

I ſhall now end your trouble herein, giving you the deſerved praiſe of your labours, and zeal to that neceſſary undertaking. I reſt

Sir,

Dublin, May 27. 1679.

Your very affectionate Friend and Servant,

Henry Midenſis.

Since I reduced the Hiſtory to what it is, I reflected on ſeveral, to whom I might have adreſt it, ſome who *(having run through the Hazzard of that War, and the Councils of that Age) might well have own'd it, it being (in the main) an Epitome of their Illuſtrious Actions:* Others *being deſign'd to the Government, but not aiming at the Work, (as too ſenſible of the* Engliſh *Intereſt to betray it) juſtly challenges a reſpect and Title thereunto: And not a few (through whoſe Proviſion the* Iriſh *were ſubdued) might well have contenanc'd the Event; But conſidering how inſignificant a great Title is, where Truth muſt be the main ſupport, (elated Dedications beſpeaking Authors more ambitious than known) I could not delude my Reaſon with a Conceipt that a Mecænas, as the Laurel, exempts from Thunder, and therefore countent with the Integrity of the Story, (having no ends to oblige me to a ſingle reſpect) I here comit it naked to the Deciſion of the Age.*

It may be ſome (whoſe Excellency conſiſts in Detraction) will think (by this) I had a particular Deſign (beſides the bare Hiſtory) to preſerve the Memory of ſome, who (otherwiſe) in tract of time might be loſt in the common Rubbiſh: And I dare not diſown thoſe Conjectures, the Deſerving being

to be in everlasting Remembrance; Nor hath it in all Ages, and amongst the worthiest Persons, been esteem'd Pride, but Justice, to erect Memorials *and Altars to* Meriting Heroes; *Though herein (I conceive) none could be so much concern'd who would have less insisted thereon, then my self, resolving to be sparing, in what I might have been prodigal; How contrary soever it may be Conjectur'd by some, who (pleas'd with the publick breath) dare blaspheme those whom they could never wean from their Countries Interest, or Religion; though as to an utter extirpation, (which was strongly insisted on by many) I may affirm that they (whom the Malice of some would traduce) were ever so far from that, (abominating the thought) as the Rebels Reformation not their Ruine, was their Principal care, well distinguishing betwixt the Head and the Train, which a most eminent and noble Person (just to his Honour) ever avouch'd.*

Somethings (it may be) were not always suited to the just standard of the Law, which in such Exigences have ever been indulged, though not commanded; The preservation of a State being more than the security of a Person; And thence Prudence as well as Justice, hath been a necessary Attendant on Magistrates: No State being so secur'd by her Laws, as that something emergent may not require a speedier Help, the effect of which if severe? (being out of the common Road) is the Offenders, not the States Fault.

And hereupon a known Instrument of State perfectly experienc'd in that Road, excellently well Cautions, Not to weigh and measure Statesmen's Proceedings, by grains and scruples, lest the publick Affairs of a Kingdom lie wast, whilst men of Honour and Fortune in medling with them are sure to loose.

The Rebels (by their Pamphlets) affirm that few Murthers (if any?) were done, till some examples of that nature were acted by the English; *whereas the contrary plainly appears by those Examinations in the Remonstrance* ★ *of diverse remarkable Passages concerning the Church and Kingdom of* Ireland, *which cannot be waded, whatever* R. S. *in his Collections of Murthers* ★ *would insinuate, as if that was only framed to win Compassion and Succour from* England, *or scandalize Authority, whereas it is clear the Remonstrance was passed on such undeniable Evidences, that the Circumstances he takes notice off, (to justifie his own) of Time, Place,*

* Printed at *London.* 1642.

* 1662.

P. 6.

Place, and Perſons, (*as if they were not conſidered in the Remonſtrance*) *are generally obſerved and that on Oath,* Not encouraged (as he would infer) from the hurry of the Times, and the Examinants Frights, *but before his Majeſties Commiſſioners, a Circumſtance this Detractor dare not pretend to, what Favour ſoever he thinks to draw from* Cromwel's *proceedings* (Summo Jure) *in* Ireland, *which* Pag. 10. *was on another ſcore than we ſhall here inſiſt on, and were promiſcuouſly cruel; yet thoſe leſſen nothing of the* Iriſh *Barbariſm at* Firſt, *or indeed of their Mercy at* Laſt, *in ſtripping the* Engliſh *in ſo miſerable a Seaſon, driving them from their Habitations, and expoſing them to the Woods and Deſerts for their Reſt and Suſtenance, ſuch as remain'd* (*being deluded by the Rebels promiſes, and wedded to their own Habitations*) *were generally Maſſacred: Certainly the lingring and ſad Deaths which attended many, are juſtly to be accounted the higheſt Barbariſm, worſe than whatever determin'd in a ſhort time, how cruel ſoever: Though ſome* (*who would be thought Civil and Compaſſionate*) *think they merit much,* in not having (*as they write, not others*) their hands actually imbrued in the Blood of any of the *Britiſh* Proteſtants: *of which its believ'd there are but few* (*if any*) *that may be juſtly intituled to that Clemency. However are they not to be accounted equally Guilty, who mov'd by the ſame Councils? Subſiſted by the ſame maintenance? Whoſe Victory was their Victory, and the Blood ſhed by One, was the conſent of the Other.*

Qui non vetat peccare, cum poſſit, jubet, *Eſpecially when they knew of the Villanies that had paſſed, and yet ſided with the Party ſo imbrued and fleſhed in Blood; No Check being given to that Career, when* Leinſter, *and* Ulſter, Valence, *and* Brabant *agreed: However we have contexed in this Hiſtory few examples of Murthers and Cruelties, in reference to the Luxury of the Rebels took in the Scene: The effect of whoſe Malice and Animoſity, being* (*in truth*) *the Burthen of the whole, is not omitted,* (*as not abounding in Proofs*) *but becauſe the Martyrology of the Clergy and the Proteſtants, deſerve an account a-part. Beſides though there be ſome Gleanings of Murthers in* Ulſter, Connaght, *and* Leinſter, *yet the care which was took to regiſter thoſe in* Munſter, *hath been obſtructed, as the others* (*if they had not been early*)

early) *might have been ſo too, However they are not loſt, though at preſent confin'd.*

Some Remarks on the Rebels Pamphlets and Pretentions, we have courſorarily anſwer'd; Not holding our ſelves obliged to reply to each Particular, elſe the Volume would ſwell too big; Beſides there are many things which (*in reading*) *an Intelligent Perſon cannot but blow over with an eaſie Breath; Some are ſo ridiculous, others improbable, moſt without their Circumſtances: what is fairer Varniſh'd we have* (*from their own Principles, or their Parties Confeſſion*) *clear'd, therein not ſo much veiling Truths,* (*whether for or againſt us*) *as diſcloſing their nakedneſs, a deformed Face needs a* Fucus.

The Favourers of that Party inſiſt much on the Parliaments being Prorogued, which ſhould have met ſoon after the Inſurrection; whereby what they would have preſented to the King, (*by way of Accommodation*) *was* (*ſay they*) thereby prevented, and that the Lords and old *Engliſh* of the *Pale*, who had been conſtant to the Crown in other Rebellions, were (by the uſage of the State) forced to take part with the *Ulſter* Rebels; *The firſt of theſe is in the main diſcourſed* ★ *of, to which we muſt add,* (*as being an undeniable conſequence of their Deſires then*) That *their endeavours* (*to meet at that time in Parliament*) *was to no other end, but that the Plot having been diſcover'd,* (*whereby* they *could not ſtrike hands at firſt with the Northern Rebels, without apparent Rebellion, which they were willing to ſcreen under fairer pretences*) They *might in Parliament the more ſolemnly conteſt with the King, for their Religion and Liberty; which neither the juſt Jealouſies of the State, or the Diſtractions then, could rationally admit of, leſt meeting in ſuch numbers* (*as a Parliament would colourably bring to Town*) *they might take new Councils, the former* (*ſeeming in ſome part*) *to be diſappointed. And as to the* Latter, *the truth thereof is already cleared from* Fol. 39. *to* 42. *nor indeed needs there any thing more to be ſaid, but what his Majeſty* (C. I.) *on this ſubject verified to the Proteſtant's Agents at* Oxford, 1644. That what the Rebels pleaded as to this Particular, was not his Belief but an Aſſertion of the *Iriſh*; *And when the Proteſtant Agents would further have cleared this Point,* (*ſome at Court being apt to blow up thoſe Cindars*) *the King ſaid,* That needed not, for to what purpoſe is it to prove the Sun ſhines this day, when we all ſee it? *And*

★ *Fol.* 32.

from

from the Proceedings of the State *expreſt in their* * *Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, it is evident that all the hopes* they had, was of the old *Engliſh* of the *Pale*, and ſome other Parts, that they would continue conſtant to the King, as they did in former times, *Then which, what could be a clearer demonſtration of their Confidence in them, ſtrengthening afterwards their Belief in affording them Arms and Truſting them with Commiſſions Civil and Martial? And wheras* theſe men *will have it, that they offer'd Propoſitions to the State, charging them with the neglect thereof, it is juſtified in the Lords Juſtices Letter* * *to the Lord Lieutenant*, That not one of them (to that hour) offer'd to the State any Advice or real Aſſiſtance, towards the Pacification of theſe Troubles: *Or when they were invited, (by all the engagements Honour or Loyalty could enforce) would* they *ever comply with any; Nay, let the Inſolency* They *uſed to the Orders* * *of Parliament, and the Invitation and Condeſcention of the State,* * *tearing the Firſt, and vilifying the Latter, remain a perpetual Witneſs of their Arrogance and Ingratitude, that the* State *would have ſecur'd their Allegiance, and they would not.*

* 25th. of Oct. 1641.

* 14th. of Dec. 1641.

* Fol. 35

* Fol. 40.

When I firſt enter'd on this Hiſtory, I propos'd to my ſelf a Series of the whole, but preſt with my own Affairs, and Matter encreaſing plentfully upon me, I held it rational to ſum up the whole after I had brought it to the Ceſſation, which ſome * *had an apprehenſion was not a leſs Plot to deliver the Remainder of his* Majeſties *true Subjects, into the Rebels hands, and to root out the Proteſtant Religion, then what was commenc'd the* 23. *of* October 1641. *But the Articles of that Ceſſation ſpeak otherwiſe, neceſſity being the Ground thereof, legible in his Majeſties* Motives *to a Ceſſation the* 19th. *of* October 1643. *which afterwards was highly controverted, and in the end ſo enfeebled, as the War (according to the firſt intent) was (after the long Parliament graſp'd all) purſued with Vigour and Succeſs: Which here (induced to it by many Reaſons) we have at laſt (according to our firſt thoughts) brought to a Period under his Majeſties Teſt, in the Voice of his Parliament in* Ireland 1662. *though with omiſſion of many Circumſtances, leſt in ſuch variety, we might fall ſhort of thoſe conſiderable Actions, which frequently interven'd, fit indeed for none leſs Privy to the Rebels, than the* State: *However we have not omitted ſufficient to clear the Riſe*

* Col. *Craford's* Remonſtrance *Pag.* 5.

To the Reader.

Riſe as well as the Concluſion of this War, not ſo much dreading Cenſures, as caring to inform Right: Yet I Queſtion not, but there will be ſome who will find (if not ſufficient) enough to carp at; No Hiſtory was ſo round as to paſs a General Acceptance: Happily Reader.

Non facit ad Stomachum noſtra Lagena tuum.

Thy Appetite reliſhes not truth too near the Quick, another thinks the time ill choſen, and ſome have other Prejudice; Whether one or other raiſes an Exception, the Story is Tragical; And thoſe who have trod the Theater, find ſuch Tracts as are Horrible to repeat, never to be forgot.

A RE-

Though the Errata's ſeem many, they are more in Accents and Literal Defects, then conſiderable miſtakes; Such as an Ingenious Reader may as ſoon rectifie as view: The running Title from Fol. 24. *to* 32. (*inſtead of what is there*) *muſt be this,* The Diſmal Effects of the *Iriſh* Inſurrection, *and ſome numbers in Battles are carefully to be Corrected, as* Fol. 73. 8000. *Foot for* 3000. *and* Fol. 112. 13000. *Foot for* 1300. *The reſt are generally eaſie.*

Errata's in the Hiſtory.

FOl. 9. *Line* 13. read An, *Fol.* 10. *Line* 35. read Ghoſtly Confeſſor, *Fol.* 13. *Line* 45. read Peisley, *Fol.* 15. *Line* 24. read Momonia, *Fol.* 16. *Line* 31. read formed, *Fol.* 18. *Line* 2. read Courts, *Fol.* 19. *Line* 28. read would, *Fol.* 19. *Line* 33. *that* for our Sins, *that* is omitted, *Fol.* 21. *Line* 22. prevent *it*, *it* is left out, *Fol.* 22. *Line* 34. read Majeſty, *Fol.* 25. *Line* 45. read purſue, *Fol.* 38. *Line* 52. read alſo, *Fol.* 39. *Line* 26. read *Kilbrew*, *Fol.* 43. *Line* 9. read Fiſhing-boats, *Fol.* 44. *Line* 29. read diſpatch, *Fol.* 49. *Line* 29. read *Weſtmeath*, *Fol.* 52. *Line* 13. read 1641. *Fol.* 64. *Line* 32. *and* killed, leave out *and*, *Fol.* 73. *Line* 43. read 3000. *Fol.* 76. *Line.* 35. read *Balinaſlo*, *Fol.* 82. *Line* 18. read a Gigantick, *Fol.* 83. *Line* 11. read from Court, *Fol.* 86. *Line* 5. read *Haſte*, *Fol.* 86. *Line* 43. leave out *take or*, *Fol.* 91. *Margin.* read Subſcrib'd, *Fol.* 102. *Line* 45. from whence, is to be blotted out, *Fol.* 103. *Line* 39. read themſelves, *Fol.* 94. *Line* 27. read intent, *Fol.* 105. *Line* 9. read approach, *Fol.* 106. *Line* 6. read Straights, *Fol.* 106. *Line* 13. read for, *Fol.* 112. *Line* 15. read 1300. *Fol.* 118. read 115. and *F.* 115. read 118. *Fol.* 120. *Line* 8. read Beſiegers, *Fol. ibid. Line* 15. read *Carrickdrumrooſk*, *Fol. ibid. Line* 25. read skirmiſh'd, *Fol.* 129. *Line* 2. Apprehenſion left out, *Fol.* 132. *Margin.* read the *5th. Fol.* 134. *Line* 18. *our* obedience, blot out *our*, as alſo the Superſcription, it being to be as the former Letter was Superſcribed, *Fol.* 292. *Line* 36. *But* that, *but* is left out, 141. *Line* 46. immediately after Sreights, *preſt on him* is omitted, *Fol. ibid.* in the *Marg.* read *Teag* O *Bryan*, *Fol.* 181. *Line* 52. *his*, is left out, *Fol.* 185. *Line* 35. read reſtrain, *Fol.* 187. *Line* 36. read *Kilkitto*, *Fol.* 200. *Line* 4. read deſiſt, *Fol.* 218. *Line* 16. read Marqueſs of *Ormonds*, *Fol.* 225. *Line* 4. Lieutenant is to be left out, *Fol.* 226. *Line* 6. which *was*, *was* blot out, *Fol.* 252. *Line* 35. *the* Earl, *the* blot out, *Fol.* 282. *Line* 21. read 20. of *Auguſt*, *Fol.* 287. *Line* 26. read unſound, *Fol.* 316. *Line* 16. read 27. *Fol.* 326. *Line* 32. read blanch'd.

Errata's in the Appendix.

FOl. 10. *Line* 27. *I* is to be omitted, *Fol. ibid. Line* 28. read *Torilagh*, *Fol.* 12. *Line* 12. read *Tool* O *Conly*, *Fol.* 12. *Line* 45. read *Ever mac Mahon*, *Fol.* 15. *Line* 23. read *Torilagh*, *Fol.* 19. *Line* 41. *from* is omitted before, read *Loghroſi*, *Fol.* 25. *Line* 4. read *Coſtilough*, *Fol.* 66. *Line* 18. read reſent, *Fol.* 66. *Line.* 44. *do continue*, is twice printed, *Fol.* 94 *Line* 9. read Sword, *Fol* 98. in the Margin read Car. 342. and lower 344. Car. An. Hib. 344. *Fol.* 101. *Line* 18. after Commiſſion, *would have been violated*, is left out, *Fol.* 101. *Line* 23. and after the Parentheſis, *And he*, is omitted, *Fol.* 102. in the Marg. read put in, *Fol.* 114. *Line* 26. read *Liſgool*, *Fol.* 124. *Line* 32. read ſence.

Errata's in the Epiſtle.

FOl. 6. *Line* 3. read form'd, *Fol.* 7. *Line* 11. read reflections on, *Fol.* 9. *Line* 28. read impt, *Fol.* 9. *Line* 29. read Zenith, *Fol.* 13. *Line* 27. Penitence *for*, *for* is left out, as alſo *violating it as often*, *Fol.* 11. *Line* 11. read Reflected on, *Fol.* 17. *Line* 12. read *Perinchief*, *Fol.* 17. *Line* 30. read Conſequences, *Fol.* 18. *Line* 29. read *Execrabiles.*

A REFLECTION Upon the State of IRELAND;

With occurrent Accidents before the breaking forth of the Rebellion 23d of *Octob.* 1641.

THough we date the Conqueſt of *Ireland* from the ſubmiſſion of the Kings and Natives there to *Henry* the Second, 1172. yet on a truer eſtimate, we muſt conclude, that *Ireland* was never really ſubjugated to the Crown of *England*, till our Laws became as communicable to the Natives, as the *Engliſh*, whereby each Party, without diſtinction, grew up together into one Nation; which was never effectually vouchſafed, till after *Tir-Oen*'s laſt ſubmiſſion at *Mellifont*, to the Lord *Mountjoy*, 1603. by which, the minds of the People were broken to the obedience of the Law, and after that became ſo pliable, as near fourty years there ſeemed no material diſtinction betwixt the Natives and other Inhabitants, each concentring in ſubjection to the Laws, making up but one Jury, living in mutual amity and friendſhip; till Indulgence ſo far became a miſchief, as thence *Conſpiracies* hatch'd our ruine; not diſcernable, ere the Monſter arriv'd at its Birth; a Prodigy ſcarce credible in ſo vigilant a State: Though when it's conſider'd how tenderly the great concerns of Religion (the principal wheels of all Commotion in a State) were handled, the aſtoniſhment (that things aſpir'd to ſo much Villany) may eaſily be unridl'd.

Towards the end of the Lord *Falkland*'s Government (there being great need of Money for ſupport of the ſtanding Army in *Ireland*, and maintaining of 500 Horſe, and 5000 Foot; much by extraordinary means having been otherwiſe diſpoſed) the Catholicks of *Ireland* (glad of the occaſion) ſeem'd very forward to ſupply the State, in hopes of a Connivance (if not a Toleration) of their Religion, though therein they were onely to bear their ſhare (or rather offered their Mite) with the Proteſtants; which they improved to ſo great an inſolence, as the Lord *Falkland* (with the Council) was forced to take notice in a Proclamation, dated the 1ſt. of *April* 1629. *That the late Intermiſſion of Legal Proceedings againſt Popiſh pretended Titulary Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, Vicars General, Jeſuits, Friers, and others of that ſort, that derive*

 their

their pretended Authority and Orders from the See of Rome, (*in contempt of his Majeſties Royal Power and Authority*) *had bred ſuch an extraordinary inſolence and preſumption in them, as he was neceſſitated to charge and command them, in his Majeſties name, to forbear the exerciſe of their Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies.*

Notwithſtanding which, their Inſolencies afterwards ſo increaſed, as that the power of the High Commiſſion (rais'd in reſpect of them) being withdrawn, they erected a new *Univerſity* at *Dublin*, to confront his Majeſties *Colledge* there, continuing their Nunneries and Monaſteries; that thence many things were objected againſt the Lord *Falkland*'s Government: to clear which, the Council of *Ireland* (in his defence to the King the 28*th.* of *April*, 1629.) declared, *That towards the inſolencies of the Papiſts, and the late outragious preſumption of the unſetled* Iriſh; *in ſome parts* your Deputy and Council *of late us'd particular Abſtinence, holding themſelves ſomewhat limited concerning them by late Inſinuations, Letters, and Directions from* England. And yet afterwards ſo mindful too were the Lords of the Council in *England* of what had been (by the State of *Ireland*) happily ſuppreſt, that the 31 of *January*, 1629. they return'd their acknowledgment, and put the State of *Ireland* in mind, *How much it concern'd the good Government of* Ireland, *to prevent in time the firſt growing of ſuch evils; for that where ſuch People are permitted to ſwarm, they will ſoon grow licentious, and endure no Government but their own, which cannot otherwiſe be reſtored, than by a due and ſeaſonable execution of the Law, and of ſuch Directions as from time to time have been ſent from his Majeſty and Council, &c. further encouraging them to carry a ſoft or harder hand according to their diſcretions.* Which I do not find but they prudently obſerv'd; though all was too little to root out the *Leven* that had ſeaſon'd the *Batch*, during the Government of the then Lords Juſtices. (As Dr. *Bedel* (the Reverend Biſhop of *Kilmore*) takes notice of at large, * with a deep and hearty reſentment, worthy his Piety, Courage, and Learning) till the arrival of *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*, who by his ſingular Wiſdom, Courage, and quick Intelligence, ſo managed affairs there, (though ſome thought they were carried on too ſeverely) as doubtleſs the Nation, in general, was never more ſeemingly in obedience; what ever afterwards was aggravated againſt that Noble Perſon, whoſe behaviour was leſs pleaſing to ſome men (intereſs'd in the detection of their moroſe and ſiniſter dealings) than to the Nation, which flouriſh'd under his Auſpicious Government. Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God: Yet then the contrivance of ſome Spirits was ſo reſtleſs, as *Anno* 1634. (being the 10*th.* of King *Charls* the Firſt) they deſign'd to have engag'd the Nation in a War, which one *Ever Mac-Mahon* (an eminent Popiſh Prieſt) privately diſcovered to ſome of the Privy Council at *Dublin*, at whoſe feet he proſtrated himſelf for mercy, having, with others been employ'd abroad to Foreign Princes (*viz.* the *Pope*, the *Kings* of *France*, *Spain*, and other *Princes*) on that ſervice, as (in the Relation writ by the Lord *Macquire* in the *Tower*) is apparent, the Deſign having been of as ancient a Date, as the Iſle of *Rhee*'s Enterpriſe, 1628. About which time the Earl of *Tyrone* and Cardinal *Richlieu* held an intimate correſpondence; though the King of *France*'s Wars then in *Italy* fruſtrated, for that time, the Inſurrection and Invaſion. Upon the diſcovery of which, *Ever Mac-Mahon* ſeeming penitent, had his Pardon: So that the thing being onely treated of in general, the prudence of the Governour

* In his Letter to the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, the 5. of *Novemb.* 1633. as formerly in a Letter to Biſhop *Laud* of the 1*ſt.* of *April*, 1630.

Governour (giving the People no ſuſpicion that he feared it, and yet watched againſt it) blaſted their deſign: The ſame Providence we may alſo believe this Noble Perſon had in the antecedent warnings, which the Reverend Dean of *Kilmore* particularly mentions*, though he (in reference to the Intregues of State) mov'd not ſo viſibly as to make every one capable of his foreſight. Prime Miniſters are not to level their proceedings to the capacities of all, who pretend vigilancy of the State: yet thence (during his Government) all things in the Publick proceeded with a ſerene countenance, ſo as the Lord Deputy *Wentworth* came for *England*, and return'd into *Ireland* ſeveral times, with his Majeſties greateſt Approbation, and the Peace of the Nation.

* In his Depoſitions annexed to the Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Rebellion of *Ireland*, p. 24.

Anno 1634. a Parliament was ſummon'd in *Ireland*, by his motion; 1. For that the Contribution from the Countrey, towards the maintenance of the Army, ended that *December*. 2. For that the Revenues there fell ſhort of his Majeſties Charges 20000 *l.* yearly. 3. That there was a Debt of 80000 *l.* upon the Crown. 4. For that there had been no Subſidies but one ſince the beginning of King *James*'s Reign; and the People were now grown wealthy, being continued in their Eſtates, who ever had enjoy'd them twenty years. By the Supply of which Parliament, the Lord *Deputy* paid the 80000*l.* Debt due from the Crown, than which, nothing was more to his Majeſties Honour, and his Servants Integrity; in teſtimony of which, his Majeſty * ſaith, *That they cannot but witneſs (who know that Kingdom) that during the Government there by Lieutenants of his choice, that Kingdom enjoyed more Plenty and Peace than ever it had ſince it was under the ſubjection of the Crown of* England; *Traffick by Sea, and Trade by Land increas'd, Values of Land improv'd, Shipping multipli'd beyond belief, never was the Proteſtant Religion more advanc'd, nor the Proteſtants protected in greater ſecurity againſt the Papiſts; Inaſmuch as we muſt remember you* (the Parliament capitulating with him to nominate a Governour for *Ireland*) *that the preſent Rebellion was begun when there was no Lieutenant there, and when the Power (which had been formerly us'd in that Kingdom) was queſtion'd and diſgrac'd; when thoſe in the Parliament there (by whom that Rebellion was hatch'd) were countenanc'd in their Complaints and Proſecution.*

* In his Anſwer to the two laſt Papers of *Uxbridge*, concerning *Ireland*, *fol.* 569.

And as to the Progreſs of *Religion* there, receive from the Biſhop of *Derry* this account, in his Diſcourſe of the *Sabbath*; *where (having occaſion to mention the incomparable and pious Primate, Archbiſhop *Uſher*) he takes notice, *That having liv'd ſundry years a Biſhop in the Province of* Ulſter, *whilſt the Political part of the care of that Church lay heavy upon his ſhoulders, he prais'd God, they were like Candles in the Levitical Temple, looking one towards another, and all towards the Stem; no contention ariſing among ſt them, but who ſhould hate contention moſt, and purſue the Peace of the Church with ſwifteſt paces; inaſmuch as if the high-ſoaring Counſels of ſome ſhort-wing'd Chriſtians, whoſe eyes regarded nothing but the preſent Prey, with the Rebellious practiſes of the Iriſh Enemy, tied together like* Samſon's *Foxes, with Firebrands at their tails, had not thruſt them away from the Stern, and chas'd them from their Sees with* Bellona's *bloody Whip: They might before this time, without either perſecution or noiſe, have given a more welcome and comfortable account of the* Iriſh *Church, than our Age is likely to produce.*

* Fol. 934.

The laſt time this Noble Perſon (the *Earl* of *Strafford*) enter'd *Ireland*, was the 18*th.* of *March*, 1639. when he arriv'd at *Dublin* Lord

Lieutenant a little before, having (in an extraordinary Solemnity and conflux of Ambaſſadors and Peers) been made *Earl* of *Strafford*; at which time he appear'd in Parliament (begun the 16*th*. of *March*, in the 14*th*. of King *Charles* the I.) expreſſing his Majeſties Neceſſities in ſuch terms, as immediately Four entire Subſidies (without further expoſtulation) were unanimouſly conſented unto; the freedom of which added much to the largeneſs of the gift, with which he rais'd 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, additional to the Veterain Forces, which (at the breaking forth of the Rebellion) conſiſted but of 2297 Foot, and 943 Horſe. And ſo having ſetled his Majeſties affairs in *Ireland*, he went for *England* to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, ſummon'd by his Mediation the 13*th*. of *April*, 1640. being attended from *Ireland* with the acclamations of the whole Houſe of Parliament, yet legible, in a very remarkable manner, in the Preamble of their Act of Subſidies, *Anno* 16 *Car*. 1. yet afterwards we know his fate. *Never* (writes *Perinſhief*) *ſufficiently bewail'd by the King, till the iſſue of his blood dri'd up thoſe of his tears.* All the actions of his Government were narrowly ſifted, and though *no one thing* (after the mercenary Tongues of the Lawyers had endeavour'd to render him a Monſter of men) could be found Treaſon, *many accumulated* were ſo voted. That him (whom even now the Parliament of *Ireland* extolled as an excellent Governour, and one for whoſe due and ſincere Adminiſtration of Juſtice, they had principally conſented to ſo great a *Subſidy*) they afterwards purſued as the cauſe of all their miſchiefs, and ſo by their Agents (even thoſe who afterwards complotted the *Rebellion*) incens'd the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* againſt him, as they denied all that they had attributed to his *Worth*, fixing on him what-ever might contribute to a *prævious Government*, or the Kingdom's impoveriſhment; the *ſtate* of which cannot be better clear'd, than by what his Majeſty, in a full Council at *White-hall* the 27*th*. of *Jan*. 1640. ſeem'd clearly to acquieſce in, upon the Earl of *Strafford*'s avowing of the Anſwer to the *Iriſh* Remonſtrance againſt him, ordering, that a Copy thereof ſhould be forthwith given, by the Clerk of the Council, to the Committee of *Ireland* then attending upon him; ſince Regiſtred among the publick Records.

Thus was this great Man accuſed, thus juſtifi'd; yet all was not ſufficient to exempt him from the *deſtructive Bill* of *Attainder*, ſuggeſting, *His tyrannous and exorbitant Power over the Liberties and Eſtates of his Majeſties Subjects in* Ireland, *laying and aſſeſſing of Soldiers by his own authority upon the Subject, againſt their conſent; ſaying alſo, that he had an Army in* Ireland, *which his Majeſty might make uſe of to reduce this Kingdom*, meaning *England*, as appears by the Act which paſſed the 10*th*. of *May*, 1641. His Majeſty having Sign'd a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *High Chamberlain*, and *others*, to that intent; which had an *after Act*, *vacating the authority of the precedent for future imitation*; ſufficiently thereby (ſaith his Majeſty) *telling the World, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.*

ΕΙΚΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, p. 10.

And that it might remain to *Poteſterity* (to whom the Age is accomptable for her Actions) what he ſuffered in his Trial, and by what artifices he was brought to it, the Act for the reverſal of the Earl of *Straffords* Attainder, *Anno* xiv. *Car*. II. fully ſhows; to which it may ſeem impertinent to add more, Hiſtories, and the Occurrences of thoſe times, having preſented

preſented his Actions at his Trial more ſignificant than I dare pretend to, ſuch a Scene of Juſtice (attended with that Magnificence in its Structure, ſuch Seats for their Majeſties, for Ambaſſadors, and the moſt diſcerning Audience of *England*) not being to be parallel'd. Therefore I ſhall conclude (as to *Him*) with what his Majeſty ſpeaks in his Εικων Βασιλικη, *That his great abilities were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errors, and many Enemies, whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a Sphere, and with ſo vigorous a Luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious Exhalations, which, condens'd by a Popular Odium, were capable to caſt a Cloud upon the brighteſt Merit and Integrity, &c. Yet* (ſaith this Excellent King) *I could never be convinc'd of any ſuch criminouſneſs in him (having heard all the particulars of his great Cauſe from one end to the other) as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and the malice of his Enemies.* However, *He* ſuffered on *Tower-hill* the 12*th.* of *May*, 1641. taking his death with as much Chriſtianity as Courage; though ſome account nothing Chriſtian that is not Effeminate, of *whom* we ſhould ſay more, but muſt refer the reſt to what is extant in Print.

The 19*th.* of *May* following, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* * was deſigned by his Majeſty Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly return'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, where he had diſcharg'd his Truſt with ſingular Prudence and Courage, as he had done before in *Denmark*, and *elſewhere*: The choice of *whom* exceedingly endear'd his Majeſties Wiſdom to the moſt knowing and intelligent Party of the Nation; the Earl having been one never engag'd in Monopolies (one of the Grievances of the Times) or the publick Complaints of the Kingdom; but being long experienc'd in State-affairs, promiſed nothing ſave his Majeſties Honour, and the Kingdoms ſecurity; * *Being thought by his knowledge in Martial Affairs, and other his great Abilities, to be, no doubt, abundantly capable to reduce the Iriſh to a due obedience.* Yet after all, having attended his Majeſty at *York*, and *other Places*, as the *Court* mov'd, for his Diſpatch, he came in *Novem.* to *Cheſter*, in expectation of an eaſie remove thence into *Ireland*; but falling indiſpos'd at *Cheſter*, was commanded back to *Oxford* about the beginning of *Jan.* 1642. ſo as in concluſion, he, ever going, never went. His ſtay was at firſt reſented by the King, then the Parliament; to evidence the truth, he writes a Letter from *York* to the Earl of *Northumberland*, (which, by Order of Parliament the 26*th.* of *Septemb.* 1642. was printed) wherein he writes, *That he beſought his Majeſty, that he might not be ſtaid at Court, for that the Affairs of* Ireland *requir'd his ſpeedy repair thither; or at leaſt that ſome Governour (if he were not thought worthy of it) ſhould be preſently ſent into that Kingdom.* And upon the 21 of *Septemb.* he appear'd in Parliament, informing the Houſes, That he could never (ſince his firſt going to his Majeſty) get his Commiſſion Seal'd till the 18*th.* of *Septemb.* referring himſelf to the pleaſure of the Houſes, whether they would diſpatch him for *Ireland* or no. Whereupon the 1*ſt.* of *October* following, his Caſe was again debated, and it was Voted (for the future) That the ſaid Earl ſhould not put in execution any Inſtructions from his Majeſty (concerning the Affairs in *Ireland*) until ſuch time as they ſhould be made known and approved by them. After which, many things (in his Inſtructions) were debated; and it being mov'd the 4*th.* of

* Grandſon of Sir *Hen. Sidney*, that Excellent and Noble Perſon, who had, at times, been eleven years Governour of *Ireland*.

* Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*'s Speech in Parliament, *Aug.* 28. 1641.

of *Novemb.* (in a Conference of the Houſes) that he was ready to ſet forward for that Service, he had his Diſmiſs. So as (I have ſaid) he came to *Cheſter*, and was remanded back to *Oxford*; the important Affairs of *Ireland* being in another Channel than as yet they appear'd viſibly to run in. Though it was a good while after before he had his diſcharge from that Employment, being kept in ſuſpence, till others had perfected their Deſign, by which there accrued to him a great Arrear, ſomewhat conſider'd in the Act of Settlement, though ſhort of what he was prejudic'd thereby.

Upon the Earl of *Straffords* quitting *Ireland*, *Chriſtopher Wendesford* Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, the 3*d.* of *April*, 1640. was ſworn Lord Deputy: He managed the Government with much Policy, advantage to his Majeſty, and faithfulneſs to his intimate Friend and Ally, the Earl of *Strafford*; adjourning the Parliament in *November* following, ſomewhat to the diſ-ſatisfaction of the Members, who (before their Diſſolution) made ſhift to form a Remonſtrance againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, which he would have prevented to have been ſent for *England*, could he, as he endeavour'd, have ſtaid the Committee* of the Parliament in *Ireland* from going over, the greateſt part of which were Papiſts, which the *Iriſh* took as a good Omen: But he being not able to hinder them, (they finding conveniences from every Port) grew thereupon much diſcontented; and having quick intelligence how affairs were carried againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: He died the 3*d.* of *December* following, betwixt whom (even from their Youth) there had been an eſpecial intimacy, nor did it afterwards grow cooler (but more ſtrengthned) in Judgment.

* *The Lords.*
Lord Viſcount Gormanſton,
Kilmalloc,
Caſtiloc,
Baltinglaſs.
The Commons.
Leinſter.
Nich. Plunket,
-----Digby,
Richard Fitz-Garret,
Nich. Barnwell,
Eſquires.
Munſter.
Sir Hardreſs Waller,
Jo. Welſh,
Sir Donnogh Mac-Cartie.
Connaght.
Robert Linch.
Geffry Brown.
Thomas Bourk.
Ulſter.
Sir Wil. Cole.
Sir James Montgomery.

After his deceaſe, *Robert* Lord *Dillon*, of *Kilkenny-Weſt*, and Sir *William Parſons*, Knight and Baronet, Maſter of the Court of Wards, *Decemb.* 30. were ſworn Lords Juſtices: But it was not long before the Committee of *Ireland* (then at Court) ſo prevail'd, as that his Majeſty diſplac'd the Lord *Dillon*, a Perſon of notable Parts, and one (by his Son's Marriage with the Earl of *Strafford*'s Siſter) paſſionately concern'd in the *Earl*'s Caſe.

Yet leſt the Execution of his Majeſties Graces to his Subjects of *Ireland* (obtain'd by their late Committee's ſollicitation) ſhould be deferr'd till *thoſe* (who were deſign'd to ſucceed the Lord *Dillon*) were in Office, his Majeſty was pleas'd to direct a Letter, dated the 4*th.* of *January*, in the 16*th.* year of his Reign, to his Privy Council of *Ireland*, and Sir *William Parſons* and Sir *John Borlaſe* (then deſign'd Juſtices) to grant (amongſt other things) that his Subſidies there ſhould be reduced to a leſſer rate than formerly; and that all Letters directed to the Lord Deputy, Juſtices, Chief Governour or Governours, or to any other Officers or Miniſters of that Realm, either concerning the publick Affairs, or private Intereſts of any Subject there, might be entred into his *Signet-Office* in *England*, to the end that they might be (upon occaſion) found to take Copies of, for the Subjects better information in ſuch publick things as may concern them; as alſo that all Diſpatches from *Ireland* ſhould ſafely be kept apart, that like recourſe may be had to them for the better ſatisfaction of the Subject, who ſhall be concern'd therein. And whereas in the former Governour's time, there were endeavours to hinder ſome Agents of Parliament to have recourſe into *England*, his Majeſty taking notice, *That foraſmuch as the Committee of the Parliament of* Ireland, John

John Bellew *Eſq*; *and* Oliver Caſſel, *with others employ'd thence, have repair'd into his Kingdom of* England, *to repreſent their Grievances: He hath manifeſted his gracious condeſcenſions to them, admitting them into his Royal Preſence, forbidding his Counſellors in* Ireland, *or any other Officers or Miniſters of that State, to proceed any ways againſt them, or any of them, for the ſame. And that his Subjects ſhall have Copies of Records, Certificates, Orders of Council, Publick Letters, or other Entries for the Declaration of their Grievances made.* In grateful acknowledgment of which, the Parliament then ſitting the 10*th.* of *Febr.* 1640. order'd, *That the ſaid Letter ſhould be forthwith Entr'd amongſt the Ordinances and Records of that Houſe.* So that if there had not been a general defection, long anvil'd in the minds of that People, the event of ſo unnatural and horrid a Rebellion (as few months after happen'd) could not have been the iſſue of ſuch remarkable Condeſcenſions.

The 10*th.* of *Febr.* 1640. his Majeſty inſtituted Sir *William Parſons*, Maſter of the Court of *Wards*, (before mention'd) long experienc'd in the Affairs of *Ireland*, and Sir *John Borlaſe* Knight, Maſter of the *Ordnance*, Lords Juſtices, *One* well known to his Majeſty by the Eminency of his Imployments abroad, and the opinion *He* had of his integrity and skill in Military Affairs, the Diſcipline of the Army having been ever under his Charge ſince his arrival there: *Theſe* (writes an *Honourable Perſon**) *appli'd themſelves with all manner of gentle Lenitives, to molliſie the ſharp humours rais'd by the rigid paſſages of the former Government; They declar'd themſelves againſt all ſuch proceedings, as they found any way varying from the Common Law; They gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then ſitting, endeavouring the reaſonable eaſe and contentment of the People, freely aſſenting to all ſuch Acts as really tended to the Legal Reformation; They betook themſelves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caus'd all matters, as well of the Crown as Popular Intereſts, to be handled in his Majeſties Courts of Juſtice; no ways admitting the late exorbitances (ſo bitterly decried in Parliament) of Paper Petitions or Bills in Civil Cauſes, to be brought before them at the Councilboard, or before any other by their Authority; reducing (by his Majeſties approbation) the Subſidies from* 40000 l. *a Subſidy, to* 12000 l. *a Piece.* Bringing all things to that compliance, as beſt ſuited with his Majeſties Intereſt, and the quiet of the Nation, that (if it were poſſible) there might not be the leaſt diſcontent or jealouſie rais'd amongſt the People; and, for a ſeaſon, all things ſeem'd ſo peaceable, as never any Government was leſs excepted againſt. Yet then, in the end of the year 1640. his *Majeſty* (being inform'd of an intention to raiſe Troubles in *Ireland*) commanded Sir *Henry Vane*, his Principal Secretary, to write unto theſe Lords Juſtices this Letter.

*Sir *John Temple*, in his Treatiſe of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, *p.* 13. A Piece of that Integrity few can equal, none exceed: He having (as a Privy Counſellor) opportunity to view and conſider all Diſpatches, rarely obvious to others; and being ſingular Intire and Ingenious, adventur'd then into the Liſt, when ſome dar'd ſcarce think on the Attempt: A Conſideration (in reference to what he ſuffered) very conſiderable; though more, in that to this day (what ever hath been bark'd againſt other accounts of the Rebellion) never any thing was objected againſt his.

Right Honourable,

His Majeſty *hath commanded me to acquaint your* Lordſhips *with an advice given him from abroad, and confirm'd by his Miniſters in* Spain *and* elſewhere, *which in this diſtemper'd time, and conjuncture of affairs, deſerves to be ſeriouſly conſider'd, and an eſpecial care and watchfulneſs to be had therein; which is, That of late there have paſſed from* Spain (*and the like may well have been from other Parts*) *an unſpeakable number of* Iriſh *Church-men for* England *and* Ireland, *and ſome good old Soldiers, under*

under pretext of asking leave to raiſe men for the King of Spain; *whereas it is obſerv'd (among the* Iriſh *Friers there) a whiſper runs, as if they expected a Rebellion in* Ireland, *and particularly in* Connaght. *Wherefore his Majeſty thought fit to give your Lordſhips this notice, that in your wiſdoms you might manage the ſame with that dexterity and ſecreſie, as to diſcover and prevent ſo pernicious a Deſign, if any ſuch there ſhould be, and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of thoſe who come thither from abroad, on what pretext ſoever. And ſo herewith I reſt.*

White-hall, March 16. 1640.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant,
Henry Vane.

Which was delivered to the Lord Juſtice *Parſons*, and ſince his death found in his Study, and by Sir *James Barry*, Lord *Baron of Santry*, (a right Honourable and worthy Perſon) preſented to his preſent *Majeſty*; who look'd upon it as a precious Jewel, diſcovering his Father's Royal thoughts towards the preſervation of his Proteſtant Subjects and People. But how far it was at firſt communicated, is uncertain, though being of ſo great a Truſt, it may very well be believed to have been often reflected on with caution and prudence: Certain it is, that notwithſtanding that there was an *Item*, that there ſhould be an eſpecial care againſt levying of Soldiers for *Spain*, yet Colonel *John Barry*, Colonel *Taaff*, Colonel *Garret Barry*, and Colonel *Porter*, had all Warrants to tranſport 4000 Men *thither*, which ſeveral of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, and *England* too, with much artifice (though with divers ends) endeavour'd to prevent on plauſible terms; *As that*, from the experience of what they might learn abroad, they afterwards might prove ill Inſtruments at home; whereas it was more neceſſary, that they ſhould be employ'd on Husbandry, whereof that Kingdom had great need. And many of the active men of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, as *Darcy* the Lawyer, *Plunket*, *Chevers*, *Martin*, and *others*, urg'd their ſtay, with a paſſion ſeemingly much concern'd, *for that*, amongſt many Reaſons, which I will not undertake (at ſo long a diſtance) poſitively to remember, (though I had the honour to be a Member of that Houſe) yet I cannot forget, that their chief Argument was drawn from the *Spaniards* having long born an ill will to *England* and her Empire: And therefore *they did not know* (mark the inſinuation) *how ſoon thoſe very Regiments (acquainted with every Creek of the Kingdom) might be return'd on their own Bowels, having naturally a love to their Religion, which ſuch an Incendiary (as the King of* Spain) *might ſoon inflame to the higheſt prejudice.* Which I the longer inſiſt on, for that the Collection of Murthers committed on the *Iriſh* (publiſhed by *R. S.* 1662.) would inſinuate (the better to invalidate the Abſtract of Murthers committed by the *Iriſh*) that the Catholick Members of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland* never hindred (as that Abſtract affirms) the Tranſportation of the Earl of *Straffords* disbanded Soldiers into *Spain*, purpoſely to advance the *Rebellion*, which is clear they did: Inaſmuch as upon theſe and other Arguments, their Tranſportation was deferr'd; though if the diſcontented *Iriſh* Army had been diſpoſed of beyond-Sea (according to the Contracts with the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors) it was very clear, as is judicially affirmed, that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Pretence

and

and Means thereof having been thereby taken away; though ſome were of opinion, that where-ever theſe Forces had been, they could yet eaſily have been brought over again, (as others have been ſince) the principal Heads of the Rebels Army being led by old experienc'd Soldiers, who (at the breaking out of the Rebellion) were generally beyond-Sea, as the *Leimſter* Forces by Colonel *Preſton*, a branch out of the Houſe of *Gormanſton*; the *Ulſter* Forces by *Owen Roe O-Neal*, (both bred in *Flanders*) *Munſter* Forces by *Garret Barry*, and the *Connaght* Forces by one *Burck*; animated with their Cauſe and the *Pope*'s encouragement. And it cannot be denied, that the promiſcuous compleating of the Army (lately rais'd of 8000 Foot and 1000 Horſe) in *Ireland*, taught many of the Common Soldiers the uſe of Arms, who otherwiſe would have been ignorant thereof: And evil in *Perrot's* and *Fitzwilliam's* Government, much took notice of, and by *Camden* in his *Eliz. Anno* 1593. towards the end, obſerv'd in the like caſe to be moſt improvidently done, as afterwards was found, the *Iriſh* being always diſloyal to the *Engliſh*. Upon which I cannot but reflect on what *Antalcidas* (in *Plutarch* *) tells *Ageſilaus*, of being ſorely hurt by the *Thebans*, *That they had paid him his deſerved hire, for teaching them againſt their wills to be Soldiers, who before had neither will nor skill to fight*. Certain it is, that moſt of theſe Soldiers (thus rais'd) betook themſelves to the Rebels Party; although very few of their Officers (if we may credit a late Hiſtorian) were polluted with the crime.

The life of *Ageſilaus, fol.* 624.

Yet notwithſtanding the Letter fore-cited, and many troubleſome paſſages in Parliament, wherewith the Lords Juſtices and Council were not ſeldom alarm'd, (ſufficient to waken their confidence) no Cloud, not the breadth of a hand, appear'd; but the Lords Juſtices kept a fair correſpondence with the Parliament, giving all the furtherance they could to the going of their Committee into *England*, hoping that what his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to grant, (at their requeſts) might redound to the common benefit of the Nation. Neither did the *Lords Juſtices* or *Council* tranſmit unto his *Majeſty*, or any of the State of *England*, any mis-reprehenſions of the proceedings and actions of that Parliament, as ſome maliciouſly inſinuated; in as much as a Noble Perſon, a Peer in the Lords Houſe, ſaid, *That the Lords Juſtices had always cheerfully receiv'd their Requeſts and Meſſages, and were ready to comply with them; deſiring that this their compliance might be entred in the Journal, to the end that it might remain to Poſterity*. Having by his *Majeſties* Commiſſion, dated the *4th.* of *January*, 1640. authority to Continue, Prorogue, or Determine the Parliament, as they thought fit; which liberty they indulg'd much to the freedom of the Parliament. However (being reſolv'd, as the ſequel prov'd, to pretend any thing, rather than not to have ſome exceptions againſt the Government) the *Iriſh* Parliament ſent to his Majeſty a Declaration, therein magnifying the Six entire Subſidies they had given in the *10th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, and the Four Subſidies in the *15th.* year of his Reign; pretending moreover, that they had been ill preſented to his Majeſty, which was clearly evinc'd to the contrary, and ſeveral Graces vouchſaf'd them thereupon.

Amongſt other things, the State (at that time) found difficult to do, the Disbanding of the new rais'd Army was not the leaſt, which the Parliament of *England* had great jealouſies of, and beſought his Majeſty that it ſhould be diſſolv'd. In anſwer whereof, his Majeſty repli'd, *That*

the thing was already upon conſultation, but he found many difficulties in it, and therefore told the Parliament, He held it not onely fit to wiſh it, but to ſhow the way how it might conveniently be done. However, in *Auguſt*, 1641. it was effectually perform'd, for which afterwards the *Lords Juſtices* had his *Majeſties* gracious approbation; and the Arms and Ammunition were carefully brought into his Majeſties Stores, by the vigilance of the Maſter of the Ordnance, (the Lord Juſtice *Borlaſe*) elſe, certainly, moſt of thoſe Arms (as well as the Men) had been undoubtedly liſted in the Confederates Army; which many of their Party (in the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*) having an eye to, made them ſo averſe to have them Disbanded. And the Plot proceeded, being ſo cunningly manag'd by ſome of the Members of Parliament, (ſubtil in their inſinuations) that many of the Proteſtants, and well-meaning people of the Houſe, (blinded with an apprehenſion of *Eaſe* and *Redreſs*, lying under the ſame pretended Yoak with the reſt) were innocently decoi'd into their acting violently with them. Hence Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, was impeach'd of High Treaſon, and *others* of the prime Officers and Miniſters of State, were Articled againſt; yea, ſome of the *Biſhops* were not ſpar'd, *contrary to all preſidents of that nature, as was certifi'd by the Lords Juſtices to the Principal Secretary, on ſearch made, upon his Majeſties commands, for that purpoſe.* So as (beſides) ſome of the active men of the Houſe, Lawyers, *Darcy*, *Martin*, *Plunket*, *Cuſack*, *Brown*, *Linch*, *Bodkin*, *Evers*, and *others*, took upon them with much confidence *to declare the Law, to make new Expoſitions of their own upon the Text, as, That killing in Rebellion was no forfeiture of Lands* *; *and to frame* 21 *Queries:* Which in a ſolemn Committee of the Houſe, Adjourn'd from time to time, they diſcuſs'd at their own freedom in the Dining-Room at the Caſtle, diſdaining the moderate Qualifications of the Judges, (who gave them modeſt Anſwers, ſuch as the Law and Duty to their Sovereign, would admit) and in ſtead of them, vented their own ſenſe, as if the State were then in its Infancy, and from them meerly to receive its Conſtitution; as Sir *John Temple* obſerves, reſolving upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives: Sir *Phelim Oneal* making it plain, in his Letters of Triumph to his Holy Confeſſor, *That his purpoſes were Conqueſt, and not defence of Religion, his Majeſties Prerogative, or their Liberty.* No! *No King of* England (writes *Mahony* a Jeſuit) *nor Crown, nor People, nor ſtate of that Kingdom, having at any time, any kind of Right to the Kingdom of* Ireland, *or any part thereof; that the* Engliſh *Title to it was but meer Uſurpation and Violence, and that therefore the old Natives* (i. e. *the meer* Iriſh) *might chuſe and make themſelves a King of one of their own* Iriſh; *and in the then Circumſtances of* Charles *the Firſt of* England's, *being a Heretick, ought* (i. e.) *were bound in Conſcience, to do ſo, and throw off together the Yoak both of Hereticks and Foreigners.* Which Tenents, being roughly drawn, the Confederate *Iriſh* ſeem'd afterward to condemn (forſooth) in a Council of their own at *Kilkenny*: Yet it is very obſervable (and that from *Walſh* himſelf) who ſays, He can never forget it (having extraordinary great admiration thereat) *That there was not* one *in the National Congregation* (*met by an extraordinary favour the* 11th. *of* June, *at* Dublin, 1666.) *that open'd once his mouth for confeſſion of any Villanies committed againſt the King, at any time in the late Rebellion, or Civil War, or even to ſpeak a word for ſo much as a general Petition to be exhibited*

* Appendix 1.

to

to his Majeſty, imploring his Majeſties gracious Pardon. Notwithſtanding the firſt Rebellion 1641. *and what follow'd upon the Nuncio's acceſs, and the violation of the firſt Peace* 1646. *and the Nuncio's Cenſures againſt the* Ceſſation with the Lord *Inchequin*, and the Peace 1648. *And* the Declaration and Excommunication of the Biſhops at *James-Town* 1650, againſt the Lord Lieutenant the Marquis of *Ormond*, and thoſe who obey'd him. *Emphatically enough expreſt by* P. W. No. 1. (He enforces this Argument further) *There was no crime* (writes he) *at all committed by All or any of the Roman Catholick Clergy of* Ireland, *nor even at any time, nor in any occaſion or matter hapen'd ſince the* 23d. *of* October, 1641. *that needed Petitioning for Pardon, either for themſelves, or any other of the* Iriſh *Clergy; if we muſt believe the Biſhop of* Ardagh, Patrick Plunket, *pleading for them in ſo expreſs terms, and the tacit approbation of his words by the univerſal ſilence of that Aſſembly.* In purſuance of which, the Proteſtant Commiſſioners of *Ireland* (in their Anſwer to the Objections the Rebels Agents put in againſt the *Preamble of the Bill of Settlement*) took notice, that (in the whole Volume of Papers which were put in by the Catholicks about that Affair) there was not one grateful Acknowledgment, or ſo much as one civil mention of his Majeſties ſingular Condeſcention. They having the favour to inſpect that *Act of Settlement*, and object as they pleas'd, as if all his Majeſty could do for them were no more than he ought. And further it is theſe Commiſſioners obſervation, That in all the *Iriſh* Papers, they do not own the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands to be a Rebellion, or once give the Title of Rebels to thoſe who were the firſt Agents in that horrid and bloody Maſſacre; which being not acknowledged by them, more eaſily abſolves the rudeneſs of their Ingratitude for his Majeſties favours. And a Perſon of Honour (in his Animadverſions on Fanaticiſm *, who deſerves much for his excellencies in the caſe) takes notice, *That no Catholick ever made any profeſſion againſt the Rebellion, or manifeſted his deteſtation or diſlike of it by any publick Writing, that the Deſign ſeem'd a Birth acceptable to the Catholick Community.* And the *Pope*, by his Nuncio afterwards (to whom the general part of the Clergy and Natives adhear'd) in effect maintain'd what *Mahony* had deliver'd for wholeſome Doctrine, accounting the Popes Bulls, and Interdictions, and Abſolutions, (how long ſoever ſince publiſh'd) ſtill in the ſame force and vigour, as they were the firſt day of their publication. *And it is very few years ſince* (writes this Honourable Perſon *) *that* (*upon the meeting of the Secular and Regular Clergy of* Ireland, *before-mention'd, to frame an Addreſs to the King in teſtimony of their obedience, diſclaiming any Temporal Authority in the Popes*) *the Court of* Rome *was ſo alarm'd by it, that Cardinal* Barbarin *writ to them, to deſiſt from any ſuch Declaration, putting them in mind, that the Kingdom of* England *was ſtill under Excommunication.* And *Walſh* acquaints us at large of *Mac-Mahon*, the *Iriſh* Jeſuits printed Book *of the lawfulneſs of killing, not onely all the Proteſtants, but even all ſuch of the Roman Catholick* Iriſh, *who ſhould ſtand for the Crown of* England, *and the Rights of the King to* Ireland. A Tenent agreeable to *Salamanca*'s approbation of *Oneal*'s Rebellion, 1602. inſtigated by Pope *Clement* the 8*th*. whereby it's declared, *That all Catholicks who followed the* Engliſh *Standard againſt Prince* Oneal, *mortally ſinned.* And *Oſulevan* the Prieſt, in King *James*'s Reign, ſaid, *It was a Doctrine fetch'd from Hell, that Catholicks in* Ireland *ſhould joyn with the Queens Forces, which were Proteſtants, againſt*

* p. 72.

* p. 74.

the Rebels, Catholicks, in Ireland, *and that ſuch* Engliſh *ought to be no leſs ſet upon than the* Turks. *So that whatſoever deluſive Tenents have been broach'd of late, as to perſwade us the Adder is without ſting, the contrary hath been written in letters of blood, not in his Majeſty's Kingdoms only, but whereſome-ever the Papal Power was exalted, That perſons profeſſing the Reformed Religion, are but Tenants at Will for their Lives and Fortunes, and through Centuries of Ages it appears, that as their Fleeces grow, they are ſhorn, till a time of ſlaughter be appointed.* That hence *we* may ſee, at what we ſhould have arriv'd, had the *Iriſh* been fortunate in their attempt; for though the loyal Formulary or Remonſtrance (highly magnified by ſome) may ſeem a Bond of Iron, it may eaſily (by the *Pope*) become *weaker* than a Rope of Straw.

During the Summer Seſſions of Parliament (already ſpoke of) wherein the Heads of the Rebellion were cloſely complotting, ſome under a ſuſpicion, that the Earl of *Strafford*'s Servants (in revenge of their *Lord*'s death) intended a Miſchief to the Parliament, mov'd the Houſe, and accordingly had Orders, that the *Lords Juſtices* would let his Majeſty's Stores (for Powder and Arms) be ſearch'd, which (by a Committee) they ſo curiouſly perform'd, as they turn'd over ſeveral improbable Cheſts to find it out; and when they had ſeen that there was none, according to what the Officers of the Ordnance had before aſſur'd them, yet they ſeem'd unſatisfied, and repair'd (on a new Order) to the *Lords Juſtices*, to be admitted to ſee the Stores of Powder and Arms, plac'd in other Parts in and about the Caſtle: To whom the *Lord Juſtice* Borlaſe (Maſter of the Ordnance, principally intereſs'd in ſecuring his *Majeſties* Stores) anſwer'd, That thoſe were the King's precious Jewels, not to be (without *ſpecial* Cauſe) ſhewed, aſſuring them further, that they needed not to be afraid, for that, upon his Honour, there was no Powder underneath either of the Houſes of Parliament, as at the Trial of the Lord *Mac Quire*, at the King's Bench in *Weſtminſter*, was openly in Court teſtified by the Lord *Blavey*, a great ſufferer, a worthy and gallant Perſon, the ſaid Lord Juſtice *Borlaſe*, having at that time ſuch a motion in his blood, (upon the importunity of that enquiry) as he would afterwards often mention that action of theirs, as aiming (how ſlightly ſoever then look-ed on by others) at ſome further mark, than was then diſcernable: So that at that inſtant he denied them, whereat they ſeem'd diſcontented, as being left in uncertainty, in what ſtate his *Majeſty*'s Stores ſtood, which they deſired particularly to know (the late new Army being disbanded then, and their Arms brought in) that if the Powder and Arms were not there, they might find them elſewhere; or if there, then (by the intended ſurprize) to be ſure of them, and to know where (on the ſudden) to find them: In which ſearch, the Lord *Mac Quire* was a chief actor, and very inquiſitive.

Thus, in order to their *Deſign*, they made ready for the *Buſineſs*, paſſing that Seſſion of Parliament (began the xi. of *May* 1641.) for the moſt part away in Proteſtations, Declarations, Votes upon the Queries, the ſtay of Souldiers from going over Seas, and private Petitions, little to the good of the Common-wealth, or advancement of his Majeſty's Service, whereof the *Lords Juſtices* and *Councel* having notice, finding withal, that the Popiſh Party in both Houſes grew to ſo great a height, as was ſcarce *compatible* to the preſent Government, they imparted (by a Meſſage to both Houſes the 14th. of *July* following) their intention to

give

give a receſs for ſome months, the harveſt coming on, and both Houſes growing thin: Which intimation of a receſs both Houſes readily aſſented to; ſo that the 7th. of *Auguſt*, the *Lords Juſtices* adjourn'd the Houſes to the 9th. of *November* following, which afterwards the Members of Parliament aggravated as a great unkindneſs, the *Committee* of Parliament being expected from *England*, and arriv'd at *Dublin* near the end of *Auguſt*: Whereas, when the Parliament was adjourn'd, (and before) there was no certainty of their Committee's return, the Earl of *Roſcommon*, who (few days before) coming from *England*, expreſſing in plain terms, that the Bills deſired were not likely (in any ſhort time) to be diſpatch'd, as the Letters from the *Iriſh* Committee at *London*, (which this Lord brought over) inform'd too; and, *That they were daily about their diſpatch, but could not gueſs when they might have it.* Yet (as I have took notice) in *Auguſt*, beyond expectation, the Committee return'd, upon whoſe arrival, the *Lords Juſtices* and *Councel* (deſirous to give them all ſatisfaction imaginable) ſate daily compoſing of Acts, to be paſſed the next Seſſions of Parliament, for the benefit of his Majeſty, and the good of his Subjects, on which the Members of Parliament then at *Dublin*, and their Committee (newly arriv'd) ſeem'd with great contentment to retire into the Countrey, the *Lords Juſtices* forthwith ſending Briefs to all the Ports in the Kingdom of the Graces concerning Cuſtoms, commanding the Officers punctually to obey thoſe his Majeſty's Directions, particularly what-ever concern'd Wool; Tobacco, as all other things of that nature, wherein his Majeſty had been pleas'd to gratifie the Committee. They gave Order alſo for drawing a Bill, for repeal of the Preamble of the Act of Subſidies. They alſo deſired Sir *William Cole* and Sir *James Montgomery* (two of the Committee) if they could ever take the Aſſizes in the County of *Ulſter*, to give publick notice to all the Undertakers, of what his Majeſty had graciouſly granted and intended to them; which accordingly *they* undertook to do, the *Lords Juſtices* leaving (as they thought) nothing omitted, which might evidence their compliance with his Majeſty's gracious Intentions, acting (during this receſs of Parliament) ſo vigilantly, and with that vigor, in relation to all the Committee's Tranſactions in *England*, and his Majeſty's Service, that they had little time (if any) to ſpare for their other occaſions; that if we reflect on their unwearied and faithful Endeavours, it cannot but be imputed as the greateſt act of ingratitude (that ever a Nation was guilty of) to calumniate ſuch a Government, which had been mainly inſtrumental to accompliſh thoſe Graces, that Favour, ſuch Indulgence, as never any of his Majeſty's Predeceſſors would vouchſafe.

Yet then (in the midſt of this Condeſcention) many of thoſe (even the major part which were Papiſts) who had been thus graciouſly heard by his Majeſty, countenanc'd in *England*, caraſſed at Court, moſt treacherouſly conſpired againſt his Crown and Dignity, the original of this Rebellion being brought over (depoſeth *Priſley* of *Mac-Mahon*) by the *Iriſh* Committee, who were imployed by the Parliament to his Majeſty, for the redreſs of their Grievances in that Kingdom, complotting thereby the moſt execrable and bloody Rebellion Hiſtory can parallel, improving their Neighbourhood (at that time) to a mighty acceſs of Viſits and Freedom, eſpecially in *Ulſter*, where the *Iriſh* ſeem'd to mind nothing elſe but Entertainment, lodging (under colour of friendſhip) the night before themſelves, with thoſe whom they intended to kill the next morning.

ing. *That with his Majesty* (in his Solitude) I may say that; *That Sea of Blood, which these Men have cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any Man in eternal both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of this effusion.* And all this perpetrated, not for Religion, (as with great industry they endeavour to make foreign Princes believe) No! It was their inbred malice and hatred to the *English*, which (from the first Conquest to this present) may (by very sad Examples) be clearly demonstrated, all Rebellions to *Hen.* 8. his time (that the Reformation in Religion seem'd more favourable) being wholly to extirpate the *English*, then with them all of one Religion, as may be easily shewed in a constant *Series* of Affairs, were not every History (concerning *Ireland*) full of this Truth, with horrible Presidents of Treachery and Barbarism. And since *Hen.* 8th's time (that the Protestant Religion hath had greater freedom) it is evident too, as *Cambden* * notes, That their Rebellions sprung from their zeal to the *Romish* Religion, and their malice to the *New English*, not to leave one alive. So that *Giraldus Cambrensis* his Character of them in his Typography *, is suspected to remain yet too great a Truth, to which we shall refer you, concluding this with what a late Historian * in fewer words observes: *Hiberni magna ex parte fallaces, sanguinarii, fædifragi, diversis micantes inter se factionibus, alter in alterius viscera ferrum immittere, quam cum hoste communi congredi, paratiores.* To which we may add that of the Orator *, not more pathetical than truely, That *Ex omnibus Gentibus vix ullam reperias, cui peccare & flere magis naturale est.* But as to my own Inclinations, I truely reverence what the judicious and learn'd *Bishop* of *Meath*, in his Epistle to his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Lieutenant, in his Sermon of *Antichrist*, observes, *That the* Irish *of themselves were a People peaceable, harmless, and affable to strangers, and in themselves, and to all, pious and good, whilst they retain'd the Religion of their Forefathers.*

* *In Annal. Eliz. fol.* 311. *Anno* 580.
* *Fol.* 743.
* Dr. *Bates Elench. Mot. par.* 2. *p.* 19.
* *Cæsar Williamson* in his Epist. to his Oration in *susceptí diadematis diem. Car.* 2.

Yet that we may come more closely to the Business, it will not be impertinent to recount what *Rebellions* ensued upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and since to the fatal year 1641. That the practice of the *Irish* formerly being summ'd up, it may appear what seeds of *Rebellion* were ever sown in their hearts and soil, ripen'd constantly as opportunity and season gave them hopes of a harvest, all their submissions (as Sir *John Davies* observes) being meer mockery and imposture. *Nor are we now without jealousies of what may yet be, were there opportunity for it*, writes that excellent *Bishop* before cited, in the said Epistle.

Soon after this glorious Queen (whom the *Bishop* of *Rhodes* calls one of the most Heroick and Illustrious Princes of her Age) came to the Crown, all the Interests and Powers of *Rome* were animated against her, *she* having clear'd the light of the Gospel, by dissipating the fogs and mists of Superstition, so as thence the Spirits of Darkness rag'd every where, the Confederates of the Beast exalting their Power.

1. *Anno* 1567. *Shane O-Neal* rais'd a notable Rebellion in *Ulster*, meerly in hatred to the *English*, erecting a Castle upon *Lac-Eaugh*, which he nam'd *Feognegall*, (*i. e.* The hatred of the *English*) and prevail'd much, till Sir *Henry Sidney* routed his Forces.

2. The *Fitz-Geralds* in *Munster*, 1569. (to whom the *Birns*, *Tools*, and *Cavenaghs* joyn'd) rag'd in Rebellion, till they were subdu'd by Sir *William Drury*. All Attainted by Parliament 27, 28 *Eliz.* Of the Justice of which

which War, an Edict was shortly after divulg'd, which in respect of those Tenents, yet maintain'd in the bleeding *Iphigenia*, and is indeed the sum of all their Infelicity and Malice, we have thought good to insert immediately betwixt the first and second Appendix.

3. *Hugh O-Neal, Anno* 1595. succeeded in his Villanies, (the War being call'd *Tyrone*'s Rebellion) till 1603. the War determining with that Glorious Queen. Of which three Rebellions, the *Analecta de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia*, publish'd *Anno* 1617. has summ'd up these notable and just Remarks.

1. *Præcesserat Spiritus grandis & fortis subvertens montes & conterens petras, id factum est in famoso illo Dynasta* Johanne Nealo *initio Regni* Eliz. *instar sævientis procellæ omnia provadente, & populante, qui nec montibus pepercit, nec collibus aut petris divina pariter & humana miscens---- Post multas strages quas fecit, accitis etiam è Conacia & Momonia Primipilaribus quos sui Consilii participes fecit, deinde post probra & opprobria quæ contraxit plurima cum vellet haberi restitutor Patriæ Libertatis & avitæ Religionis, quia non erat de Numero eorum per quos salus facta est in Israel. Qui seminavit ventos, non messuit nisi Turbinem, Fatus ipse turbo impellens in parietem in vindictam Cædis antea per eum perpetratæ filio Paterni Sanguinis ultore Scoto in Rixa Scotorum & Hibernorum interiit, itaque non in Spiritu tam præcipiti & præpostero Dominus.*

2. *Post hunc Spiritum sequuta est gravis Commotio, quam suscitavit in Monronia Jacobus Geraldinus Mauritii filius cui accessit Johanne Geraldi Desmoniæ Comitis Germanus frater, & ipse postmodum Comes Geraldus insequutus est cum multis sequalibus; in Lagenia vero se adjunxerant Jacobus Vice-Comes de Baltinglass cum Kavanachiis, Briniis & aliis Nobilibus illius Provinciæ, visa est magnis & piis Principibus Causa Dei tractari & quia pro fide bellum susceptum intellexerunt. Copias etiam auxiliares, transmiserunt sed propter Delicta seculi irritus fuit Conatus Deo tunc non decernente speratum Bellatoribus effectum tribuere, quem in aliud tempus, pro alia Generatione, aliis Instrumentis & modis parandum reservavit, atque ita diffiatum est Consilium illud, dissiluit in partes, opus & cæptum ipsum infæliciter dissolutum est, neque enim in illa Commotione transire ad refrigerium nostrum voluit Dominus.*

3. *Illa vero Geraldinorum commotione sic prætervecta successit ignis omni late devastans, dum flamma ferroque omnia populatur Comes Tyronensis plusquam decennali bello intercipiens hujus Insulæ quietem, multa visus prospere aggredi multis etiam congressibus victor, sed nonnullis victoriis insolescens exercitus tametsi Cohortium antesignani & ipse Gubernator & Ductor exercitus causam prætulerit honorificam restituendæ Religionis nec ullam vellet capitulationem admittere, cum Anglis in qua Primario non ageretur De fide Orthodoxa publicè stabilanda per universum regnum, quia Tamen via & violentia tunc exercita non erat secundum propositum Dei efficax, hinc peccatis Hominum irato Numine frustra se exerebant vires Hominum.*

4. At King *James*'s access to the Crown, *Waterford*, *Cork*, and *Limerick* in *Munster*, *Kilkenny*, and *Wexford* in *Lemster*, openly oppos'd the King's Title, as not being a Catholick; but were soon brought into obedience by the Lord Deputy *Mountjoy*.

5. Within four years after, the Lord *Chichester* Deputy, *Tyrone* and *O Donnel* conspiring with *Mac-guire*, *Cormack O Neal*, *O Cahan*, the Lord *Delvin*,

Delvin, and others, deſign'd a notable Rebellion, but were prevented in *May*, 1607. and an Act of Attainder paſt, *Anno* 11, 12, 13 *Jacobi*, *Cap.* 4.

6. The year following *Anno ſcil.* 1608. Sir *Cahir O Dogherties* War ſucceeded, ſharp, though ſhort, determining in five months, encourag'd by the Prieſts, *That all who died in that Service, went forthwith into Heaven.*

Afterwards the State of *Ireland* ſeemed very happy, both as to Improvement of Land, Plenty, and Peace, till the year 1634. that *Ever Mac-Mahon* (before mention'd) diſcover'd an intended Plot, which by the prudence of the Governour (the Lord *Wentworth*) never arriv'd at its deſign, nor afterwards was any thing further ſuſpected, till Sir *Henry Vane*, by his Majeſties command (K. *C.* 1.) gave the Lords Juſtices, the 16*th.* of *March*, notice of a ſuſpected Rebellion; of which (with its circumſtances) we have already inſiſted. Though we muſt ſay, that the reſult of the former Conſpiracies, which by the bleſſedneſs of the Times, prudence of Governours, or other accidents, were delayed, in this (*Anno ſc.* 1641.) met the accompliſhment of them all. Yet nothing was here attempted, which the bleeding *Iphigenia* (the great Incendiary of that Nation) doth not paſſionately juſtifie, it being, in his Divinity and Logick, rational, That the *Iriſh* (though not then viſibly aſſaulted) might however *aſſume Arms in defence of their Religion and Property*, both threatned; it being (writes he) a common Doctrine of Divines, *That it is lawful to prevent an evil, that cannot be otherwiſe avoided than by preventing it; nor need the authority of the Prince* (in that caſe) *be required.* A Doctrine ſo helliſh, as none certainly is ſo beſotted, but he may eaſily read therein the ruine of States and Kingdoms; excellently anſwered by the Learned and accurate late Proſelyte, Dr. *Andrew Sal*, to whom in this point we muſt refer you: And as to matter of Fact, bequeath you to the enſuing Hiſtory, clearly evidencing, That before the *Iriſh* aſſumed Arms, no Inſtrument was ever thought on, much leſs found againſt them.

Formerly indeed it hath been ſtrongly imputed to the State of *England*, that (conquering *Ireland*) they did not alſo endeavour *to make them one People*; holding them Enemies, not taking care to ſettle Civility and a Property amongſt them; the cauſe (as ſome thought) of frequent Rebellions. But though theſe and ſome other defects in the Civil Policy (ſome think) are inexcuſable, it may clearly be demonſtrated, they were not of ſo large a ſize as they are mark'd. And it may appear (by antient Records) that the Laws of *England* were at firſt communicated to the meer *Iriſh*, as far as their Barbariſm and Cruelties exercis'd (on occaſions) upon the *Engliſh* would well admit. But (to let theſe times paſs, whereof we cannot ſpeak much with any certainty) let us now ſee what fruits we have of all the Royal endeavours of his Gracious Majeſty, and his two Glorious Predeceſſors, what return for all their Care, for all their Charge, and for all the *Engliſh* Blood which hath (within the compaſs of the laſt Age) been ſpilt for purchaſing of Peace, and introducing of the true Religion and common Civility into *Ireland.*

It cannot be denied, that ſince the happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, all the former defects in the Government, and Civil Policy, have been abundantly ſupplied, and all thoſe Means us'd, thoſe Acts perform'd, thoſe Deſigns fully accompliſh'd, and all things elſe perfectly brought

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to paſs, which (in the judgement of all wiſe Men) were conceiv'd, would undoubtedly effect the full ſettlement and reduction of that Kingdom. As firſt, The barbarous Cuſtoms continually us'd by the *Iriſh*, have been quite aboliſhed; all ſorts of People (even the moſt wicked amongſt them) have been allowed the benefit of the Law, and liv'd under the King's immediate Protection; all the Laws of *England* (found uſeful for that Kingdom) have bee n made currant by Act of Parliament, in *Ireland*; many other good Laws enacted, and the execution of them hath had free courſe through all parts of the Kingdom; the Courts of Juſtice have been open, and the Judges (for the more free diſtribution of Juſtice to the People) have conſtantly (twice every year) gone their Circuits, through the ſeveral Counties of the whole Land; the Church-Government hath been fully ſetled, many preaching Miniſters (generally plac'd throughout the ſeveral Pariſhes) as likewiſe Free-Schools, together with ſufficient Maintenance for them, have been eſtabliſht; the Lands (belonging to the Natives) have been always duely ſetled according to Law in the Proprietor; and what noiſe ſoever was rais'd, entituling the Crown to *Roſcommon*, *Mayo*, *Slego*, *Galloway*, *Clare*, beſides ſome parts of *Limerick* and *Tipperary* (as one of the Maſter-pieces of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Service in *Ireland*) nothing was ever effected thereupon, though it had coſt his Majeſty 10000 *l.* upon the enquiry, and had they had patience till the next Seſſions of Parliament, there was an Act for Limitations, paſs'd by his Majeſty, to bar all Titles, Claims, and Challenges of the Crown, before 60 years laſt paſt, to have cut off all expectations upon the ancient Title, and have ſtrengthned (by new Grants and Patents) all Titles from the Crown. Multitudes of *Britiſh* were brought in, and planted in great numbers, even in the moſt barbarous Places of the Kingdom; many corporate Towns have been erected; ſome wall'd Towns have been alſo lately built; Caſtles, Stone-houſes, and Villages, daily made in every part in great abundance; Trade and Traffick ſo well ſetled, as (the obſtructions therein being remov'd) the native Commodities were ſo freely exported, as they did (to the great advantage of the Kingdom) by far exceed the foreign Importation; and all other neceſſary Proviſions were made for the Publick, which might be thought any ways to conduce to the Peace, Plenty, and flouriſhing Eſtate of a growing Kingdom.

And for the *Iriſh* themſelves (though they have ever been obſerv'd to be a whining Generation, a People always given unjuſtly to complain of their Governours) yet (in theſe later times) there hath been a moſt ſpecial care taken, to preſerve them free from all manner of Preſſures. They have had liberty (beyond the examples of former Ages) to redreſs their Grievances in their own Parliament, being elected Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, according to the Affections of the Commons; they had too (of their Communion) Lawyers bred up in *England*, frequent at their Bar; alſo upon their Bench Juſtices of the Peace; in their Counties Sheriffs, and Mayors and other Officers in their Corporations, Favours not aſpir'd to by the Catholicks of *England*, or ever granted. And in Caſes where they thought fit to preſent their Complaints unto his Majeſty, they were graciouſly receiv'd, and fitting Remedies applied. They were admitted to enjoy the free and full exerciſe of the Roman Religion without controul; to entertain Prieſts, Friers, Jeſuits, and all ſorts of their Eccleſiaſtical Orders, without number, whilſt the Proteſtants diſſenting from

the Regimen of the Church of *England*, were frequently ſummon'd to the Biſhop's Court. Juſtice was equally adminiſtred to the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* without any manner of difference; the Countrey Duties and other Taxes were levied upon all without diſtinction of Perſons; all private Animoſities ſuppreſs'd; all ancient Grudges remov'd; and in all outward appearance, they liv'd ſo affectionately intermixt together, as they could not be eſteem'd two Nations in one Kingdom, but that they did *Coaleſcere in unam Gentem.* And it is without all contradiction not to be denied, That never any *Conquer'd Nation* enjoy'd more fully the Liberties and Privileges of Free Subjects, and (through the great Indulgence of his Majeſty) liv'd with greater contentment, Eaſe, Peace, Plenty, and freedom from all manner of extraordinary Taxations, other than ſuch as they were pleas'd to impoſe upon themſelves in Parliament, than the Natives of *Ireland* have lately done. Inaſmuch as an Excellent Lawyer * clearly evidences from 1601. to the year that he writ in, That *Ex illo tempore quantum creverunt Hibernorum Res, deſertiſſimæ ſollitudines in vicos & oppida Converſæ, Itinera olim clauſa Exercitibus, nunc patent Viatoribus, Portus Navibus, Urbes Mercatoribus, Agri Colonis, fora Judiciis frequentantur, nec ſiquid inter Cives controverſiæ inciderit, ferro nunc ut olim, ſed lege & Judicis Arbitrio deciditur: Ipſæ vero Gentes Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ quæ non ſolum ſtudiis ſed etiam Caſtris olim diſſidebant, nec ullo fœdere tenebantur, ſed alteri alterum utcunque occidere jus erat, ſublatis nuper Hoſtilitatis legibus in unum populum coaluerunt, nec Commercia nunc & Convivia verum Conjugia inter ipſos celebrantur, adeoque æquo Jure, pari lege, & eadem Conditione, abſque omni Gentis diſcrimine, ſub juſtiſſimo Rege vivitur, ut nec Angli ſe viciſſe, nec Hiberni victos ſe eſſe, ſentiant.* That hence enſued the calmeſt and moſt univerſal Peace, that ever was ſeen in *Ireland*, it being not to be produc'd, that after the *Iriſh* were receiv'd into the Condition of Subjects, without difference and diſtinction, (which was in the Parliament begun at *Dublin*, under the Lord *Chicheſter*, the 18th. of *May*, *Anno Regni Jacob.* 11.) that ever the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* offer'd the leaſt violence to any of the Natives, *eo Nomine*, Papiſts or Iriſh; yet nothing could keep them from Rebelling, the Corn being then full ear'd. *And* ſo we are arriv'd at the Rebellion, which (as you have read) hath had many ſteps to its Riſe, which we ſhall now purſue in its Progreſs and Succeſs.

* *Thom. Rivii Jur. Conſult. Regiminis Anglici in Hibernia Defenſio in Analecten, lib.* 1 *p.* 1.

The

1641.

The Iriſh *Rebellion*, 23. Octob. 1641.

THE firſt dark Light, of which Sir *William Cole* (the 11th. of *October*, 1641.) gave the *Lords Juſtices and Council* notice of: *As that there was a great Reſort made to Sir* Phelim O Neals, *in the County of* Tyrone, *as alſo to the Houſe of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *in the County of* Fermanagh, *and that by ſeveral ſuſpected Perſons (fit Inſtruments for Miſchief.) As alſo that the ſaid Lord* Mac-Guire *had of late made ſeveral Journeys within the* Pale, *and other Places, and had ſpent his time much in writing Letters, and ſending Diſpatches abroad.* Upon the receipt of which Intelligence, the Lords Juſtices and Council writ to Sir *William Cole*, *requiring him to be very vigilant and induſtrious, to find out what ſhould be the occaſion of thoſe ſeveral Meetings, and ſpeedily to advertiſe them thereof, or any other particular that he conceiv'd might tend to the publick ſervice of the State.* And more than this (rationally) could not have been done; for that what Sir *William Cole* inform'd the State of, was but conjectural; and had any notice been took publickly of it, whereby Sir *Phelim O Neal*, or the Lord *Mac-Guire* had been ſeiz'd on, the ſame would certainly have been a pretended cauſe for the *Iriſh* (ready Touch-wood) to have riſen in Arms, being ſuſpected, before they manifeſted any diſ-ſatisfaction. Beſides, there was *ſome* ſo unwilling to receive the leaſt miſ-conceit of the *Iriſh*, (believing Time had worn out all Animoſities, and the State had ſecur'd each Intereſts) as they us'd the utmoſt artifice imaginable to ſuppreſs thoſe thoughts in others: *That thence more than a circumſpect eye was not to be adviſ'd.* Some ſay, one *John Cormack* reveal'd to Sir *William Cole*, the 21. of *October*, That the *Iriſh* reſolv'd to ſeize upon his Majeſties Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, to murder his *Lords Juſtices* and *Council* there, and to ſeize upon all the Caſtles and Forts of the Kingdom, *&c.* Which Sir *William Cole* the ſame day ſent the *Lords Juſtices* notice of. As others from an *Ultogh* would infer, That they had inform'd the State thereof, and that Sir *Lucas Dillon* thereupon had been ſummon'd before them, and told, that they had heard ſomething of him and others in *Connaght*, that made their fidelity ſuſpected; which with a ſober countenance, and ſolemn proteſtation, (Arts he had been long bred to) he ſoon wiped off. So (ſaith my Author) that *for our ſins our Counſellors were infatuated, and our Watch-men ſlumber'd.* But Sir *John Temple* (whoſe Integrity over-weighs all Aſſertions to the contrary) teſtifies *, *That thoſe Letters and Informations never came to their knowledge, and that indeed they had never any certain notice of this general Conſpiracy of the* Iriſh, *until the 22d. of* October, *late in the evening*, *that* Owen O Conally (*a meer* Iriſh-man, *Servant to Sir* John Clotworthy, *train'd up in the Proteſtant Religion*) *imparted the ſame to the Lord Juſtice* Parſons, *as a ſenſe of his Duty, and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and an effect of that Religion he was trained up in.*

Sir *William Cole* gave the firſt light of the Rebellion.

* In his Letter, 28. of *May*, 1677.

* Sir *J. T.* in his Hiſt. *p.* 17. *l.* 12.

At firſt, the Lord *Parſons* gave little belief to the Relation, in regard it came from an obſcure Perſon, and one, as he conceiv'd, ſomewhat diſtemper'd (at that time) with drink, delivering his ſtory beſides in ſo broken a manner, that it ſcarce ſeem'd credible; whereupon his *Lordſhip* let him go, ſtrictly charging him to return back the ſame evening, with what

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Mac-Mahon's Examination abbreviated.

Before *Mac-Mahon* was apprehended, *Owen O Conally* having (on his repoſe) recovered himſelf, had his Examination taken in theſe words.

O *Conally's* Examination.

Who being duly ſworn and examined, ſaith, That he being at Monimore, *in the County of* London-derry, *on* Tueſday *laſt, he received a Letter from Colonel* Hugh Oge-Mac-Mahon, *deſiring him to come to* Connaght *in the County*

County of Monaghan, *and to be with him on* Wedneſday *or* Thurſday *laſt. Whereupon he this Examinant came to* Connaght *on* Wedneſday *night laſt, and finding the ſaid* Hugh *come to* Dublin, *followed him thither; he came hither about ſix of the Clock this evening, and forthwith went to the Lodging of the ſaid* Hugh, *to the houſe near the Boat in* Oxmantown, *and there he found the ſaid* Hugh, *and came with the ſaid* Hugh *into the Town, near the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the ſaid* Hugh's *Lodging. He ſaith, That at the Lord* Mac-Guire's *Lodging, the ſaid* Hugh *told him, That there were, and would be this night, great numbers of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the* Iriſh *Papiſts, from all parts of the Kingdom, in this Town, who, with himſelf, had determin'd to take the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and to poſſeſs themſelves of all his Majeſties Ammunition there to morrow morning, being* Saturday: *And that they intended firſt to batter the Chimneys of the ſaid Town; and if the Citizens would not yield, then to batter down the Houſes, and ſo to cut off all the Proteſtants that would not joyn with them. He further ſaith, That he the ſaid* Hugh *told him, That the* Iriſh *had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to deſtroy all the* Engliſh *inhabiting there to morrow morning by Ten of the Clock; and that in all the Sea-Ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Proteſtants ſhould be killed that night, and that all the Poſts that could be could not prevent it. And further ſaith, That he moved the ſaid* Hugh *to forbear executing of that buſineſs, and to diſcover it to the* State, *for ſaving of his own Eſtate; who ſaid, He could not help it: But ſaid, That they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights; but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government that was over them, and to imitate* Scotland, *who had got a Priviledge by that courſe. And he further ſaith, That when he was with the ſaid* Hugh *in his Lodging, the ſaid* Hugh *ſwore, That he ſhould not go out of his Lodging that night, but told him, he ſhould go with him the next morning to the Caſtle; and ſaid, if this matter were diſcovered,* ſome body *ſhould die for it. Whereupon this Examinant feign'd ſome neceſſity for his Eaſment, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in pawn, and the ſaid* Hugh *ſent his Man down with him; and when this Examinant came down into the Yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this Examinant, leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and ſo came to the Lord Juſtice* Parſons. 1641.

William Parſons.
Thomas Rotheram.
Robert Meredith.

Octob. 22. 1641. *Owen O Conally.*

How it came to paſs that the other Lord Juſtice atteſted not the Examination, (it being took in his houſe, he preſent) hath begot ſome doubts, evidencing how (ſince) Counſels ſevered into Cabals.

In the interim, (whilſt *Owen O Conally* was examining) *Mac-Mahon* (walking in *Chicheſter-hall*) drew (with Chalk) ſeveral Poſtures, ſome on Gibbets, others groveling on the ground; intimating how his fancy run on what was then acting: So little did he dread the event.

The night being thus paſs'd over, the Lords Juſtices remov'd themſelves (for their better ſecurity) into the Caſtle, where the body of the Council attended them; and having ſecur'd the Lord *Mac-Guire* (taken, after ſeveral removes, in an obſcure Cock-loft in *Cook-ſtreet*) they joyn'd in this Proclamation.

By

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By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons, John Borlaſe.

THeſe are to make known and publiſh to all his Majeſties good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, *That there is a diſcovery made by us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy, intended by ſome evil-affected* Iriſh *Papiſts, againſt the Lives of us the* Lords Juſtices *and* Council, *and many other of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not onely of his Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin, *(his Majeſties principal Fort here) but alſo of all the other Fortifications in the Kingdom. And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to his Majeſty, and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpirators committed to the Caſtle of* Dublin *by us, by his Majeſties Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief Parts thereof: We therefore have thought fit hereby not onely to make it publickly known, for the comfort of his Majeſties good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, That they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their Guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves and all the Kingdom beſides; and that they advertiſe us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurrents, which may concern the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Loyalty and Faith, which they had always ſhown for the publick Services of the Crown and Kingdom, which we will value to his Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retain'd for their advantage in due time; and we require, that great care be taken, that no Levies of Men be made for Foreign Service, nor any Men ſuffer'd to March upon any pretence.*

Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle at *Dublin*,
23. *October*, 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loſtus, J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram,
Franc. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, Ro. Meredith.

Which being immediately printed, was diſperſed to as many Places as they could convey it to: Againſt which, ſome of the Lords of the *Pale* (though at firſt they had offer'd their ſervice at the Council-board, with great proteſtations and affections to his Majeſty) few days after appear'd with a Petition to their Lordſhips, wherein *they utter'd the deep ſenſe they had of an expreſſion in that Proclamation, as if by the words,* Iriſh Papiſts, *there being no diſtinction, they might doubt themſelves involv'd.* Upon which the Lords Juſtices and Council, being tender, leſt they (in whoſe fidelity, from the example of their Anceſtors, their Lordſhips then reſted confident) ſhould take umbrage at any of their expreſſions, condeſcended, by their Printed Declaration, dated the 29*th.* of the ſame *October*, to publiſh and proclaim, *That by the words,* Iriſh Papiſts, *they intended onely ſuch of the old meer* Iriſh *in the Province of* Ulſter, *as had plotted, contriv'd, and been actors in that Treaſon, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old* Engliſh *of the Pale, and other Parts, enjoyn-*

joyning all his Majeſty's Subjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion. So that this Cavil being remov'd, the *Lords Juſtices and Councel* (with all imaginable amity and confidence) animated the Lords of the *Pale*, and their adherents, to joyn with them, as one Body, for the ſuppreſſion of the preſent Rebellion, and the maintenance of his Majeſty's juſt Right and Prerogative. To which end they parted with 1700 Arms, and proportionable Ammunition, as well to the Roman Catholicks, as Proteſtant Subjects, for the defence of their Houſes in ſeveral parts. As to the Lord of *Gormanſton*, there were delivered Arms for 500 Men, for the County of *Meath*; there were alſo delivered Arms for 300. for the County of *Kildare*; Arms for 300. for the County of *Lowth*; Arms for 300. for the County of *Weſt-Meath*; Arms for 300. for the County of *Dublin*; and about the ſame time, there were ſent down 400 Muskets to the Lords of the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the Arming of the *Scots*, in the County of *Downe*; alſo the State furniſh'd *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Trim* and *Dundalk*, with Arms, and licence to import Arms and Powder, a condeſcenſion never indulg'd without great confidence and favour, that nothing ſhould be wanting to teſtifie their confidence of all, but ſuch as were in actual Rebellion. 1641.

And now having heard *Mac-Mahon's*, and *Owen O Conally's* Examinations, and the proceedings thereupon, it will be time to give you the Lord *Mac-Guire's*, though at firſt (when he was brought before the Councel Board) nothing could be wrung from him, till the 26th. of *March*, 1642. that his Examination was taken before *Charles* Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* Kt. Chancellor of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer, by direction of the Lords Juſtices and Councel, in theſe words:

Who being examined, ſaith, That about the time when Mr. John Bellew *came out of* England, *with the Commiſſion for the continuance of the preſent Parliament*, Roger Moore, *in the ſaid* Moore's *Chamber, in the Houſe of one* Peter de Coſtres, *of this City, acquainted him this Examinant*, That if the *Iriſh* would riſe, they might make their own Conditions, for the regaining of their own Lands, and freedom of their Religion. *At which time the ſaid* Moore *alſo acquainted him this* Examinant, *that he had ſpoken with ſundry in* Leimſter, *who would be ready for that purpoſe; and withal told him this* Examinant, *that he was aſſured a good part of* Connaght *would do the like; and thereupon mov'd this* Examinant *to joyn likewiſe with them, with all he could make; unto which motion he this* Examinant *yielded. And the next day following, there was a Meeting in his the ſaid* Moore's *Chamber aforeſaid, where were Col.* Mac-Bryan, Mac-Mahon, Tirelagh O Neal, Philip Mac-Hugh O Relie, *this* Examinant, *and* Roger Moore, *where Diſcourſe was had about that* Buſineſs, *yet nothing concluded on, ſave that* Roger Moore *and the reſt ſhould go and prepare their Parties. And this* Examinant *further ſaith, That about* May *laſt, he this* Examinant, Roger Moore, Philip O Relie, *and* Roger Mac-Guire (*this* Examinant's *Brother*) *diſpatched a Prieſt* (*one* Toole O Conley) *who lived in* Leimſter, *unto* Owen O Neal, *into* Flanders, *to acquaint him with the* Buſineſs, *concerning the General Rebellion then in preparation; which ſaid Prieſt return'd about a month before the time appointed for execution thereof: And the Anſwer which the ſaid Prieſt brought from the ſaid* Owen O Neal, *was, That he would* (*within 15 days after the People were up*) *be with them, with his beſt Aſſiſtance and Arms: And it being demanded, Why he the ſaid* Owen *would bring Arms, conſidering the Caſtle of* Dublin *was to be taken, and the*

1641. *the Arms therein*; *this* Examinant *anſwer'd, That they ſo provided for Arms, that they might not want any in caſe they could not take the ſaid Caſtle, whereof they doubted. And this* Examinant *acknowledgeth, That the Caſtle of* Dublin *was to have been ſurpriz'd by* himſelf, *Capt.* Bryan O Neal, *Capt.* Con O Neal, *Capt.* Mac-Mahon, *one* Owen O Relie, Roger Moore, Hugh Mac-Mahon, *Col.* Plunkett, *and Capt.* Fox; *and likewiſe further acknowledgeth, That* Hugh Mac-Phelim, *Capt.* Con O Neal, *and* Bryan O Neal, *brought from* Owen O Neal, *out of* Flanders, *the very ſame Meſſage which the Prieſt brought. And this* Examinant *further ſaith, That he was told by* Roger Moor, *that a Great Man was in the Plot, but he might not name him for the preſent: And at another time, and during the ſitting of the Parliament the laſt Summer, he this* Examinant *was inform'd by one* John Barnewell, *a* Franciſcan *Frier, then reſident in this City, That thoſe of the* Pale *were alſo privy to the* Plot (*meaning the preſent Rebellion.*) *And laſtly ſaith, That of thoſe Perſons who came to* attend *him this* Examinant, *for the ſurprize of the Caſtle of* Dublin, *only* Cohonough Mac-Guire *was privy to the* Buſineſs in hand; *and that the laſt Meeting* (*when the day appointed for the execution thereof was reſolv'd on*) *was at* Loghroſs, *where were preſent only* Ever Mac-Mahon, *Vicar-General of the Dioceſs of* Clogher, Thomas Mac-Kearnan, *a Frier of* Dundalk, *Sir* Phelim O Neal, Roger Moor, *and* Bryan O Neal.

Charles Lambert, Robert Meredith. *Concordat cum originali. Ex. per* Paul Harris.

Which Examination he alſo acknowledged before Judge *Bramſton*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and Juſtice *Mallet*, the 22. of *June*, 1642. in the preſence of *Jo. Conyers*, *W. Ayloffe*, *Nath. Finch.* And being Priſoner in the Tower of *London*, he delivered to Sir *John Conyers* (then Lieutenant thereof) a Relation of the whole *Scene*, to be preſented to the Lords in Parliament, which being ſtor'd with many remarkable Circumſtances, ſufficiently evidencing the diſ-ſatisfaction, long contrivance, and general combination of the Natives, I ſhall commit to poſterity in his own words, * that it may be ſeen (what *Fucus* ſoever is now endeavour'd to be caſt on the horrid Conſpiracy) it was not any ill miſcarriage of the State (at that time) or any real ſuſpicions that the *Iriſh* had of any violence to be obtruded on their Religion, or Perſons, which drove the *Natives* into a general revolt, but the deliberate complotted Counſels of many years, that anvil'd out the Rebellion in deteſtation of the *Engliſh*; that was the Sore (however skin'd) which they endeavour'd again to exulcerate; to which end, *O Neal*'s Regiment in *Flanders* (conſiſting moſt of *Iriſh* Papiſts) was purpoſely rais'd, to train up the *Iriſh* in Arms, againſt a fitting opportunity, as by *Henry Mac-Art*'s Examination * is moſt evident.

* Appendix 2.

* *Pryn*'s Abbrev. of Archbi. *Laud*, fol. 301.

Thus was this inhumane and treacherous *Rebellion* unanimouſly complotted, which brake forth the 23. of *October*, 1641. St. *Ignatius* his day, that leſs than ſuch a Patron might not be entituled to ſo cloſe and bloody a Conſpiracy, fourty years before fore-warn'd by the incomparable and pious Archbiſhop *Uſher*, preaching (ſoon after the overthrow of the *Spaniards* at *Kinſale*, 1601.) on the Viſion of *Ezek.* Chap. 4. Verſ. 6. whence (in reference to a connivance of Popery following) he drew this Application, *From this year* (*a day being for a year*) *I will reckon the*

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the sin of Ireland, *that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruine, and you shall bear this iniquity.* A little before which time, this Reverend *Primate* went for *England*; I cannot say his reflecting on this Prophesie was the cause of his repair thither, no! many things were thought to be in dispute, which his moderation might probably have compos'd. However, writes *Armachanus Redivivus*, towards the end, *Monitu proculdubio divino tempestivus ab Hibernia recessit, priusquam funestæ calamitates erupissent, & illi lupi bipedes, belluæque deprædatrices dispersas oves horribili Laniena jugulassent.* The Castle of *Dublin* (as you have read) was the chief Place they aim'd at, as in the Lord *Grey*'s Government, 1580. it was then the design of the Rebels to have kill'd * him, and his Family, and to have surpris'd the Castle of *Dublin*, wherein was all the Provision of War. The like was intended by the Conspirators about the beginning of the Reign of King *James*, Sir *Arthur Chichester* Lord Deputy.

The full determination of the Conspiracy we now speak of, was (as Dr. *Jones*, in his clear and excellent account he gives thereof, in his Depositions took the 3*d.* of *March*, 1641.) design'd at the Abbey of *Multifernan*; (notwithstanding that *Tyroen*'s Son, who had long consulted it in *Flanders*, was suddenly strangled about that time in *Bruxels*, and the Earl of *Tirconnel* drown'd near the time of the Earl of *Strafford*'s death; prime Instruments in anvilling the Design abroad, and great hopes of countenancing it at home) where there was a Covent of *Franciscans*, (conven'd, it seems, on a pious intent) in the County of *West-Meath*, after the last Sessions of Parliament; where, amongst many other things there debated, the question was, *What course should be taken with the* English, *and all others, that were found in the whole Kingdom, to be Protestants? Some* were onely for their Banishment, as the King of *Spain* dismis'd the *Mores* out of *Granado*, with some of their Goods. *Others* were urgent, that all the Protestants should be universally cut off; the King of *Spain*'s lenity being his and his Queen's act, not the advice of his Council, which (say they) afterwards cost Christendom dear, the *Mores* surviving to return with Swords in their hands and infest them, as *Algiers* and *Sally* doth at present. Those Disputes held long; at last, *some* lean'd a middle way, neither to dismiss or kill. And we find by the event, each of these thoughts had some execution; in some places *All* being generally put to the Sword, or a more deplorable end; in other places, Imprisonment (accompanied with the utmost extremity of that condition) was the lot of many; and others (who being dismiss'd with their Goods) were afterwards stript of all, expos'd to Cold and Famine, worse than Sword or Halter.

Thus having determin'd what to do with the Protestants, which (in general, too sadly succeeded to their wishes) they (according to the presumption of the event) consulted (in the next place) what course they would peruse in reference to their Government of the State.

First, (they agreed) That their Loyalty to his Majesty should be still reserv'd, say they of the modest sort; but both his Revenues and Government must be reduc'd to certain bounds: His Rents none other than the antient Reservations before the Plantations; and the Customs so order'd, as to them should be thought fitting.

Secondly, For the Government, such as would be esteem'd Loyal, would have it committed into the hands of two Lords Justices, one of the

E antient

* Dr. *Bernard* in his Funeral Oration on the Primate, *p.* 39.

* *Conspirare cæperunt ad Proregem cum familia opprimendum, Castrum Dublinense (ubi omnis apparatus bellicus) ex improviso intercipiendum.* Camd. Eliz. fol. 311. *P.* 27.

antient *Iriſh* Race, the other of the antient *Britiſh* Inhabitants in the Kingdom, provided that they be of the *Romiſh* Profeſſion.

Thirdly, That a Parliament be forthwith call'd, conſiſting of whom they ſhall think fit to be admitted, wherein their own Religious Men ſhall be Aſſiſtants.

Fourthly, That *Poining*'s Act muſt be repeal'd, and *Ireland* declar'd to be a Kingdom independent on *England*, and without any reference to it in any caſe whatſoever.

Fifthly, All Acts prejudicial to the *Romiſh* Religion ſhall be aboliſh'd, and it to be Enacted, That there be none other Profeſſion in the Kingdom but the *Romiſh*.

Sixthly, That onely the antient Nobility of the Kingdom ſhall ſtand; and of them, ſuch as ſhall refuſe to conform to the *Romiſh* Religion, to be remov'd, and others put in their room. Howſoever, the preſent Earl of *Kildare* muſt be put out, and another put in his place.

Seventhly, All Plantation Lands to be recall'd, and the antient Proprietors to be inveſted into their former Eſtates, with the Limitations in their Covenant expreſs'd, That they had not formerly ſold their Intereſts on valuable Conſiderations.

Eighthly, That the reſpective Counties of the Kingdom be ſubdivided, and certain Bounds or Baronies aſſign'd to the Chief Septs, and other of the Nobility, who are to be anſwerable for the Government thereof: and that a ſtanding Army may be ſtill in being, the reſpective Governours are to keep a certain number of men to be ready at all Riſings out (as they term it) they alſo being to build and maintain certain Fortreſſes, in places moſt convenient within their Precincts: And that theſe Governours be of abſolute Power, onely reſponſible to the Parliament.

Laſtly, For maintaining a Correſpondency with other Nations, and for ſecuring the Coaſts, that alſo they may be render'd conſiderable to others, a Navy of a certain number of Ships is to be maintain'd; that to this end, five Houſes are to be appointed, one in each Province, (accounting *Meath* for one of them) that to theſe Houſes ſhall be allotted an Annual Penſion of certain thouſands of Pounds, to be made up of part of the Lands appropriate to Abbeys; and a further Contribution to be rais'd in the reſpective Provinces to that end: That theſe Houſes are to be aſſign'd to a certain order of Knights, anſwerable to that of *Malta*, who are to be Sea-men. And to maintain this Fleet, that all Prizes are to be apportion'd, ſome part for a Common Bank, the reſt to be divided; to which purpoſe, the ſelling of Woods ſerviceable for this uſe is forbidden. The Houſe for this purpoſe to be aſſign'd to the Province of *Leimſter*, is *Kilmainham*, or rather *Howth*, (the Lord of *Howth* being otherwiſe to be accommodated, provided he joyn with them) that place being eſteem'd moſt convenient in reſpect of ſituation, which they have ſmall grounds to hope for.

For the effecting of which, they conſider'd, that the Forces of the Kingdom would eaſily amount to two hundred thouſand able men, wanting onely Commanders; which (as I have already took notice of) might be ſupplied from *O-Neals* Regiment in *Flanders*, and other places, breeding up the *Iriſh* in Arms and Rebellion. And for Money, (the other Sinew of War) they were reſolv'd not to want it, if it could be rais'd either from Tenant, or the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, who (having it then ready) were to bring it to their reſpective Banks. So as nothing was omitted,

omitted, which rationally might further their deſign: Which, after the State, by Proclamation, had made known, and many (on ſuſpicion) were daily ſeiz'd on, *Certainties of its ſucceſs* were hourly brought to the State: That night the Lord *Blany* brought the ill news, of the Rebels ſeiſing upon *Caſtle Blany* in the County of *Monaghan*, and his Wife, and Children, and Servants; as alſo of the ſurpriſal of *Carrick Mac-roſs*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s, and Sir *Henry Spotſwood*'s in the ſame County, burning divers Villages, robbing and ſpoiling many *Engliſh*, none but Proteſtants. On *Sunday*, Sir *Arthur Tirringham* gave intelligence, that the *Iriſh* in *Newry* had broken up the King's Store of Arms, and had ſeiz'd upon them and the Ammunition there, liſting themſelves under the command of Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* Knight, and one *Creely* a Monk. Thus almoſt every hour ſome (like *Job*'s Meſſengers) haſted to the State, as preſerv'd onely to acquaint them of the diſaſters of their Relations, and the ſufferings of the Proteſtants: of which, with all circumſtances to it, the Lords Juſtices and Council gave his Majeſty an account by Sir *Henry Spotſwood*, (being then in *Scotland*) and ſent *Owen O Conally* with Letters, dated the 25*th.* of *October*, to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland**, the effect of which Letter you may ſee in its proper place. In the interim, the State being from all parts terrifi'd with the inſolencies of the Rebels, they ſcarce knew how to ſteer their courſe, no Money being in the Treaſury, and the main part of the Citizens being juſtly ſuſpected, for that being mov'd to advance Money on the occaſion, (will Poſterity believe it) *their whole Community* would not reach 50 *l.* And ſuch as had eſcaped the violence of the Rebels, having nothing but their Perſons for a prey, could contribute little, many of which were ſo frighted with what they had ſeen and ſuffered, that, like inanimate Bodies, they appear'd ſenſleſs and ſtupid. However, the Lords Juſtices and Council having ſecur'd the Caſtle by a Company of Foot, under the command of Sir *Francis Willoughby*, (one of the Privy Council) a known and experienc'd Soldier, and ſetled Sir *Charles Coote* (alſo of the Privy Council) in the Government of the City, wherein (as in other Services) he proved afterwards ſignally eminent and noble. They advertis'd the Earl of *Ormond*, (whom the Rebels boaſted they had made of their Party) then at his Houſe at *Carrick*, of what had hitherto happen'd, deſiring him to repair to *Dublin* with his Troop, which he accordingly obſerv'd about the beginning of *November*.

1641.

* Sir *John Temple*'s Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *p.* 28.

About the 27*th.* of *October*, the *Lords Juſtices and Council* ſent Commiſſions to the Lords Viſcounts of *Clandeboys*, and of the *Ardes*, to raiſe the *Scots* in the Northern Parts; they alſo writ to Sir *William* and Sir *Robert Stewart*, with other Gentlemen of Quality in the North, *Giving them power to proſecute the Rebels with Fire and Sword; yet ſo, as to reſcue ſuch as ſhould ſubmit to his Majeſties Grace and Mercy; ſignifying withall, That although by the ſaid Commiſſion they gave them full power thereunto, yet they did then let them know, that for thoſe who were chief among the Rebels, and Ring-Leaders of the reſt to diſobedience, that they adjudged them leſs worthy of favour than the others whom they had miſguided: And therefore for thoſe principal Perſons, they required them to take care not to be too forward (without firſt conſulting the Counſel-board) in proffering or promiſing mercy to thoſe, unleſs they the ſaid Commiſſioners ſaw it of great and unavoidable neceſſity.* They likewiſe writ to the Lords Preſidents of *Munſter* and *Connaght*, adviſing them to be upon their

1641. Guards: And that ſeveral of the Catholick Communion might not ſay, but that they alſo were confided in, the Lords Juſtices (who were willing to continue all proofs imaginable of their confidence in them) gave in *November* ſeveral Commiſſions of Government to the Lord *Gormanſton* in *Meath*, the Lord *Mountgarret* in *Kilkenny*, *Nicholas Barnewell* in *Dublin*, *Walter Bagnall* in *Caterlagh*, the Lord *Lowth* in *Lowth*, Sir *Thomas Nugent* in *Weſtmeath*, Sir *Robert Talbot* in *Wickloe*, the two Sir *James Dillon*'s in *Longford*, and ſeveral *others*, as well in *Munſter* as *Connaght* and *Ulſter*; *who* contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, not forbore to protect, or endeavour'd to reduce any, but ſoon after joyn'd with the Rebels, and prov'd as violent, if not worſe, againſt the Proteſtants, as thoſe who firſt appear'd in the Rebellion. And becauſe the Times required ſomething extraordinary, beyond the courſe of Common-Law, the Lords Juſtices and Councel gave ſeveral Commiſſions of Martial-Law, to the prime Gentlemen of the Pale (all Roman Catholicks) as to *Henry Talbot*, in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Eſq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton*, and *James Tuit* Eſq; in the County of *Weſtmeath*, *Valerian Weſley*, in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot*, in the County of *Cavan*. And underſtanding of Sir *Phelim O-Neal*'s proceedings in *Ulſter*, (the only perſon remaining of neareſt alliance to the Earl of *Tyrone*) how that he had ſurprized *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Caufield* lay with his Foot-Company, (afterwards baſely butcher'd by him) the Lords Juſtices endeavour'd to reduce many to their obedience: But the root of their Deſign being deeplier laid, than on threats or encouragements to fruſtrate their hopes, the Lords Juſtices hourly endeavour'd to fortifie his Majeſty's Intereſts, wih the moſt powerful Forces they could raiſe. But in the interim the Magiſtrates of the City of *Dublin*, perceiving great numbers of Strangers to come to Town from ſeveral Parts, (lingring in the Suburbs and Fields, to the terror of the Inhabitants) they repair'd to the Councel Board with much fear and aſtoniſhment, beſeeching the Lords Juſtices and Councel to inhibit the ſame, leſt the concourſe of people (promiſcuouſly gathering in ſuch a crowd) might threaten the ſecurity of the City. Whereupon their *Lordſhips* (conſidering ſomewhat more than ordinary muſt neceſſarily be done in ſuch an exigence) caus'd ſome to be apprehended, and immediately publiſht a Proclamation in his Majeſty's Name, *commanding all Perſons* (*not Dwellers in the City and Suburbs*) *to depart within an hour after publication thereof, upon pain of death*; in the interim, and afterwards, receiving all (who applied themſelves to the Lords Juſtices) with ſingular friendſhip and integrity: But the Magiſtrates growing ſtill jealous of the concourſe of people, applied themſelves again to their former refuge. Whereupon the State (that the Inhabitants might receive no diſ-encouragement, who were like to bear the brunt of all Taxes, Levies, and Supplies) the 28th. of *October*, publiſht a Proclamation to the ſame intent with the former, *with the penalty of death to ſuch as wilfully harbour'd them.*

As in Sir *J. Temp.* p. 57. and in the Anſwer to the Remonſt. at *Trym*, p. 22.

Commiſſions of Martial-Law granted to ſeveral of the prime *Iriſh*.

Strangers inhibited (by Proclamation) the City.

However, the Inſolencies of the Rebels threatning even *Dublin* it ſelf, moſt of the prime Gentry of the County (Juſtices of Peace) looking on in all places, and giving way to thoſe hateful actions; the State having intelligence from Dr. *Jones* (a Service very remarkable) that (during his impriſonment amongſt the Rebels at *Cavan*, which ripen'd his integrity, highly improv'd to the Service of the State) they intended to beſiege *Tredath*, the Lords Juſtices the better to divert them from *Dublin*, appoint-

appointed Sir *Henry Tichborn*, Col. and Governour of that Town, Sir *Faithfull Fortescue* (the former Governour) finding Supplies not hastned with that speed he desir'd, having resign'd up his Commission, not being willing to lose his Reputation, though he was forward enough to hazard his Person. So the *Lords Justices* designing the said Sir *Hen. Tichborn* a Company of Foot, and to compleat his Regiment, order'd 1641.

A Garrison sent to *Tredath*.

Sir *John Borlase* Junior Capt.
L^t. Col. *Byron* Capt.
L^t. Col. *Wenmond* Capt.
} Who though they had been all (in former Employments) Field-Officers, yet out of their zeal to the present Service, came as private Captains.

Jacob Lovell Serjeant Major, who died in the Siege,
Capt. *Chichester Fortescue*, Capt. *William Willoughby*,
Capt. *Edward Billingsley*, Capt. *Lewis Owens*,
Capt. *John Morris* to associate him. These they sent from *Dublin* the 3d. of *November*, who happily arriv'd at *Tredath* the 4th. having been enabled thereunto by 3000 *l.* most opportunely in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer, intended before the *Rebellion*, for the satisfaction of a publick Engagement in *England*. Besides these, there was sent Troops under Capt. *John Slaughter*, L^t. to Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Commissary-General, *Thomas Greimes*, L^t. to Sir *Adam Loftus*; besides *others*, which in their due time may be taken notice of. These being gone to *Tredath*, Sir *Charles Coote* had a Commission for a Regiment of the poor stripped *English*; so likewise had the L^d. *Lambert*. A little while after arriv'd from *England*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who commanded a Troop compleated with such Men as he found there; also Capt. *Armstrong* rais'd a Troop; Capt. *Tardner* soon after landed, L^t. to the L^d. Lieutenant's Troop, all very considerable; not long after Col. *Crafford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters from the *Prince Elector*, then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, also rais'd a Regiment of the Townsmen, and the poor dispoil'd *English*.

The State at that time had store of Arms and Ammunition, by which these Souldiers and the rest were seasonably furnisht, though (as I have took notice) what (in confidence of the Loyalty of the Pale) the Lords Justices had furnish'd many of the Lords and Gentlemen of Quality with, were either slenderly (if ever) restor'd, or made serviceable against his Majesty.

The Rebels pretend a Commission under the King's Broad Seal. * Fol. 289.

Yet for all this, the Outrages of the Rebels still increasing, adding to their Cruelties, a pretended Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, from the King, bearing date at *Edinburgh*, the first of *October*, 1641. though in his Majesty's Declaration to the Parliament's Resolution, of no further Addresses, * it appears, *That the* Scot*'s Great Seal (which is said thus to be made use of) had for many months before and after that date never seal'd any thing*; of which notwithstanding Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and *Rorie Mac-Guire* (from the Camp at *Newry*, the 4th. of *November* following) gave notice to their Confederates, within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, incloseing in their Letters a Copy of the Commission, a Copy of which is extant, but so improbable, as it needs an expiation to mention it; *the Lord* Mac-Guire (*equally privy to all Transactions*) *denying it to the last, with more sense of conscience* (*saith his Majesty in his Answer to the Parliament's two last Papers concerning* Ireland) *than they who examined him, expected*: However, (one *Plunket* having taken an old Broad Seal from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham*-Abbey, and fixed it to a forged Commission) it serv'd

1641. ſerv'd to ſeduce the Vulgar into an opinion of their Loyalty, when they had firſt incited them to a Rebellion, as in a parallel Caſe his Excellency takes notice of, in his Anſwer to their Declaration at *James-town* *. And, ſaith his Majeſty, in his Declaration to the Parliament's Anſwer at *Newmarket*, the 9th. of *March*, 1641. *We muſt think our ſelf highly and cauſleſly injured in our Reputation, if any Declaration, Action or Expreſſion of the* Iriſh *Rebels, any Letter from Count* Roſettie *to the Papiſts, for Faſting and Prayer, or from* Triſtram Whitcombe, *of ſtrange Speeches utter'd in* Ireland, *ſhall beget any jealouſie or miſ-apprehenſion in our Subjects, of our Juſtice, Piety and Affection; it being evident to all underſtandings, that thoſe miſchievous and wicked Rebels are not ſo capable of great advantage, as by having their falſe Diſcourſes ſo far believed, as to raiſe fears and jealouſies, to the diſtraction of this Kingdom, the only way to their ſecurity.* Wherefore the Lords Juſtices and Councel, deteſting ſuch Umbrages, the 30th. of *October* publiſht a Proclamation, to take off the people, from being ſeduced by ſeditious and ſcandalous reports father'd on the Crown *.

* *Walſh*, 121.

* Appendix 3.

And that none ignorantly involv'd in ſo deteſtable a Guilt (as the publick Conſpiracy) might ſuffer, the State yet further to manifeſt their deſire, of reducing all into a general obedience, (having never drawn his Majeſty's Sword upon jealouſies or preſumptions, till the higheſt Extremities and unparallel'd Outrages compell'd them thereunto) publiſht, the firſt of *November*, a Proclamation, declaring, That all in the Counties of *Meath*, *Weſtmeath*, *Lowth*, and *Longford*, being no Free-holders, nor now in priſon, who had taken any Goods from his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, not having ſhed blood in the Action, and came in within ten days after this Proclamation, ſhould be receiv'd to his Majeſty's mercy, and no further proſecuted.

Which (as others of the like nature) little prevail'd to un-deceive the Rebels, they being before link'd in an un-diſſolvible tye of Animoſity and Superſtition. Thus every day (notwithſtanding that the Conſpiracy was diſcovered, and all endeavours uſed to reclaim them) the *Iriſh* proceeded in their Maſſacres and Rebellion, though they did not (after the knowledge of the detection of their Plot) execute ſo generally their Villany with ſuch open ſlaughters and cruelties, as they did at firſt; but ſtripping, wounding, and turning the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants out of their Houſes, they ſent them naked and deſolate (in miſerable weather) to *Dublin*, where their numbers (at length) grew ſo burdenſom, as though Thouſands were ſhip'd away ſoon after they arriv'd there, and ſuch as could ſerve in the Army were daily in-liſted, yet they brought ſo great an extremity, and want of all proviſions to *Dublin*, as the Inhabitants were reduced to great exigencies, inaſmuch as the *mercies* of the Rebels were *extream cruelty*. Thouſands of the diſpoiled *Engliſh* dying afterwards by lingring Diſeaſes, contracted by the inhumane and cruel uſage of their Enemies.

Miſeries ſtill increaſing, the *Lords Juſtices and Councel* ſent a ſecond Diſpatch to the King, the 5th. of *November*, then in *Scotland*, directing alſo their Letters to his Privy Councel in *England*, there being an abſolute neceſſity to invoke all Powers, that might ſtand with his Majeſty's Honour. They then (and not before) directed Letters to the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament, (incloſing in thoſe they writ to his Majeſty) what they had ſignified by Letters to the Lords of the Councel, or to the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament. About

1641.

About the 6*th.* of *November*, 1641. the Rebels of *Cavan*, commanded by *Philip Mac-Hugh*, *Mac-Shane O Relie*, Knight of the Shire for that County, and others of the *Sept* of *O Relies*, proffer'd an humble Remonstrance (so they entituled their presumptuous Paper) to the Lords Justices and Council, to be recommended by them to his Majesty; which Dr. *Jones* and Mr. *Waldron* then delivered to their Lordships, the Doctor being obliged to that service, He, his Wife and Children lying at the Rebels mercy: To which their Lordships answered, with all the moderation and satisfaction that could stand with their Duty, and the weak conditions of affairs in *Dublin*, the safety whereof wholly depended on the gaining of time; and (saith my Author*) he assur'd himself, the Remonstrants expected not any other Answer, the Remonstrance being tendred rather to win upon the People, (whose cause they pleaded) then to give any reasonable account or satisfaction to the Lords concerning their proceedings; which yet their Lordships forthwith certifi'd, with their Answer, to the Lord Lieutenant, to whom his Majesty had expresly committed all Affairs of *Ireland* should be address'd. However, they (during the presenting of this Remonstrance) mustered their Forces, summoning all from 16 to 60 years of Age to appear the *Munday* following at *Virginia*, (a Place distant from *Cavan* twelve miles) and in the way to *Dublin*; notwithstanding that they had impower'd Dr. *Jones* to assure their Lordships, *That their should be a cessation of all things, until the return of their Lordships Answer.* Thus no faith or confidence could ever be reposed in them. And afterwards it fell out, that none were more treacherous and fierce than they, as great inhumanity and cruelty being acted by them of *Cavan*, as of any other Place; that *County*, by the 11*th.* of *December*, being wholly reduc'd into the hands of the Rebels, excepting the two Castles of *Keilagh* and *Crohan*, belonging to Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Knight and Baronet, and Sir *James Craig* Knight, who so nobly defended each their own, and alternatively succoured one another, that they perpetually furnish'd the Rebels with work sufficient, notwithstanding whatsoever *Mulmore O Relie* the Sheriff*, or *Edmond O Relie* his Father, or *Philip Mac-Hugh O Relie*, their chief Commander, could possibly do with all their Horsemen, whom these gallant men often beat, though encounter'd with much disadvantage; Sir *Francis Hamilton* not losing in the whole Service, from the 23*d.* of *October*, 1641. to the 15*th.* of *June*, 1642. (setting aside such as were cut off in straggling) more than five men belonging to this Castle, one of them being a Serjeant, who being taken at an advantage, was barbarously mangled with thirty six wounds: so that all that the Rebels could do, effected no Conquest on these Places, till the 8*th.* of *April*, 1642. that Sir *James Craig*, (a Gentleman of singular and the best abilities) died, and the Store in both Castles fell short, Water growing scarce, a mortal infectious sickness increasing, the Rebels having tainted their Well with dead Carcases. And now the care of both Castles fell unto Sir *Francis Hamilton*'s Charge, which being impossible to be relieved from *Dublin*, or to hold out longer, their straits daily increasing, both these Castles were delivered up the 4*th.* of *July*, 1642. to *Philip Mac-Hugh*, *Mac-Shane O Relie*, and others, on honourable Conditions, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, the Lady *Craig*, Sir *Arthur Forbes* Baronet, *and others, march'd thence with credible Articles, faithfully set down by Dr. *Jones*, in his Relation of the Rebellion in *Cavan**, worthy perusal. Those, with others that came

The Rebels of *Cavan*'s Remonstrance.

* Dr. *Jones*'s Relation of *Cavan*, p. 17.

Keilagh and *Crohan* Castles notably defended.

* Who having shaken off his obedience to the *English* Government, quits *Miles*, sounding *English*, and takes *Mulmore*.

* Since (*Annal. fol.* 1671 & 1672.) one of the Lords Justices, as now Viscount *Granard*, who then not above 17 years of age, had been on all Services.

* Printed at *London*, *Aug.* 11. 1642.

1641. came from theſe Caſtles, were 1340 in number, who being convey'd towards *Tredath*, were all received by Sir *Henry Tichbourn*, eight miles from *Tredath*, and afterwards diſpos'd of as was moſt convenient. One of the Places moſt conſiderable in this County, firſt ſurpriz'd, was *Cloughouter*, whereof *Arthur Culme* Eſq; was his Majeſties Captain; a Fort certainly of great ſtrength, environ'd with a deep Water, and diſtant from ſhore more than Muſket-ſhot, in which the Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore* Dr. *Bedel* was impriſon'd, though afterwards Exchang'd by Sir *James Craigh*, and, contrary to Articles, ſeiz'd on again, who died near *Kilmore* about the midſt of *March*, 1641, and was buried in the Cathedral Churchyard; a worthy Perſon, (as formerly we had occaſion to take notice of) *One of the brighteſt Lights of that Church, both for Learning and a ſhining Converſation, and (in his conſtant diligence in the Work of the Miniſtery) a Pattern to others.* In the beginning of the Troubles in this County, Captain *Richard Rives* (Commander in Chief of Sir *John Borlaſe* (Lord Juſtice) his Troop) Garriſon'd at *Belturbet*, acted very cloſe and gallantly, attending the *Engliſh* with much faithfulneſs, till by the command of the *State*, (who ſuſpected his ſurprizal) he was recall'd to *Dublin*, marching thither (through the Enemy) over many dead Bodies that with Famine had periſh'd in the way; performing afterwards (being Sir *John Borlaſe*'s Junior's Lieutenant Colonel) verymany honou rable ſervices, (as at *Athboy* near *Trim* with the Lord *Liſle*, where they notoriouſly beat up the Rebels Quarters, as elſe-where, *viz. Kells*, *Carickmacros*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Caſtle in *Monaghan*, which they took from the Rebels, with a conſiderable advantage, in *October*, 1642.) highly deſerving the publick notice; though ſince he was unfortunately put away, heading Colonel *Penruddock*'s and Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*'s Party in the Weſt of *England*, about the 14*th.* of *March*, 1654.

And now by reaſon that more People flock'd to the City, and that the Lords Juſtices and Council had frequent intelligence from ſeveral parts, of the inſolent proceedings of the Rebels againſt the Britiſh and Proteſtants in the Borders of the *Pale*, as well as the adjacent Counties, they (the xi. of *November*) prohibited the acceſs of unneceſſary Perſons, not any way reſtraining ſuch, as by their Quality, or Buſineſs, gave no grounds of Exceptions, as by the Act it ſelf is evident, which you will find in the Appendix.

The States Proclamation againſt unneceſſary Perſons flocking to the City. Appendix 4.

However there were ſome (venom'd with the vigilancy of the State) who endeavour'd to caſt a blemiſh on this Proclamation, though afterwards it appear'd to be his Majeſties ſenſe in his Letters to the Lords Juſtices in *December* following. Yet the 16*th.* of *November* the Parliament freely met according to the Adjournment, Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and other active Members of the Houſe of Commons having exceedingly importun'd the ſame; the deferring thereof being (as they urg'd it) an injury to the whole Nation, as hindring them from expreſſing their Loyal affections to his Majeſty, and ſhewing their deſires to quell this dangerous Rebellion; withall engaging, that there ſhould be (on their meeting) a clear Proteſtation againſt the Rebels; elſe, for fear there ſhould have been ſome prejudice to the State, (by the concourſe of People at that time) the State was once reſolved (having power from his Majeſty ſo to do) by a Proclamation of the 27*th.* of *October*, to have deferr'd the Parliament to the 24*th.* of *February* next enſuing, for ſeveral cauſes therein mention'd, but eſpecially, for that his Majeſty deſir'd the Lord Lieutenant

The Parliament meet.

ſhould

ſhould be there. As by another Proclamation the ſame 27*th.* of *October*, the *Lords Juſtices and Council* had adjourn'd *Michaelmaſs-Term, To avoid, in that exigency, thoſe great and manifold perils and dangers, that might have enſu'd to the State by ſuch concourſe of People, out of all the parts of the Kingdom, unto the City of* Dublin, *as the holding of the Term would neceſſarily require, by reaſon of the late moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy, plotted by a multitude of evil-affected* meer Iriſh Papiſts. But however, the Parliament met. And here it was viſible, that more were tainted with the Infection, than appear'd in Rebellion. Lord! what artifice? what cunning? what varniſh was put upon all the Rebels actions and cruelties? Thoſe who ſeem'd to be moſt affected with the Inſurrection, cover'd it with ſuch a vail, treated of it ſo nicely, with ſuch tenderneſs, as if they themſelves (being all indeed of the Conſpiracy) had been to participate immediately of the Puniſhment, as well as they were clandeſtinely involved in the Plot; *By always conteſting, that they might not be called Traitors and Rebels, being privy to what themſelves had formerly (with theſe Rebels) contrived to be done.* And fearing it might move the Rebels to recriminate, writes a moſt judicious Inſtrument of State*, That the Appellation of diſcontented Gentlemen was the worſt that could be wrung from them; till *One*, heartily deteſting the Fig-leaves thrown over this nakedneſs, told the *Speaker*, *That though he had not arriv'd at that conſiſtency of years, as that his words might challenge there an audience*; Days ſhould ſpeak, and multitude of years ſhould teach wiſdom; *yet he could not but obſerve many paſſages in that Aſſembly, too like* Catilines *in the Senate; and therefore moved, that it might not be told in that Houſe, or publiſh'd at* Askelon, *that ſo general a Revolt (accompani'd with ſuch horrid and barbarous circumſtances) ſhould be took notice of with a more favourable expreſſion than* Treaſon *and* Rebellion. *He added further, That he did not know, but that that was the ſeaſon wherein they were caſt on their trial, whether Allegiance or Rebellion, God or the Pope were to be own'd. And that as to any thing that might ſoften the Rebels, he conceiv'd they were harden'd with ſo much villany, that they eſteem'd all things juſtifiable that were attainable.* Iram atque animos à crimine ſumunt. *And therefore it was fit that that Houſe ſhould act as ſenſible of the Rebels cruelties, and truſt God to vindicate his and his Peoples Cauſe.* Upon which, and other Arguments, (too ſhameful for them to palliate) the Parliament diſcovered their Reſentment in theſe words. 1641.

*The *Iriſh* Remonſtrance anſwer'd. *p.* 65.

The Proteſtation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

WHereas the happy and Peaceable Eſtate of this Realm hath been of late, and is ſtill interrupted by ſundry Perſons, ill affected to the Peace and Tranquility thereof; who, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and againſt the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of this Realm, have traiterouſly and rebelliouſly rais'd Arms, ſeiz'd upon his Majeſties Forts and Caſtles, and diſpoſſeſs'd many of his faithful Subjects of their Houſes, Lands, and Goods, and have ſlain many

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The ſaid Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being juſtly mov'd with a right ſenſe of the ſaid diſloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the Perſons aforeſaid, do hereby proteſt and declare, That the ſaid Lords and Commons from their hearts, do deteſt and abhor the ſaid abominable actions, and that they ſhall and will, to their uttermoſt power, maintain the Rights of his Majeſties Crown, and Government of this Realm, and the peace and ſafety thereof, as well againſt the perſons aforeſaid, their Abettors, Adherents; as alſo againſt all Foreign Princes, Potentates, and other Perſons and attempts whatſoever. And in caſe the Perſons aforeſaid do not repent of their aforeſaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Suitors to his Majeſty for Grace and Mercy, in ſuch convenient time, and in ſuch manner and form, as by his Majeſty, or the Chief Governour or Governours, and the Council of this Realm ſhall be ſet down. The ſaid Lords and Commons do further proteſt and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes ſuppreſs them and their attempts, in ſuch a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the approbation of his Excellent Majeſty, or of his Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt effectual.

Copia vera exam. per *Phil. Percivall*,
Cleric. Parliament.

And after that the Parliament had ſate two days, to whom the Lords Juſtices had imparted his Majeſties gracious intentions, not to depart from any his former favours promiſed to them for ſetling their Eſtates, who ſhould remain faithful and Loyal; and that the Lords Juſtices had ſhorten'd the Prorogation to the 11*th.* of *January*, the Lord Viſcount *Coſtelough*, impower'd by the Lords, went for *England*, not long before having been ſworn a Privy Counſellor in *Ireland*, even ſince the *Rebellion*; with whom the Lord *Taaff* alſo embarck'd, having before preſented to the *Lords Juſtices and Council*, from many of the Gentry and Inhabitants of the County of *Longford* (in Rebellion) a rebellious and ſcandalous Letter, in the nature of a *Remonſtrance*, full of pretended Grievances, and unreaſonable Demands, as namely, to have freedom of Religion, a Repeal of all Laws made to the contrary, and the like.

The Contents of the *Longford* Letter.

Upon the information of which, eſpecially that there ſhould be a toleration of the Popiſh Religion in *Ireland*, it was reſolv'd on the 8*th.* of *December*, 1641. upon ſolemn Debate by the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England*, *That they would never give conſent to any Toleration of the Popiſh Religion in* Ireland, *or in any other his Majeſties Dominions.* Which Vote hath been ſince adjudged a main motive for making the War a cauſe of Religion, conſequently of calling in Foreign Princes to their aid and aſſiſtance; which before ever this Vote paſt, to ground the leaſt pretence thereupon, the *Iriſh* made Religion the principal end of their Inſurrection; and this Propoſition was (as you ſee) one of the firſt to be demanded, which gave the Parliament a cauſe for the Vote fore-mention'd. In purſuance of which, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* (whom the cauſe ever made eloquent) thus delivered his ſenſe.

Mr.

Mr. Speaker.

PEradventure I could have wiſh'd, that Toleration of Religion had not at this time come in queſtion; but now it is brought on the Stage, I am brought to the Stake. When Religion is ſo nearly concern'd, I love not to take any Civil or Politick reſpects into conſideration: Reaſon of State hath almoſt eaten up all the Laws and Religion of Chriſtendom. Sir *Ben. Rudyard's* Speech in defence of Religion.

I have often heard it diſcours'd, whether we ſhould make Religion an Argument of any of our undertakings abroad, wherein the wiſer ſort have been very nice and tender, believing, that the over-number of Papiſts would overwhelm us; yet I have been long of opinion, that our Attempts and Aſſiſtances have ſo often miſcarri'd, becauſe we have not boldly and publickly avowed our Religion. It may be, God thinks we are too many, who can conquer as well with few as with many. Shall the Iriſh *now make their Religion the cauſe of their Rebellion, and ſhall we be aſham'd or afraid to maintain our Religion, in reducing them to their Duty and Obedience? God will not honour them who do not honour him. Let us remember that expoſtulation in the* Chronicles, Why tranſgreſs ye the commandments of God, ſo that ye cannot proſper? *This is a great tranſgreſſion, to ſhrink from God in his truth.*

When we deny the Iriſh *a Toleration, we do not withdraw the eaſes and favours they have heretofore enjoy'd; Greater, I am ſure, than they would afford us, if we were in their power. Wherefore, Mr.* Speaker, *let us uphold our Religion, and truſt God with the ſucceſs.*

Upon which, and other motions thereupon, the Vote mention'd proceeded without diſpute; and that the cauſe thereof might appear, we ſhall refer you to the *Longford* Letter it ſelf. Appendix 5.

What reception it had at the Council-board may eaſily be conceiv'd, by theſe Lords ſpeedy repair into *England*; who afterwards centred in that, which in time brought on a *Ceſſation of Arms* with the Rebels, in its own place to be ſpoke of. The Lord *Dillon* (upon his coming into *England*) was ſeiz'd on by the Parliament, and his Papers rifled, (according to a Vote in Parliament the 3*d.* of *November*) which (by the Confederates) was look'd upon as a heinous crime, though the diſcovery of the Concerns in *Ireland* (as well as the management of the War) were entruſted to the *Engliſh* Parliament, (ſo no crime in them.) But he eſcaped from them at laſt, and went to the King; having in his private Inſtructions orders to move, that no Forces might be ſent over out of *England*, but that the whole work might be left to the Remonſtrants, and that they would then undertake to ſuppreſs the Rebels themſelves.

In the interim, we muſt not omit, that ſome of both Houſes of Parliament in *Ireland*, lately met, but now Prorogu'd, were appointed to treat with the Rebels; *So they receiv'd their Inſtructions from the Lords Juſtices, who were to impower them under the great Seal thereunto.* But inſtead of any happy effects thereon, the Rebels were ſo puffed up with their Victories over the poor, ſurpriz'd, unreſiſting, innocent *Engliſh*, as they barbarouſly tore the Order of Parliament, together with the Letter ſent unto them, promiſing themſelves ſucceſs and Dominion in all their Attempts. The Parliament Prorogued.

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By this time the State had receiv'd an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant, of the Account they had given him of the Rebellion, wherein he certified the Lords Justices, that he understood his Majesty had receiv'd some Advertisements out of the North of *Ireland*, of the present Rebellion; and *that the Business of* Ireland *might not suffer by his stay in* Scotland, (*which was somewhat longer than he expected*) *his Majesty had refer'd the whole Business of* Ireland, *to the Parliament of* England, who (after a most serious and solemn information of this horrid Plot, by a select Committee * of the Lords seated in the House of Commons, in an extraordinary manner) undertook the charge and management thereof, ordering at that time 500 *l.* in present for *Owen O-Conally*, and 200 *l. per annum*, till Lands of greater value could be order'd for him, designing for the present Supplies of *Ireland*, the sum of 50000 *l.* and had taken order for all Provisions necessary thereunto, as by the Order of Parliament it appears.

* The Lord *Keeper*.
The Lord *Privy Seal*.
The Lord *High Chamberlain*.
Lord *Admiral*.
Lord *Marshal*.
Lord *Chamberlain*.
Earl of *Bath*.
Earl of *Dorset*.
Earl of *Leicester*.
Earl of *Warwick*.
Earl of *Holland*.
Earl of *Berks*.
Earl of *Bristol*.
Lord *Visc. Say*.
E. *Mandevile*.
Lord *Goring*.
Lord *Wilmot*.
All of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THE Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being advertis'd of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in Ireland, *by the treacherous and wicked Instigations of* Romish *Priests and Jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all Protestants living there, and other his Majesty's loyal Subjects of* English *blood, though of the* Romish *Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always in former Rebellions, given testimony of their fidelity to this Crown. And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty, and the Crown of* England, *from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of setting up the Popish Religion) have thereupon taken into their serious Considerations, how those mischievous Attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour, Safety and Interest of this Kingdom, are most nearly and fully concern'd. Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to serve his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, in such way as shall be thought most effectual by the Wisdom and Authority of the Parliament: And thereupon have order'd and provided for a present Supply of Money, and raising the number of* 6000 *Foot and* 2000 *Horse, to be sent from* England, *being the full proportion desired by the Lords Justices, and his Majesty's Council resident in that Kingdom, with a resolution to add such further Succours, as the necessity of those Affairs shall require. They have also resolv'd for providing Arms and Ammunition, not only for those Men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful Subjects of that Kingdom, with store of Victuals, and other Necessaries, as there shall be occasion. And that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say,* Bristol, West-Chester, *and another in* Cumberland, *where the Magazines and Store-houses shall be kept, for the supply of the several Parts of* Ireland. *They have likewise resolv'd to be humble Mediators to his most Excellent Majesty, for the encouragement of the* English

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liſh *or* Iriſh, *who ſhall upon their own charges raiſe any number of Horſe or Foot, for his Service againſt the Rebels; that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance in* Ireland, *according to their merit. And for the better inducing of the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *or in his abſence, to the Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion granted to them in that behalf, to beſtow his Majeſty's gracious Pardon to all ſuch, as within a convenient time (to be declar'd by the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *or in his abſence, by the Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion) ſhall return to their due obedience, the greateſt part whereof they conceive to have been ſeduced on falſe grounds, by the cunning and ſubtil practices of ſome of the moſt malignant Rebels, enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewiſe to beſtow ſuch rewards as ſhall be thought fit, and publiſht by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices and Council there, upon all thoſe who ſhall arreſt the Perſons, or bring in the heads of ſuch Traitors, as ſhall be perſonally nam'd in any Proclamation publiſht by the State there. And they do hereby exhort and require all his Majeſty's loving Subjects, both in this and in that Kingdom, to remember their duty and conſcience to God and his Religion, and the great and eminent danger which will befal this whole Kingdom in general, and themſelves in particular, if this abominable Treaſon be not timely ſuppreſt, and therefore with all readineſs, bounty, and chearfulneſs, to confer their aſſiſtance in their Perſons, or Eſtates, to this ſo important and neceſſary Service, for the common Good of all.*

Jo. Browne, *Cleric. Parliament.*

And that the Army might be led by an honourable and promiſing Perſon, the Lord Lieutenant (being not permitted to come over ſpeedily himſelf) made the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant-General of the Army, approved of afterwards by the King, as one who (by his Relation, Integrity and Quality) was pitch'd on as the fitteſt Perſon for that imployment, of whoſe affection to the Proteſtant Religion, and his Majeſty's Service, his Majeſty had great cauſe to be aſſured *.

Soon after his ſettlement in that Place, he had notice from Sir *Hen. Tichborn*, that the Rebels with 1300 Foot had ſate down before *Melliſont*, the 24th. of *November*, intending to ſurprize it; but the Lord *Moor* (whoſe Houſe it was) having plac'd 24 Musketeers and 15 Horſemen therein, defended it with much reſolution, (as long as their Powder laſted) and at laſt the Foot yielded on Quarter the ſame day, (never obſerv'd by the Rebels) but the Horſe charged vigorouſly through the Enemy, and came ſafe to *Tredath*.

This Siege of *Melliſont* ſomewhat retarded the Rebels unanimous approach to *Tredath*; upon which the Lords Juſtices forthwith deſign'd 600 Foot and a Troop of Horſe, for the further ſtrengthning of that Garriſon. They march'd from *Dublin* the 27th. of *November*, but under ſuch a Conduct, (being newly rais'd and unexperienc'd) that moſt unfortunately (the Lord *Gormanſton*'s Groom giving intelligence of their approach to the Rebels, not without his Lord's privity) they were defeated the 29th. of *November*, near *Julians-Towns*, at *Gellingſton-Bridge*, not above an hundred of the Men (beſides the Major that led them, and two

* As in his Majeſty's Reply to the Houſe of Commons Anſwer, concerning Licences to Perſons to go into *Ireland*, is at large expreſſed upon Mr. *Pym*'s Speech, at a Conference with the Lords, the 25th. of *Jan.* 1641. therein affirming, That ſince the ſtop upon the Ports, againſt all *Iriſh* Papiſts, by both Houſes, many of the chief Commanders (then in the Head of the Rebels) had been ſuffer'd to paſs, by his Majeſty's immediate Warrant; ſufficiently deteſted in his Anſwer.

The Party ſent to re-inforce *Tredath*, betrayed to the Rebels.

two Foot-Captains, eſcaping to *Tredath* *. This unhappy Defeat put ſuch a diſheartning on the *State*, as it begat ſad Suſpicions; who being ſurrounded with Rebels, Sir *Charles Coote* the ſame day was commanded into *Wickloe*, with ſuch Forces as the *State* could then raiſe, to relieve the Caſtle of *Wickloe*, then beſieged by the Rebels, who (ſome days before) had (with miſerable ſlaughter and cruelty) ſurpriz'd his Majeſty's Forts of *Cairis* Fort, *Arkloe* Fort, *Chicheſter* Fort, and all the Houſes of the *Engliſh* in that County, the Lord *Eſmond*'s Houſe, and the adjacent Parts of *Wexford*, threatning to aſſault *Dublin*, approaching within two miles thereof in actual Hoſtility. Upon which Service Sir *Charles Coote* vigorouſly advanced, and fought with the Rebels, under the Command of *Luke Toole*, conceiv'd to be a thouſand ſtrong, himſelf not being many hundreds; yet defeated them ſo ſhamefully, as the terrour thereof rais'd a fear in the Rebels ever after of Sir *Charles Coote*, who thenceforwards ſo well attended his Commands, as to the Government of the City, and other Charges, his particular Vigilance prov'd a good Guard; and that *Dublin* might be fortified, the 22. of *November*, 1641. the Lords Juſtices and Council by their Proclamation enjoyn'd the ſame.

* With the Troop of Horſe, which ſome accuſe of much negligence, not to ſay worſe. Sir *Char. Coote* ſent to relieve *Wickloe* Fort. Beats the Enemy there.

Now the *State* finding the Storm to increaſe, and that (though they had ſome glimmerings of comfort by the ſucceſs of their Forces in *Wickloe*, under Sir *Charles Coote*) the Rebellion grew general, the Lords Juſtices and Council publiſh'd a Proclamation the 27th. of *November*, *for a Weekly Faſt every Friday, to be devoutly and piouſly obſerved and ſolemnized, in and through the whole City of* Dublin, *and the Suburbs thereof*; that being humbled for their ſins, the affliction might be remov'd.

The 28th. of *November*, the *State* had an Account of Sir *Phelim O-Neal*'s and Sir *Con. Mac-Gennis* his approach to *Liſnegarvey*, with about 4000 Men; who being fearful of the Garriſon's Field-Peeces, drew out two conſiderable Diviſions of Men, to fall on the Town on both ſides at once: The ſtrength of the Town exceeded not 400 Foot, beſides the Lord *Conway*'s Troop, and part of Capt. *St. John*'s, who made up about 380. generally mounted on ſmall Nags; yet ſo well maintain'd they the Place, as having skirmiſh'd with the Rebels without the Town on one ſide, the reſt charg'd others in the Street, and in a ſhort time drove them to the Body of their Army, fac'd by Sir *Phil. O-Neal* and Sir *Con.* who play'd upon them with their Field-Peeces, but were ſo pelted with Muskets, as they gave ground, the main Body of the *Engliſh* ſtill ſecuring the Market-place. We took 6 Colours, killed many, without any conſiderable loſs on our ſide, more than that Capt. *Boid* and Capt. *St. John* were killed, Mr. *Rawden* and Capt. *Burly* hurt, Sir *Arth. Tirringham* managing the whole with excellent Conduct.

His Majeſty ſends Money, Arms and Ammunition, into *Ireland* out of *Scotland*.

By this time, his Majeſty (then in *Scotland*) having (as is before mention'd) recommended the Affairs of *Ireland* to his Parliament of *England*, immediately (on the firſt intelligence of that Rebellion) ſent over ſeveral Commiſſions to Sir *Robert Stewart*, and other Perſons of Honour and Truſt in the *North*; and (aſſiſted by the Duke of *Richmond*) caus'd ſome proportions of Arms and Ammunition to be conveyed thither out of *Scotland* (with what Money he could ſpare) a care and providence worthy ſo ſenſible a Prince, which though it were little, will be found to have done much ſervice, teſtified in his Majeſty's Anſwer to a Pamphlet, entituled, *A Declaration of the Commons, touching no further Addreſſes* *. At the ſame time he mov'd all the Parliament in *Scotland*,

* Fol. 290.

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(as being neareſt) to a ſpeedy help; but they excus'd their Aids, becauſe *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*, intending rather, as it ſeem'd (by the ſequel) to afford their ſervice upon Hire, than Compaſſion or Conſcience. 1641.

Yet notwithſtanding his *Majeſty*, the *State*, and *Parliament* of *England*'s appearing thus incens'd againſt the Rebellion, (all fair means of exceptions being remov'd, and a deſire of its ſuppreſſion endeavour'd) the *Iriſh* finding as yet no conſiderable relief ſent to the *Engliſh*, (and being exceedingly fluſh'd with the defeat of thoſe commanded to re-enforce the Garriſon of *Tredath*) they unanimouſly drew down their Northern Forces to infeſt that Town. And that you may ſee with what union even the Lords of the *Pale* (formerly faithful to the Crown) conſpired in this Rebellion, though by their humble *Apology* (fraught with many vain pretences) they would evade the Conſpiracy, we muſt here render you an Account of the Truth, given in upon Oath, *March* 1641. before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Eſq; a Perſon of great eſteem amongſt them.

He depoſeth, That ſome 3 *or* 4 *days after the defeat of the* Engliſh *Souldiers, at the Bridge of* Gellingſtone, *there iſſued a Warrant from the Lord of* Gormanſton, *to the* * Sheriff *of the* County, *for a general Meeting of all the County at* Dulick; *but the place of Meeting was afterwards chang'd to the Hill of* Crofty, *where all the Lords and Gentry of the County met*, viz. *The Earl of* Fingal, *the Lord Viſcount* Gormanſton, *the Lord* Slane, *the Lord* Lowth, *the Lord* Dunſany, *the Lord* Trimbleſtone, *the Lord* Nettervile: *And of the Gentry, Sir* Patrick Barnewall, *Sir* Chriſtopher Bellow, Patrick Barnwall *of* Kiltrew, Nicholas Darcy *of* Plattin, James Bath *of* Acharn, Garret Ailmer *the Lawyer*, Cuſack *of* Gormanſton, William Malone *of* Leſmullin, Sedgrave *of* Kileglan, Linch *of the* Knos, Lynam *of* Adams-Town, Lawrence Dowdall *of* Athlumney, Nicholas Dowdall *of* Browns-Town, *this Examinate's Brother, and him this* Examinate, *with a multitude of others, to the number of a thouſand Perſons at leaſt, whoſe Names he this Examinate cannot for the preſent call to mind. And after about two or three hours ſpent upon the ſaid Hill of* Crofty, (*by the Lords and Gentry aforeſaid*) *there came unto them Col.* Mahone, Philip O-Relie, Hugh boy-Relie, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, *and Capt.* Fox, *attended on with a Guard of Musketeers: And this* Examinate *ſaith, That as ſoon as the Parties drew near unto the ſaid* Hill, *the Lords and Gentry of the Pale rode towards them, and the Lord* Gormanſton, *being one of the firſt, ſpake unto them, and demanded of them, why, and for what reaſon, they came arm'd into the* Pale; *unto whom* Roger Moore *made preſent Anſwer*, That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their Conſciences, the maintenance of his Majeſty's Prerogative, in which they underſtood he was abridg'd, and the making the Subjects of this Kingdom as free as thoſe in *England* were. *Whereupon the ſaid Lord* Gormanſton, *deſired to underſtand from them truely and faithfully, whether theſe were not pretences, and not indeed the true grounds of their ſo doing; and likewiſe, whether they had not ſome other private end of their own: Which being all denied, upon profeſſion of their ſincerity to his Lordſhip,* (*the Lord of* Gormanſton) *then told them*; Seeing theſe be your true ends, we will likewiſe joyn with you therein, unto which courſe all agreed: *And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared,*

* *Nicholas Dowdall.*

1641. *clared, That whosoever shall deny to joyn with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this* Examinate *saith, That after the Agreement made as aforesaid, there issued another Warrant to the* Sheriff *of the County of* Meath, *to be at the Hill of* Taragh, *about a week after; and accordingly there met at the same place the Earl of* Fingal, *the Lord* Gormanston, *and the rest of the Lords and Gentry aforenam'd, together with Sir* Thomas Nugent, *and* Nicholas Plunket *the Lawyer,* Birford *the Lawyer, and a multitude of others. And the work of that day was first, to make Answer to a Summons made by the State, for the calling of the Lords of the* Pale *to* Dublin; *which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord* Gormanston, *and presented by his Lordship; and being perused by the said Council at Law, was signed by the Lords.*

To which we will add (passing by many other testimonies of their Conjunctions) that which is confirm'd by a very credible Person, of Colonel *Richard Plunket* of *Dunsaghly*, in the County of *Dublin*, within the Pale, (one destin'd for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin*) who affirm'd openly, *That he had a Contract under the hands of all the Lords of* Ireland (that were Catholicks) *to stand firm in this Insurrection*; most of their actions confirming his words. And *Philip O Relie*'s Wife, told *James Talbot*, a Person of eminent note amongst them, *That if those of the Pale would have let them alone, and not set them on work, they were so well at ease, as they would never have begun that troublesome task.*

* The Author of the *English* and *Scotch* Presbytery, *p.* 222.

Upon which it is evident, (though *Some* * would insinuate the contrary) that both the old *Irish* and old *English* (what ends they would severally pretend to have) centred in the destruction of the Protestants; and that the old *English* Papists were a little backwarder than the *Irish*, was, in that they had something more to loose than the other, and so would put them first upon the work, wherein themselves were equally engag'd: Which the Lords Justices, and Councel perceiving, writ, the 3*d.* of *Decemb.* to the Earl of *Fingal*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, and the rest of the Lords of the Pale, *To come to* Dublin, *and consult for the safety of the Kingdom. Luke Nettervile* and *others* having caus'd Proclamation to be made at *Lusk*, (twelve miles from *Dublin*) that all the Gentry of the County should (upon pain of death) meet within three or four days at *Swoards*, (within six miles of *Dublin*) which accordingly they did, constituting Captains, *Richard Golding*, *Thomas Russel*, *Francis Russel*, *Robert Travers*, *Christopher Hollywood*, and other Commanders; their *Militia* amounting (on that short warning) to 1200. which would have been impossible to have rais'd, had they not before been Armed, and instigated to that Cause. Upon which, these Lords of the *Pale* (Conspirators with the first) return'd to the Lords Justices, the 7*th.* of *Decemb.* this Answer, receiv'd the 11*th.*

May it please your Lordships,

WE have received your Letters of the 3d. *instant, intimating, that you had present occasions to confer with us concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the* 8th. *of this instant. We give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves*

1641.

ſelves before your Lordſhips, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforeſaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cauſe to conceive that our Loyalty was ſuſpected by you. We give your Lordſhips further to underſtand, that we have receiv'd certain advertiſement, that Sir Charles Coote *Knight, at the Council-board, hath offered ſome ſpeeches, tending to a purpoſe and reſolution, to execute upon thoſe of our Religion a general Maſſacre, by which we are all deterr'd to wait on your Lordſhips, not having any ſecurity for our ſafety from thoſe threatned evils, or the ſafety of our lives, but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon our beſt guard, until we hear from your Lordſhips how we ſhall be ſecur'd from thoſe perils. Nevertheleſs we all proteſt, that we are and will continue faithful adviſers, and reſolute furtherers of his Majeſties Service, concerning the preſent ſtate of this Kingdom, and the ſafety thereof, to our beſt abilities. And ſo with the ſaid tender of our humble ſervice, we remain,*

Your Lordſhips humble Servants,
Fingall Gormanſton, Slane
Dunſany Nettervile, Oliver
Lowth, Trimbleſtone.

And *Luke Nettervile* Eſq; *George Blackney* of *Rickenhore*, Eſq; *George King* of *Clantarfe*, Gent. and others, met at *Swoards*, being charged on their Allegiance, the 9*th.* of *Decemb.* immediately on ſight of the Lords Juſtices Warrant to ſeparate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from the *State*. They, inſtead of obedience to the States command, return'd this anſwer, *That they were conſtrain'd to meet there together for the ſafety of their lives; That they were put into ſo great a terror, by the riſing out of ſome Horſe-Troops and Foot-Companies at* Dublin, *who kill'd four Catholicks, for no other reaſon than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durſt not (as they pretended) ſtay in their houſes, and therefore reſolved to continue together, till they were aſſured by their Lordſhips of the ſafety of their Lives, before they ran the hazard thereof; by manifeſting their obedience due unto their Lordſhips.* Upon which the Lords Juſtices and Council publiſh'd a Proclamation the 13*th.* of *Decemb.* to ſatisfie the world of the innocency of the *State* from the guilt of any mans blood; and concerning the four they alledg'd were kill'd as Papiſts, they were ſuch as were found faulty in rebellious actions, of which, one was a Proteſtant: Commanding them furthermore, on the allegiance to his Majeſty, to ſeparate upon the ſight of their Warrant; and that *Luke Nettervile* and his *Accomplices* ſhould appear before the *State* on the eighteenth of the ſaid month, to the end they may be fully heard by the *State*; To which end the Lords Juſtices and Council *thereby gave them, and every of them, the word of the State, that they might then ſecurely and ſafely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever.*

The States Maniſeſt, in Anſwer to *Nettervile* and his Accomplices fears.

And that the Lords of the *Pale* might not be leſs ſatisfi'd in what *they* objected, the ſame day alſo the Lords Juſtices and Council publiſh'd a Proclmation, and ſent it to thoſe Noblemen, *poſitively affirming, That the Lords Juſtices and Council did never hear Sir* Charles Coote, *or any other, utter at the Council-board, or elſe-where, any ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe or reſolution, to execute on thoſe of their Profeſſion, or any other, a general*

The Lords Juſtices Vindication of Sir *Charles Coote.*

1641. *Maſſacre; nor was it ever in their thoughts to diſhonour his Majeſty, or the State, by ſo odious, impious, and deteſtable a thing; giving them aſſurance of their ſafety, if they would repair thither the* 17th. *of that Month.*

Yet notwithſtanding theſe Condeſcenſions, or whatſoever elſe the State could do, (whereby the doubts of thoſe men might be remov'd, and their ſecurity aſcertain'd) ſtill the *Torrent of the Pale* ran to make up the intended Deluge, deſpiſing whatſoever ſecurity or faith the State was pleaſed to promiſe them. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices and Council were enforc'd to ſend this Warrant to the Earl of *Ormond* and *Oſſory*, to ſend out a Party of Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, againſt thoſe that dar'd ſo impudently to affront them.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parſons, John Borlaſe.

FOr aſmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of Clantarfe, Rhaheny, *and* Kilbarrock, *have declared themſelves Rebels, and having robb'd and ſpoil'd ſome of his Majeſties good Subjects, are now aſſembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, muſtering and training of their rebellious Multitudes to the terrour and danger of his Majeſties good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea; which their boldneſs is acted in ſuch manner, as to put ſcorn and affronts upon this State and Government; they acting ſuch depredations even before our faces, and in our view, as it were in deſpight of us. It is therefore order'd, That our very good Lord, the Earl of* Ormond *and* Oſſory, *Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith ſend out a Party of Soldiers, of Horſe and Foot, to fall upon thoſe Rebels at* Clantarfe, *and thereabouts, who, in ſuch diſdainful manner, ſtand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for puniſhment as terrour to others, and to burn and ſpoil the Rebels Houſes and Goods. And to prevent their farther annoying any Shipping going out, and coming in, and lying in harbour, thoſe Souldiers are to bring up, or cauſe to be brought up to the new Crane at* Dublin, *ſuch of the Boats and Veſſels now lying there, as they can upon the ſudden, and to burn, ſpoil, ſink, and make unſerviceable the reſt. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin, December *the* 14*th.* 1641.

Ormond Oſſory, Rob. Dillon, Char. Lambert,
Ad. Loftus, John Temple, Char. Coote,
Francis Willoughby.

The Lords of the *Pale* however effectually endeavour'd to ſtrengthen the Northern Rebels, and thereupon declared the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton* General of the Forces to be rais'd in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birn* Lieutenant General, the Earl of *Fingall* General of the Horſe; who in ſeveral Baronies rais'd Captains accordingly, and Proviſions ſuitable, to every hundred men in a Company for their daily allowance, one Beef, and half a Barrel of Corn, during the Siege of *Tredath*.

See Sir *J. Temple*, *part* 2. *p.* 30. as the Anſwer to the 9*th.* Article of the Rebels Remonſtrance at *Trym*, *p.* 78.

And that nothing might be wanting to ſtraighten the State, *Netterville* and his Party (being increas'd by their confederacy with *Wickloe* and *Kildare*) the 15*th.* of *December*, ſent two ſtrong Parties to *Santry* and

and *Finglaſs*, where they continu'd till the 22*d.* of the ſaid *December*, when they were beaten by Colonel *Crafford* from *Finglaſs*, (two miles from *Dublin*) after they had like to have put us to a ſhameful retreat. Thoſe at *Santry* hearing of Sir *Charls Coot*'s approach, ſaved themſelves by a cowardly quitting of their Quarters, leaving their beſt Equipage and Proviſions behind them; whilſt near 300 men ſhew'd themſelves at *Clantarf*, a Village on the Sea-ſide, about a mile and half from *Dublin*: The Inhabitants ſtrengthning the Rebels confidence with ſtore of ſtrong Fiſhing-boat, having the day before ſpoil'd two *Engliſh* Barcks lying at Anchor near *Clantarf*, in the Road of *Dublin*, much to the diſquiet of the Lords Juſtices and Council, ſuſpecting thereby, that the Port to *Dublin* might have been blocked up: Robberies alſo of that nature having been committed at *Skirries*, twelve miles from *Dublin*, and the Prey of thoſe Barks carried to *Barnewell* of *Brimore*, a prime Man, as the Priſoners to the Lord *Gormanſton's*, who ſent them to *Balrothry*, ſufficient to prove the Robberies, Murthers, and other Outrages committed on the *Britiſh* Proteſtants, were by the allowance and privity of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, if not their command; how ſpecioufly ſoever, in their humble Proteſtation (a piece of as much vanity as falſhood) againſt the States Proclamation, the 8*th.* of *Febr.* 1641. they would inſinuate, *That none of the better ſort had robb'd or pillaged any of them, nor diſpoſſeſs'd them of their Eſtates.* Whereas by the example of what is here produc'd, the falſity of all they aſſert is clearly prov'd, though further particulars (without much ſifting) may eaſily be expos'd, were not the ſtory like to be tedious. And the truth of theſe aſſertions may be fully read in the end of the Anſwer to the Eighth Article of the Rebels Remonſtrance of Grievances, at *Trym*, 1642. 1641.

Whereupon the Lords Juſtices found it abſolutely neceſſary, that ſome Forces ſhould be ſent againſt them at *Clantarf*; which Forces were commanded by Sir *Charles Coote*, the 15*th.* of *Decemb.* who burnt the Village, deſtroy'd their Boats, and excellently well quitted the ſervice injoyn'd him, clearing that place of Piracy and Rebels: Though in the interim, *Nettervile* (being frighted from *Santry*) lay with near 2000 men at *Swoards*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Caſtle of *Artain*, and ſome other places, within two miles of *Dublin*. On the Weſt ſide of which, at *Taſſagard*, *Rath-Coole*, *Caſtle-Lyons*, and other Villages, there lay 2000 more of the Rebels out of the Counties of *Katerlagh*, *Kings County*, and *Kildare*, under the command of *Roger Moore*, and *Sutton Euſtace* of *Caſtle-Martin*, and *others*. The *Clandonells*, *Birns*, and *Tooles* from *Wickloe*, towards the Sea, three or four miles on the South of *Dublin*, came alſo down, blocking up (on all ſides) Paſſages thereunto; their Forces in *Lemſter* amounting to 20000 men. So as the State being now put in eminent danger, few hopes ſurvived of her recovery. The *Naas* and *Kildare*, as *Trim* and *Aſhboy* in the County of *Meath*, being taken by the Rebels: Which in a Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated the 14*th.* of *December*, the Lords Juſtices and Council very emphatically expreſs'd; adding in the cloſe, *That if notwithſtanding all this, ſo often and truly made known by us to your Lordſhip, we ſhall periſh for want of Supplies, we ſhall carry this comfort with us to our graves, (or any other burial we ſhall have) That your Lordſhip can witneſs for us to his Royal Majeſty, and all the world, that we have diſcharg'd our duties to God, to his Majeſty, and to that Nation, and to this, in humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty, by your*

Lordſhip, (the chief Governour of the Kingdom) the extremities and dangers, wherein his Kingdom and People ſtand, and the neceſſities of haſtning Supplies hither by all poſſible means, for preſervation of Both; *ſo as whatever become of our Perſons, our Memory cannot be juſtly ſtain'd with ſo wretched a breach of Faith and Loyalty to the King our Maſter, as to forbear repreſenting thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have receiv'd credit to be believ'd or no; and that we write truth, and moſt needful truth, will be found true, when perhaps we ſhall periſh, and which is more conſiderable, the Kingdom alſo, for want of being believ'd and ſuccour'd in time.*

The Conſideration of which (long before preſented to his Majeſty) wrought ſo ſenſibly on *Him*, that being then newly return'd out of *Scotland*, (before the Letter mention'd arriv'd at the Parliament) He took the firſt opportunity (which was the 2d. of *December*, 1641.) to tell the Lords and Commons in Parliament, (other things being rehearſed) *That He had one Particular more to recommend unto Them, which was* Ireland, *for which* (ſaith He) *I doubt not your Care, yet methinks the preparations for it go on but ſlowly.*

His Majeſty's Works, fol. 393

And being touch'd with the truth of what He had obſerv'd in this Buſineſs, he came to the Parliament the 14th. of *December*, and thus expreſt his reſentment.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE laſt time I was in this Place, and the laſt thing that I recommended unto you, was the Buſineſs of Ireland, *whereby I was in good hope, that I ſhould not have needed again to have put you in mind of that Buſineſs: But ſtill ſeeing the ſlow proceedings therein, and the daily diſpatches that I have out of* Ireland, *of the lamentable Eſtate of my Proteſtants Subjects there, I cannot but again earneſtly commend the diſpach of that Expedition unto you, for it is the chief Buſineſs that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot almoſt be any Buſineſs that I can have more care of.*

I might now take up ſome of your time, in expreſſing my Deteſtation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations muſt ſuppreſs this great Inſolency, I do here in Word offer you, whatſoever my Power, Pains or Induſtry, can contribute to this good and neceſſary Work, of reducing the Iriſh *Nation to their true and wonted Obedience.*

And that nothing may be omitted on my Part, I muſt here take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, now depending among you, my Lords, concerning which I declare, that in caſe it

it comes ſo to me, as it may not infringe or diminiſh my Prerogative, I will paſs it. And farther, ſeeing there is a Diſpute rais'd (I being little beholding to him whoſoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further Debate at this time. I offer that the Bill may paſs with a Salvo Jure, *both for King and People, leaving ſuch Debates to a time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill paſs not, but theirs that refuſe ſo fair an offer.* 1641.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all Diſputes, you go on chearfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of Ireland.

A Charm (one ſhould think) ſufficiently powerful: Yet the Lords and Commons in Parliament, from his Majeſty's Speech took great exceptions, ſuffering the Supplies of *Ireland* to be retarded, *demanding of the King the Names of thoſe, who had counſell'd Him to take notice of any Debate in the Houſe, before it was form'd into a Bill*; whence began the Cry againſt evil Counſellors, afterwards the pretext of the Miſery that enſued. Some Forces indeed the *Parliament* had ſent to the Sea-ſide, and others were on their March, yet Winds and Tides, Votes and Councels, did not equally agree, ſo as the Exigences (by this means) that the State of *Ireland* was caſt upon, almoſt ſplit them. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices and Council publiſht a Proclamation, dated the 28th. of *December*, 1641. *Requiring all Perſons, other than ſuch as had neceſſary Cauſes to* Dublin, *ſuch as the Lords Juſtices, the Lieutenant-General of the Army, or the Governour of his Majeſty's Forces in the City of* Dublin, *ſhould approve, or other than ſuch as ſhould bring Proviſion to the City to be ſold, ſhould forbear coming to the City or Suburbs thereof, upon pain of Death.* Which was done in time of high neceſſity, Proviſion being ſcarce, and few repairing to the City but what were Spies and Traitors.

And becauſe what his *Majeſty* had propos'd (before-mention'd) for the ſervice of *Ireland*, ſeem'd to have little effect, he again ſends a Meſſage to the Lords Houſe by the Lord *Chamberlain*, the 28th. of *December*: *That being ſenſible of the Miſeries of* Ireland (*the Succours for which went on ſlowly*) *he offer'd to raiſe* 10000 *Voluntiers, if the Commons would undertake to pay them*: A Propoſition rather heard than conſented to.

About this time Sir *Thomas Carey* and Dr. *Cale* (a Sorboniſt) offer'd from the Rebels theſe Propoſitions, to the Council Board, for a Treaty.

Firſt, *That there ſhould be a Toleration of Religion.*

Secondly, *That Popiſh Officers, as well as Proteſtant, ſhould be admitted to all Employments.*

Thirdly, *That the Wrongs of Plantations ſhould be repair'd, ſince* 1610.

Fourthly, *That there ſhould be a Proclamation to take off the File, the Title of Rebels and Traitors.*

All

1641. All which paſs'd ſomewhat currantly, till *One* (then being abſent through ſickneſs) hearing thereof, repair'd to the Council Board, though at that time much indiſpos'd, and upon ſtrong Arguments (Arguments that would admit of no Sophiſtry) ſtop'd the proceeding of ſo diſhonourable a Motion; ſo early did ſome endeavour *to* force on the *State*, a neceſſity of complying with the inſolent Demands of the Rebels, by this faithful Miniſter of State confidently rejected. And here that you may ſee, what the Rebels afterwards thought the only means to reduce *Ireland* into Peace and Quietneſs, we ſhall here preſent you with their Propoſitions, methodically digeſted.

The Means to reduce *Ireland* unto Peace and Quietneſs.

1. *THat a general and free Pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom, and that in purſuance thereof, and for ſtrengthning the ſame, an Act of Abolition may paſs in the Parliament here.*

2. *That all marks of National diſtinction between* Engliſh *and* Iriſh, *may be aboliſhed and taken away by Act of Parliament.*

3. *That by ſeveral Acts of Parliament to be reſpectively paſſed here and in* England, *it may be declared, that the Parliament of* Ireland *hath no ſubordination with the Parliament of* England, *but that the ſame hath in it ſelf ſupream Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, as abſolute as the Parliament of* England *there hath.*

4. *That the Act of the 12th. of* H. *7th. commonly called* Poining's *Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the ſame, may be repealed.*

5. *That as in* England *there paſs'd an Act for a Triennial Parliament, ſo there may paſs in* Ireland *another for a Sexennial Parliament.*

6. *That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 2d. of Q.* Eliz. *in* Ireland, *and all other Acts made againſt Catholicks, or the Catholick Religion, ſince the 20th. year of* H. *8th. may be repeal'd.*

7. *That the Biſhopricks, Deanaries, and all other ſpiritual Promotions in this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be reſtored to the Catholick Owners, and likewiſe all Impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and Precincts, of the Religious Houſes of the Monks, may be reſtored to them; but as to the reſt of their temporal Poſſeſſions, it is not deſign'd to be taken from the preſent Proprietors, but to be left unto them, till God ſhall otherwiſe incline their own hearts.*

8. *That ſuch as are now entituled Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom, by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their ſpiritual Promotions, with Proteſtation nevertheleſs, and other fit Clauſes to be laid down, for preſervation of his Majeſty's Patronages, Firſt-fruits, and twentieth Parts, in Manner and Quantity, as now his Highneſs receives benefit thereby.*

9. *That all Inquiſitions taken ſince the year* 1634. *to entitle his Majeſty to* Connaght, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogartie, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wickloe,

Wickloe, *and* Idvagh *may be vacated, and their Eſtates ſecured, according to his Majeſties late Graces.* 1641.

10. *That an Act of Parliament may paſs here, for ſecuring the Subjects Title to their ſeveral Eſtates againſt the Crown, upon any Title accrued unto it before ſixty years, or under colour or pretext of the preſent Commotions.*

11. *That all Plantations made ſince the year* 1610. *may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament ſhall hold it juſt, and their Poſſeſſions reſtored to them or their Heirs, from whom the ſame were taken; they nevertheleſs anſwering to the Crown the Rents and Services proportionable, reſerv'd upon the Undertakers.*

12. *That the Tranſportation of all Native Commodities to all Places of the World in Peace with his Majeſty, may be free and lawfull, his Cuſtoms firſt paid; and that the Statutes of* 10, 11, *and* 13 *of Queen* Elizabeth, *for reſtraining the Exportation of Native Commodities, be repealed.*

13. *That all Preferments Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Martial in this Kingdom, that lye in his Majeſties Gift, may be conferr'd on the Natives of this Kingdom onely, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall think meet, without any diſtinction for Religion: Provided always, that upon the Princes of his Blood of* England, *he may beſtow what Places he ſhall think meet.*

14. *That a Martial and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual ſucceſſion therein, with the ſame Preheminency, Authority, and Juriſdiction, as they reſpectively have in* England; *and that the ſaid Places be ever conferr'd upon Noblemen, Natives of this Kingdom.*

15. *That there may be Train'd-bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, arm'd and provided for at the charge of the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Towns, and commanded by the Natives of the ſame, who ſhall be nam'd by the Counties, Cities, and Towns reſpectively.*

16. *That his Majeſty may releaſe all* Tenures in Capite, *and by Knights Service; in conſideration whereof, he ſhall receive a ſetled Revenue of* 12000 l. per annum, *being double the ſum which he caſually receives by them; Reliefs, Seiſmes, Licenſes for Alienations; Eſcuage and Aids nevertheleſs to remain.*

17. *That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.*

18. *That ſuch new Corporations, that have not the face of Corporate Towns, and were erected to give Voices in Parliament, may be diſſolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter none ſuch to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.*

Laſtly, That there may be Agents choſen in Parliament, or otherwiſe, as thought meet to attend continually his Majeſty, to repreſent the Grievances of this Nation, that they may be removable by ſuch as did elect them; and in caſe of death or removance, others may be for ever ſucceſſively ſubſtituted in that Place.

Propoſitions ſo deſtructive to the Crown of *England*, the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and Proteſtant Religion, as I conceive none are ſo hardy as to maintain their rationality, as long as the Crown of *England* is able to improve the Power of her Conqueſt. More I might add, but each Propoſition carrieth in it ſelf its inſolency and vanity; which (by the Rebels ſucceſs on the *Britiſh*, through their Treacheries and Surpriſals) they were encouraged to propoſe with ſuch audacity.

However

However, the State, in hope to gain time, (till Supplies might come) liſtned to an offer made by ſome Popiſh Prieſts to treat with the Rebels: Whereupon Dr. *Cale* (pretending how far he could prevail with the Rebels) was admitted thereunto by a Warrant from the State, in confidence that he could obtain better terms than the former. But Sir *Phelim O-Neal* would yield to no Treaty, unleſs the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahone*, and the reſt in the Caſtle might be freed: Which the State refuſing with indignation, that deſign ended.

And that the City of *Dublin* might be ſupplied with Corn, (the Market growing very thin, through the Confederates ſeizing on the Proteſtants Corn in the *Haggard*) the Lords Juſtices and Council (having that example) publiſh'd a Proclamation the 28*th.* of *Decemb.* 1641. That all Corn-Maſters within fifteen miles of *Dublin*, ſhould be careful to ſend their Corn to the City, to be ſold at the Rates following, *viz.* Wheat, Peaſe, and Beans, at 20 *s.* a *Dublin* Peck, and Oats at 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a Barrel. Whereupon the Market was ſomewhat (though not conſiderable to their urgent occaſions) reliev'd; rather than the *Iriſh* would ſuffer their Corn to be thraſhed out by Warrants from the Lord *Gormanſton*, for the uſe of the *Iriſh* Army then lying before *Tredath*, or burnt by the State to prevent that inconvenience.

And that nothing irregular might juſtly be imputed to the State, who ſtudied the preſervation of his Majeſties Subjects; or *thoſe* indeed who but pretended (without appearance to the contrary) a ſubmiſſion to his Miniſters, the 14*th.* of *January*, 1641. they publiſh'd a ſevere Proclamation againſt Pillagers, and Voluntiers not liſted under ſome Colonel or Commander: So early was the vigilancy of the State in what might preſerve their Integrity and Repute: Which ſome finding contrary to their envious Licentiouſneſs, wanted not boldneſs to encourage the Soldiers to a return for *England*. Which the Lords Juſtices and Council having notice of, publiſh'd this Proclamation.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parſons, John Borlaſe.

WE *do hereby in his Majeſties Name charge and command all his Majeſties Soldiers of this Army, that upon pain of death none of them preſume to depart hence for* England, *without expreſs license in that behalf from the Lieutenant General of the Army. And we command all Owners and Maſters of Ships, Barques, and other Veſſels, that upon pain of death none of them do permit or ſuffer any of the ſaid Soldiers to go aboard them, or to be carried from hence into* England. *And we require the Searcher, and all other Officers and Waiters of the Cuſtoms, that they, and every of them, do take ſpecial care to prevent the Shipping or Importing of any of the ſaid Soldiers, as aforeſaid; whereof they may not fail. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin, 18*th.* Jan. 1641.

Ormond Oſſory, R. Dillon, Ad. Loftus, J. Temple,
Charles Coote, Fran. Willoughby, Rob. Meredith.

And

1641.

And now the Flame having march'd through *Ulſter* and *Leimſter*, it diſcovers its fury about the beginning of *December*, 1641. in *Munſter*, which Province till that time (by the moderation of the State) had ſtifled its rage, then expreſſing its conſent with the other Provinces; The Rebels of *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, and *Caterlaugh* coming over the River to prey and ſpoil the County of *Waterford*: To reſiſt which, the Lord Preſident of *Munſter* (Sir *William Sellenger*) who to that time had behav'd himſelf with much Prudence, Vigilance, and Honour, haſtned to encounter them, whom (though he was far inferiour to in number) he then diſcomfited, and reſtored to the Owners what Prey he recovered; in which action he found many of his Provincials, yet ſuffer'd none of them to be hurt, ſuppoſing they came to ſave their Goods, not being intereſs'd in the Conſpiracy, which afterwards he found general, Mr. *Purcell* (called the Baron of *Loghmo*) exciting, about the *9th.* of *December* (in *Tipperary*) the *Iriſh* to rob and ſpoil the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants, acting (with many others) daily villanies, being armed by a long Proviſion underhand, and furniſh'd with the Wealth of the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants in that Province, which was very great and conſiderable.

About the midſt of *December* the Rebellion breaks forth in *Munſter*.

And that *Connaght* might not be ſaid to be quiet, the Lord Preſident of that Province (the Lord *Rannelaugh*) coming thither from *Dublin*, about the beginning of *November*, (after the Rebellion brake forth) found there many of the inferiour *Iriſh*, and ſome of the Gentry in Rebellion, in the County of *Roſcommon* and *Sligo*, with whom he dealt mildly, preſuming his former intimate Friendſhip, and ſome Alliance, might work on them: but nothing prevail'd, they were otherwiſe harden'd; nor had he Force ſufficient (which they well knew) to compel them, their Swarms were ſo numerous, their Cruelties ſo outragious; ſo that at the laſt, they block'd him up in the Caſtle of *Athlone* by the help of the Conſpirators of *Weſs-Meath*, notwithſtanding the Commiſſions of Government, the Lords Juſtices and Council (that nothing ſtill might be wanting on the States ſide, to evidence the confidence and truſt they were willing to repoſe in the Prime Natives) entruſted the Earl of *Clanrickard*, the Lord *Mayo*, the Lord of *Coſtiſoe*, and *others* with; in which condition he remain'd, till the Earl of *Ormond* (Lieutenant General of his Majeſties Army) carried down two thouſand Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe to his Relief, the Spring following. Notwithſtanding the Commiſſion the Lord *Rannelaugh* had from thoſe, whom his Majeſty entruſted of the Parliament in *England*, to raiſe five hundred Proteſtants neareſt adjoyning, for the defence of the ſaid Province, and to name the Officers, his Son *Arthur Jones* Eſq; being at the ſame time made Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Roſcommon*, in the County of *Roſcommon*, and allowed thirty one Proteſtant Warders to guard the Town and Caſtle: As Sir *Robert King* (at the ſame time) was appointed in the like Command for the Caſtle of *Abbey-boyle*: Yet the Rebels (in the interim) burnt the Town of *Roſcommon*, and the Biſhops Town of *Elphin*, beſides many other *Engliſhmen*'s Habitations; ſurprizing alſo ſeveral Caſtles of the Earl of *Clanrickards* in the County of *Galloway*. However, Sir *Charles Coote* Junior, (vigilant in all concerns) ſo mann'd and guarded *Caſtle-Coot*, as that being in *January*, 1641. beſieg'd by *Con O-Rourk* with 1200 men, he ſo notably encountred him, as within a week he rais'd the Siege; as he did *Hugh O Connor*, Son of *O Connor Dun* of *Balintober*, Titular Prince of *Connaght*; lineally (as he would have it) deſcended from *Rodderick*

The Rebellion appears in *Connaght*.

1641. *O-Connor*, King of *Connaght*, and Monarch of *Ireland*, never afterwards durſt make any formal approach againſt that Caſtle; in as much as Sir *Charles Coote* fetch'd in Corn and Cattle at liberty: Yet the ſecond of *March* following, *O-Rourk* came with all his Forces to fetch away the Prey of *Roſcommon*, before day, hurrying them almoſt to *Molinterim*, before our Forces could come up to him, endeavouring to make good a Paſs againſt our men, who ſoon break their ſtouteſt Ranks, and (killing moſt of the Rebels) recovered the Prey, took many Priſoners, and amongſt the reſt *Con O-Rourk*.

The Reaſons, why each Province burſt not (at once) into a flame.

Thus each Province was in a flame, and that it burſt not forth all at once, was partly out of the backwardneſs of *ſome*, who would firſt (in the proceedings of the others) ſee how far, and with what ſecurity, they might put themſelves on the Work: A horrid Work! that had no promiſing, or good Aſpect: And then others in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Lowth*, who (by the aforeſaid compact, ſhould have furniſh'd themſelves with Arms from the State, under pretence of ſervice againſt *Ulſter*) miſſing of their Deſign in full, halted a time: and many declared not themſelves at firſt, by reaſon the ſurpriſing of the Caſtle of *Dublin* was prevented; Nor did the noble and ſolemn Reſentment of the Parliament in *England* a little ſtartle others, though after that the Winter came cloſe upon them, and that the *Engliſh* were almoſt every where harraſt; And the ſuccours from *England* came not ſo ſoon as they were expected, the *Iriſh* every where gathered that heat as in all Places, to expreſs their virulency.

* The Author of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Presbytery, p. 222.

Some * *will have it that the* Gentlemen at Weſtminſter, *inſtead of ſuppreſſing the* Iriſh *ſpeedily by Arms, made an Ordinance wholly to extirpate them, whereby the* Iriſh *extirpated moſt part of the Proteſtant Colonies, killing Man, Woman, and Child, with moſt horrible Barbarouſneſs:* Whereas it is apparent that the greateſt, and moſt horrid Maſſacres, were acted before the Parliament could poſſibly know there was a Rebellion, for after that the Plot was detected, the Rebels ſomewhat ſlackned their firſt Cruelties: though then they proclaim'd, *That if any* Iriſh *ſhould harbour, or relieve, any* Engliſh *ſuffer'd to eſcape, them with their lives, that it ſhould be penal, even to death, to ſuch* Iriſh; So that though they put not thoſe *Engliſh* actually to the Sword, yet by that Deſign, they cut them off more cruelly: It being a certain truth (not ſubject to the evaſion of the Sophiſter) that in all the four Provinces, the horrid cruelties uſed towards the *Britiſh*, either in their bloody Maſſacres, or mercileſs diſpoiling, ſtripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in moſt parts of the Kingdom, before they could gather themſelves together, to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt their fury, and before the State had aſſembled their Forces, or were enabled by the power of his Majeſties Arms, to make any inroads into the Countreys poſſeſſed by the Rebels: A circumſtance, which totally deſtroyeth all thoſe vain pretences, and fond recriminations, which they have ſince moſt falſly taken up to palliate this their moſt abominable Rebellion, or actings thereupon; Beſides, in the firſt Order of the Lords Commons, in Parliament of *England*, touching this Concern, for the better inducing of the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they did thereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or in his abſence to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion granted them in that behalf, *To beſtow his Majeſties gracious Pardon to all*

all ſuch as within a convenient time (to be declared by any of the ſaid Magiſtrates) ſhould return to their due obedience: Which rule the Lords Juſtices in all Commiſſions, either to Officers, or Marſhals, they had alſo before obſerved, that if (amongſt them) there had been any relenting, they might have experienc'd the mercy of the State. 1641.

And thus much may be ſaid even for the Parliament, that after the expence of much blood and treaſure, for ſuppreſſion of the horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, when they had brought that Affair to ſuch an iſſue, as that a total Reducement, and ſettlement of the Nation was effected, whereby they came to divide the Rebels Eſtates; They manifeſted, *that it was not the Parliaments intentions, to extirpate that whole Nation, but they ordered Mercy and Pardon, both as to Life and Eſtate, ſhould be extended to all Husband-Men, Labourers, Artificers, yea to higher rank and Quality, according to the reſpective Demerits, and Conſiderations, under which they fell, and that all ſhould enjoy the benefit of their Articles.* *Scobels* Acts. fol. 197.

It is indeed Enacted, in the Acts of ſubſcriptions for *Ireland*, *that every Perſon who ſhall make, enter into, or take any Compact, Bond, Covenant, Oath, promiſe, or agreement, to introduce, or bring into the ſaid Realm of* Ireland, *the authority of the See of* Rome, *in any caſe whatſoever, or to maintain, or defend the ſame, ſhall forfeit his Lands, and Goods, as in caſe of Rebellion:* Before which there was no pretence (ſome thought) to make the War a matter of Religion, Whereas, I do not conceive, that that Clauſe is any more then what was in ſeveral Acts provided, as *Anno* 28. *H.* 8. *Capite* 13. *Anno* 2. *Eliz. Cap.* 1. as elſewhere: And by his Majeſties Letter to the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, the 15th. of *Decem.* 1644. is there ſpecified, *That many Acts in favour of the* Iriſh *ſhould be repeal'd, but thoſe againſt* Appeals to Rome, *and* Præmunire, *ſhould ſtand.* That had not the Rebels firſt intended (what afterwards they purſued) that Clauſe could not have made them more obſtinate Rebels, nothing being in it, but what was before in force.

Now beſides other miſeries (which aggravated the unhappineſs of the State at that time) there flocked to the City (from all Parts) ſuch as having eſcaped the fury of the Rebels, ſheltered themſelves there, of which (by reaſon of the diſeaſes they had contracted by their journey, and ill uſage) there died many, elſe prov'd a burthen to the City; Which the Confederates of the *Pale* would have the World believe, was mercy and Signal Humanity in them, *not to have imbrued their hands in the blood of any* Britiſh *Proteſtants*, When as the lingring deaths, and Exigences theſe were put to, exceeded any death which at once might have been inflicted: though after the Siege of *Tredath*, that the old *Engliſh* Papiſts of the *Pale*, were driven into *Ulſter*, they (as a meritorious act) vaunted that they had killed more *Engliſh* and Proteſtants in *Fingall*, then were killed in many other Counties; for the diſcoveries of whoſe miſeries, and what beſides others had ſuffered by the Rebels, the Lords Juſtices authoriſed ſeveral Commiſſioners to *ſtate* their Caſe, and the ſtate of the deplorable *Engliſh*, by two Commiſſions, the one bearing date the 23d. of *December*, the other the 18th. of *January*, both in the 17th. year of his Majeſties Reign, whereby the Murders, Loſſes, and Cruelties, committed upon the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, were diſcovered on Oath, and preſented in a Remonſtrance by the Diſpoil'd Clergy of *Ireland*, to the Honourable Houſe of Commons in *England*; And leſt

1641. the Remonstrance should seem the act of a few Persons (highly interessed in their own Concerns) it was accompanied with a Letter from the Lords Justices, and Council, dated at *Dublin* the 7th. of *March*, 1641. to the Speaker of the said House of Commons; the Remonstrance shewing *such depredations of Goods, such cruelties exercis'd on the Persons and Lives of the loyal Subjects, such wasting, and defacing of all monuments of Civility, with such Prophanation of Holy Places, and Religion, that by the most barbarous, and heathenish Nations, the like could not in any Age be found to be perpetrated:* of which I might say more, having not yet forgot the cruelties legible in most Noble, and antient Families; But the day would fail us, should we sum up what is in the Clergies Remonstrance, Printed at *London*, 1642. briefly mention'd, to which, and the History of the *Irish* Rebellion, 1646. from p. 84. to 136, we must refer you, that the Proofs of all may be before your eyes; May they be writ on our Posts of our houses, and our Gates? that they may be looked upon, and remembred for ever; *what* Amalek *did, when we were faint, and weary, and he feared not God*!

Thus the *State* having (to their power) supported his Majesties Authority, and the *English* Interest, searching out whatsomever might fathom the bottom of this Conspiracy, they being driven to great necessities, trampled on by the Enemy, not further able to support their own miseries. When the last of *December* 1641. arriv'd at *Dublin* (from the Parliament of *England*) Sir *Simon Harcourt*, with a Regiment of 1200 Foot, a Gentleman of Good Extraction, long bred in the *Low-Countreys* (the School of War) under Sir *Horatio*, the Lord *Vere*, that renown'd, and Excellent Person, one of the most noted, and eminent Commanders of the late Age: He was design'd Governour of *Dublin*, much to the comfort of the Protestants, and terrour of the Rebels; soon after whose arrival (the City being secur'd thereby) the Lords Justices commanded forth Sir *Charles Coote*, with such Forces as could be spared to *Swoards*, about the 10th. of *January* following, the better to let them know how far the State resented their Insolencies, whom no assurance, fair, or open Resolves, or any free course could satisfie; Sir *Charles Coote* found the access to the Village straightly block'd up, yet so managed the attempt, as he soon forc'd them to a flight, beating them out of their Fortifications, and killed 200 of their men, without any considerable loss on his side, more then Sir *Laurenzo Carey*, second Son of the Lord *Falkland* (late Lord Deputy) a Gentleman of excellent and ingenious Parts, well principled, and one whose vertues and resolution, promised much happiness to the State: After setling of which Place, Sir *Charles Coote* return'd to *Dublin*, and ere long, there arrived from *England*, by Order of the Parliament, three Regiments of Foot, the Lord-Lieutenants Regiment, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel *Monk* (since Duke of *Albemarle*) the second under the Command of Sir *Michael Earnely*, and the other under the Command of Colonel *Cromwell*; and two Regiments of Horse, one belonging to *Philip* Lord *Lisle*, General of the Horse, and the other under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenvile*. That now the *English* Interest began to revive, the *Irish* being much disheartned thereby, yet grew confident in their Allies and Confederacy, they had made through the whole Nation, to weaken which, and vindicate his Majesties Honour, the *State* received the 20th. of *January* a Proclamation from his Majesty, dated the first of

Sir *Simon Harcourt* arriv'd out of *England* with the first Forces.

Sir *Charles Coote* goes to *Swoards*.

Five Regiments more arriv'd out of *England*.

of the ſame month, declaring them Rebels and Traitors: and that it might want nō ſolemnity, to impreſs the greatér Character of obedience, His Majeſty was pleaſed to Sign all the Proclamations with his Royal Hand, affixing alſo thereto his Privy Signet (a circumſtance ſcarce preſidenc'd) The Original of which I have in my Cuſtody. 1641.

Charles R.

His Majeſties Proclamation againſt the Rebels, the firſt of *January*.

WHereas diverſe lewd and wicked Perſons, have (of late) riſen in Rebellion in our Kingdom of Ireland, *ſurpriz'd diverſe of our Forts and Caſtles, poſſeſſed themſelves thereof, ſurpriz'd ſome of our Garriſons, poſſeſt themſelves of ſome of our Magazeen of Arms and Ammunition, diſpoſſeſt many of our good and loyal Subjects of the* Britiſh *Nation, and Proteſtants, of their Houſes, and Lands, rob'd and ſpoil'd many thouſands of our good Subjects of the* Britiſh *Nation, and Proteſtants, of their Goods, to great values, Maſſacred multitudes of them, impriſon'd many others, and ſome who have the Honour to ſerve us as Privy Counſellors of that our Kingdom; We therefore having taken the ſame into our Royal conſideration, and abhorring the wicked diſloyalty, and horrible acts committed by thoſe Perſons, do hereby not onely declare our juſt Indignation thereof, but alſo do declare them, and their Adherents, and Abettors, and all thoſe who ſhall hereafter joyn with them, or commit the like acts on any of our good Subjects in that Kingdom, to be Rebels, and Traitors againſt our Royal Perſon, and Enemies to our Royal Crown of* England, *and* Ireland.

And we do hereby ſtrictly Charge, and Command all thoſe Perſons, who have ſo preſumed to riſe in Arms againſt us, and our Royal Authority (which we cannot otherwiſe interpret than acts of high Rebellion, and deteſtable Diſloyalty, when therein they ſpoil, and deſtroy our good and loyal Subjects of the Britiſh *Nation, and Proteſtants) that they immediately lay down their Arms, and forbear any further acts of Hoſtility, Wherein if they fail, we do let them know, that we have authoriſed our Juſtices of* Ireland, *and other our Chief Governour, or Governours, and General, or Lieutenant-General of our Army there, and do hereby accordingly require, and authoriſe them, and every of them, to proſecute the ſaid Rebels, and Traitors with Fire, and Sword, as Perſons who (by their high Diſloyalty againſt us their lawful, and undoubted King, and Soveraign) have made themſelves unworthy of any*

Mercy,

1641. *Mercy, or Favour; Wherein our ſaid Juſtices, or other chief Governour, or Governours, and General, or Lieutenant-General of our ſaid Army, ſhall be countenanc'd, and ſupported by us, and by our powerful Succours of our good Subjects of* England, *and* Scotland, *that ſo they may reduce to obedience, thoſe wicked diſturbers of that Peace, which by the bleſſing of God, that Kingdom hath ſo long, and ſo happily enjoy'd, under the Government of our Royal Father, and us. And this our Royal pleaſure, we do hereby require our Juſtices, or other chief Governour, or Governours, of that our Kingdom of* Ireland, *to cauſe to be publiſhed, and proclaim'd, in and throughout our ſaid Kingdom of* Ireland.

Given under our Signet, at our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, the 1ſt. of *January*, in the 17th. year of our Reign, 1641.

His Majeſties Reaſons, why his Proclamation came out ſo late.

Which coming forth ſo late, and but 40 of them onely ordered to be Printed, was by the Parliament in their Declaration of the 19th. of *May*, 1642. interpreted as a countenance to that Rebellion, in anſwer whereunto, his Majeſty in his reply to that Declaration, *ſhews, That the Proclamation not iſſuing out ſooner, was becauſe the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom deſired them no ſooner, and when they did, the number they deſired was but twenty, which they adviſed might be Signed by us, which we for the expedition of that ſervice, commanded to be Printed (a Circumſtance not required by them) thereupon we Sign'd more of them then our Juſtices deſired.*

And that it might further appear how deep a ſenſe his Majeſty had of the Rebellion, which *called upon Him, and his People of* England, *for a general Humiliation of all Eſtates before Almighty God, in Prayer and Faſting, for drawing down his Mercy and Bleſſing upon* Ireland: His Majeſty was pleaſed by a Proclamation, dated at *Whitehall* the 8th. of *January*, 1641. *Straightly to Charge and Command, That the laſt* Wedneſday *of every Month during the troubles in* Ireland, *a Solemn Faſt ſhould be obſerv'd through his Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, ſhewing in his own Perſon and the Court, an example thereof; which accordingly (for ſome years) was obſerv'd, and conſiderable Collections were gathered (at moſt Churches) that day, for the miſerable People of *Ireland*: Several, but eſpecially Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, excellently ſpeaking on that Subject, which being much in a little, accept of, in his own Words.

Mr.

1641.

Mr. Speaker.

THis Day is appointed for a charitable Work, a Work of Bowels and Compaſſion; I pray God, we may never have the like occaſion to move, to ſtir up, our Charity.

Theſe miſerable People are made ſo, becauſe of their Religion: He that will not ſuffer for his Religion, is unworthy to be ſaved by it; and he is unworthy to enjoy it, that will not relieve thoſe that ſuffer for it.

I did know but the laſt year here in England, *ſome (and they no Papiſts) who were reſolv'd to make* Ireland *their Retreat, as the ſafer Kingdom of the two.*

We do now ſee a great, a diſmal Change, God knows, whoſe Turn ſhall be next, it is wrapp'd up in his Providence; that which happens to one Country, may happen to any; Time and Chance comes upon all, though guided by a certain Hand.

The right way to make a Man truely ſenſible of another's Calamity, is to think himſelf in the ſame caſe and condition, and then to do as he would be done unto.

Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, *let our Gift be a matter of Bounty, not of Covetouſneſs, that it may abound to our Account in the Day of Reckoning: He that ſowes plentifully, ſhall reap plentifully; I am ſure, he that lends to the Lord, hath the beſt Security, and cannot be a loſer.*

The firſt Preſident of the *Faſt* before-mention'd, which uſher'd in the Charity that ſucceeded, was (before it came to be Monthly) by the Lords Houſe, kept in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, where the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, preach'd to the Lords, as in St. *Margrets Weſtminſter*, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Marſhall*, to the Houſe of Commons. Though when his Majeſty afterwards found by the ill uſe made thereof, that the Lecturers in their Sermons and Prayers ſtir'd up, and continued the War rais'd againſt Him in *England*, the great Promoters too thereof deſerting the Care of *Ireland*, He, the 6th. of *October*, 1643. forbad it to be kept, and inſtead thereof expreſly commanded a ſolemn Faſt to be obſerv'd, every ſecond Friday of the Month, through *England* and *Wales*.

But to return to the King's Proclamation againſt the Rebels, which the bleeding *Iphigenia*, and others of that lying Spirit, would have to be grounded *on the information of a malignant Part of the Council, informing his Majeſty, that the Catholicks of* Ireland *without diſcrimination, had enter'd into a Rebellion*; whereas there was never any ſuch general Information: Nay, in all the Accounts they gave to his Majeſty, they ſtill intimated, *that they hoped the Pale and other Parts would continue their Loyalty*, affording the Lords of the Pale, as other Towns, (which afterwards ſhamefully revolted) Arms, Ammunition, Commands, informing his Majeſty only of what they had diſcovered in the North, with the ſuſpicions that they had learnt on Examinations from others, which would have been Treachery in them to have conceal'd, and grand Diſloyalty. Nor doth his Majeſty take notice in his Proclamation of any other, than *that divers lewd and wicked Perſons had of late riſen in Rebellion in his King-*

1641. *Kingdom of* Ireland, not ſo much therein as naming Papiſts or Catholicks, that thence any of that profeſſion ſhould take Umbrage: Nay, ſo circumſpect were the Lords Juſtices and Council at that time, that they avoided all expreſſions, which might any ways encourage the *Iriſh* to apprehend, the *Engliſh* intended to make it a War of Religion.

However, the Rebels were ſo far from paying obedience to his Majeſty's Proclamation afore-mention'd, ſaying, it was counterfeit, or done by Coertion, as they acted now, not as before apart, but united in one Body, under the ſtyle of the *Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland*, binding themſelves alſo in that Confederacy, by the following Oath of Aſſociation.

I A. B. *do, in the preſence of Almighty God, and all the Saints and Angels in Heaven, promiſe, vow, ſwear and proteſt, to maintain and defend as far as I may with my Life, Power, and Eſtate, the publick and free exerciſe of the true and Roman Catholick Religion, againſt all Perſons that ſhall oppoſe the ſame. I further ſwear, that I will bear Faith and Allegiance to our Soveraign Lord King* Charles, *his Heirs and Succeſſors, and that I will defend Him and Them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power and Eſtate, againſt all ſuch Perſons as ſhall attempt any thing againſt their Royal Perſons, Honours, Eſtates, and Dignities, and againſt all ſuch as ſhall directly or indirectly endeavour to ſuppreſs their Royal Prerogatives, or do any Act or Acts contrary to Regal Government; as alſo the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects, and every Perſon that makes this Vow, Oath and Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall do, in the lawful purſuance of the ſame. And to my Power, as far as I may, I will oppoſe, and by all means and ways endeavour to bring to condign puniſhment, even to the loſs of Life, Liberty, and Eſtate, all ſuch as ſhall, either by Force, Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clauſe, or any thing in this preſent Vow, Oath, or Proteſtation, contain'd.*

So God help me.

This is the Oath the Confederates thought ſo loyal, ſo worthy their owning; whereas never any thing was more pernicious, more deſtructive to his Majeſty, and his Proteſtant Subjects, the cloſe of it (after all their inſinuating and fair pretenſions of Faith and Allegiance to their Soveraign, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors) *vowing to bring to condign puniſhment, all that ſhould attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article therein*; whereas the firſt thing (they inſiſt on in this Vow) is *the free exerciſe of the Catholick Roman Religion*, which if the King ſhall not admit of, He is (by the iſſue of this Vow and Proteſtation) to be oppos'd, *all being to be oppos'd, that ſhall be againſt, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clauſe, or any thing in this preſent Vow, Oath, or Proteſtation, contain'd.* And if in a more favourable ſence this were not (as to his Majeſty) to be ſo interpreted, yet his Proteſtant Subjects were doubtleſs to be fallen upon with fire and ſword, reſiſting the Ends the Rebels propos'd to themſelves by this Oath, and without which no Peace was to be accepted. How loyal and acceptable this could be to a Proteſtant Prince (who in teſtimony of his Faith laid down his life) is legible without Spectacles: ſo that in concluſion, this Oath could really deceive

deceive none, but thoſe, who ſeeing will not ſee, and hearing will not underſtand. 1641.

Thus their ſtrength (notwithſtanding whatſoever his Majeſty had propos'd in his Proclamation) by endeavouring to break it, was united; their Armies were now formed, the moſt conſiderable Perſons amongſt them had openly declared themſelves, and the meaneſt of their Souldiers were fleſht in the ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*; they had likewiſe almoſt all their Goods in their poſſeſſion, and the ſtrongeſt Places of the Kingdom with the whole Countrey at their Devotion; ſo as they now counted themſelves powerful enough to go through with the Work, and reſolv'd to expel all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants out of the Kingdom, to make themſelves abſolute Maſters, or there to die ingloriouſly as Traitors and Murtherers; which is fallen to their lot; for few of thoſe inhumane Butchers have come with dry throats to their Graves, there being no more ordinary diſpenſation to be obſerv'd in the Revolutions of things here below, than returns of blood for blood, their blood being violently to be poured forth, who have maliciouſly contrived, or wantonly delighted, in the ſlaughter of others, which will appear by the ſequel of the Story.

The Rebels, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Proclamation, grew more united.

Though the Politician's Catechiſm * (a Piece of as much Venom as Art or Malice can connect) would inſinuate, that the Murthers and Maſſacres done in *Ireland* by Proteſtants, far exceeded without compariſon thoſe committed by Catholicks, as well in reſpect of brutiſhneſs as numerouſneſs; I may admit, that many things (contrary to the Law of Arms and Chriſtianity) during the Rebellion, were ſeverely committed by the *Engliſh:* But then it muſt be conſidered, That whatſoever was raſhly done by them, was either acted in open Hoſtility, or had the anguiſh and memory of former Villanies firſt commenc'd on their Relations, Friends, or Countreymen, without the leaſt provocation for their ground, inſtigating them thereunto. Inaſmuch as *Mulmore O-Relie*, *O-Sule-van*, and others, being at a Meeting at *London*, immediately after the King's happy *Reſtauration*, a Colonel (a Perſon of great Ingenuity and exemplary Vertue, who had ſerv'd faithfully againſt the *Iriſh*) coming into their company, was acquainted by them, that they were met together, to draw up a Remonſtrance of the Cruelties, the *Engliſh* Army had offer'd to the *Iriſh*, which (ſay they) indeed nothing concern'd him, he having been a noble and generous Enemy. Upon which he adviſ'd them to deſiſt, in that they might be certain to have an Anſwer much to their diſ-advantage, conſidering, that if any Violencies or Irregularities were offer'd, they might thank themſelves, in reſpect that after Caſtles, or any Places, were delivered up upon Compoſition, it was a uſual Cuſtom with them to ſpoil the Meal and Food, which they ſhould have left entire, and to have wet the Powder, as alſo to have made the Guns un-ſerviceable; all which were violations of Articles no ways juſtifiable, and might require a ſevere return: Upon which, they being confounded, this worthy Perſon heard no more of their Deſign. And for what the Politician's Catechiſm would infer from a Daughter of *O-Hara*, an *Iriſh* Lord, being barbarouſly murther'd, as a Preſident for what ſucceeded; it is evident, that the Rebellion commenc'd in blood, *Rowry Mac-Guire* that day (in which the Rebellion began) hanging not leſs than 18 Perſons in the Church of *Clowniſh*, and afterwards burnt it; ſeveral other Examples may be produc'd of the ſame nature. And for what this inſolent Aſſertor braves the World with, from the *Iriſh* Remonſtance, offer'd

* The Inſolencies of the Politician's Catech. briefly reflected on, and what the *Engliſh* are charged with.

1641. by Viſcount *Preſton*, and Sir *Robert Talbot*, the 17th. of *March*, 1642. *That they deſired the Murtherers on both ſides ſhould be puniſhed*, is mention'd but for a flouriſh; thoſe Teſtimones of their Cruelties being given in upon Oath, in ſeveral Remonſtrances, which muſt remain an evidence to poſterity of their Villany; what-ever *R. S.* in his Collections of Murthers, would (by way of Recrimination) charge the *Engliſh* with: Inaſmuch as what Cruelties he affirms to be acted after protection had been given, and Articles (at this or that Place) allowed, will be found upon due enquiry, (which they durſt never ſtand to) to be raiſed on breach of Faith, and under colour of protection to act the greateſt Villanies imaginable, ſome of which being found out, the Authors were puniſhed, and it may be others (upon the ſame reaſon only ſuſpected) were partners in equal ſufferings. Nor could the State in ſuch a confuſed, diſtracted time, be juſtly blamed, that ſome Irregularities (how cautiouſly ſoever look'd after) were not in each particular prevented, ſeeing the rage of the Souldier had exceeded the juſtice and providence of the State. Beſides, can it be reaſonable, that thoſe who began and purſued ſo bloody a Conſpiracy, with ſuch un-heard of aggravations, ſhould be put in ballance with ſuch, as (only to vindicate his Majeſty and his People's Right) ſometimes proceeded beyond their own Temper? Nor is it here to be omitted, That thoſe whom they pretend ſhould be ſingled out, and particularized for barbarous and inhumane, ſhould by vertue of their 18th. Article, be tryed by the Lord Lieutenant, and ſeveral Commiſſioners, ſome of which were chargeable with the ſame barbarous and inhumane Crimes, and all of them nearly intereſs'd in ſuch as may be ſo charged, if to abett, aid, or countenance thoſe, be in the eye of the Law accounted equally involv'd; ſo that from ſuch, what juſtice could be expected, were eaſie to be conceiv'd, (how entire ſoever the Lord Lieutenant were in his Principles.) And whereas this *R. S.* would free *Kilkenny*, and other Places, from the horrid actions which were committed there, the teſtimony of ſuch as avows them, makes whatſoever he would extenuate as to them, and aggravate as to others, meer fabulous and vain; though to make up his Fardle, he takes in whatſomever *Cromwel* and his Party afterwards committed in *Ireland*. Thus confounding Actions with Times, an Artifice ſo ſhap'd to his Humour, as who is he that cannot ſee, but that thoſe actions of *Cromwel*'s no whit concern'd the *Britiſh*, or could be any encouragement for what the *Iriſh* did long before; *Cromwel*'s proceedings being on a ground well known, extending to the *Engliſh* as well as the *Iriſh*; ſuch as if the Rebellion of *Ireland* had not been, no *Sect* had been able to have done any harm in *England*. Indeed his whole Piece is ſuch a Web, as unravled, would be found meer Fictions and Impoſture, after what is accounted for breach of Protection, forfeiture of Articles, Treachery, and the like. That which he writes of the *Scotch* Forces in *Knockfergus*, murthering (if you will believe him) in the Iſle of *Mac-Gee*, 3000 innocent Perſons, in the beginning of *November*, to be the firſt Maſſacre in *Ireland* on either ſide, (it ſeems he heard nothing then of *O-Hara*'s Daughter) is ſo falſe, as he that will read *John Carmick*'s Teſtimony, at the Tryal of *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon*, the 18th. of *November*, 1644. atteſted by Sir *William Cole*, Sir *William Hamilton*, Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Sir *Charles Coot*, and *others*, upon Oath, (beſides what the Clergy's Remonſtrance clears) will plainly perceive the vanity and falſeneſs of that Aſſertion, as (amongſt others) appears by *John Kerdiff*, Rector

Rector of the Pariſh of *Diſerteraugh* in *Tyrone*, a Perſon of known Integrity, who depoſeth, That the very firſt day Mr. *Mader*, Miniſter of the Pariſh of *Donnoghmore*, was murther'd by the *Donnelies*: and within a while after, Mr. *New*, Curate to Mr. *Bradley*, of the Church of *Ardtra*, as Mr. *Blyth*, with eight more; not to ſay any thing of *Rowry Mac-Guire*'s dealing with Mr. *Middleton*, the 24*th.* of *October*, at *Caſtle-Skeagh*, alias *Ballibalfure*, where (after he had by treachery got into the Caſtle, ſeiz'd on his Mony, burnt the publick Records, and compell'd him to acknowledge the *Maſs*) he caus'd him, his Wife and Children, to be hang'd, beſides a hundred to be murder'd at leaſt in that Town: And thence daily proceeded in ſuch outrages. 1641.

Thus for the preſent all things ſeem'd (in their ſenſe) to proſper under their hands; for they had in this ſhort time made themſelves Maſters of the whole Province of *Ulſter*, except the Cities of *London-derry* and *Coleraigne*, the Town and Caſtle of *Eniskillin*, and ſome other Places and Caſtles, which were at firſt gallantly defended by the *Britiſh* Undertakers, though afterwards, for want of relief, ſurrendred into the Rebels hands.

The Fire thus kindled, ſhortly after ſpread its fury in the Provinces of *Munſter* and *Connaght*, (of which we have given you a touch) where the *Engliſh* were quickly diſpoil'd of all their Subſtance, and either driven naked out of their Habitations, or moſt barbarouſly murder'd or ſtarv'd in them. But their main deſign at preſent was, to make themſelves Maſters of the Province of *Leimſter*, which was the chiefeſt and moſt flouriſhing part of the Kingdom; and having advanc'd their work, they ſo far prevail'd therein, as they had in a manner gain'd it wholely, except the Cities of *Dublin* and *Tredath*, againſt which they appli'd their whole ſtrength: For *Dublin*, it being the Seat of the State, (by the great care of the Lords Juſtices) had the beſt Proviſions made for the ſtrengthning of it, that thoſe crazy Walls, and their want of Forces would admit. The Rebels contented themſelves to block it up at a diſtance with their Forces, and to make ſome attempt to hinder Shipping from coming into the Harbour; but for *Tredath*, (having over-run the County of *Meath*, and ſurpriz'd the Towns of *Trym*, *Kells*, *Navan*, *Ardbracan*, *Aſhboy*, &c.) the Rebels ſate down on both ſides that Town, the laſt of *November*, or the firſt of *December*, drawing very near the Walls, blocking up the Paſſage of the River which runs into the Sea, that no ſuccour could be brought in to them either by Sea or Land, no, nor Intelligence be gotten out of Town; ſo as Sir *Henry Tichborn* (as we have before mention'd) with the Proviſions he had there, and the Forces he carried with him, which were not above a thouſand men, remain'd cloſe beſieg'd, without any hopes of Succours, or further Supplies.

The Rebels endeavour principally to make themſelves Maſters of *Leimſter*.

The Rebels begirt *Tredath*.

Tredath is an ancient City, of great Circuit, the River of *Boyne* paſſeth through the midſt of the Town; it is encompaſſed about with an old Stone-Wall, without Bulwarks or any kind of Rampiers, or other Fortifications than an ordinary Ditch; it lies about three miles from the Sea, the Harbour is but ill, yet ſuch as would admit Veſſels of good burthen, and ſuch as exceed not 60 Tuns, may come up to the very Bridge in the Town: It is ſituated in a plain open Countrey, plentiful for all manner of Proviſions, no Bogs or Marſh-ground near it; ſo as the Rebels had all the opportunities and advantages they could deſire, for making their approaches to the Place: But ſo unhappy were they in their under-

The Situation of *Tredath*.

1641. takings, and ſo unproſperous in their executions, as notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the Place, and the ſmall numbers of men that kept it, they lay before it (after they had thus cloſely begirt the Town almoſt three months) without doing any thing of moment, being reſolv'd (either in regard of their want of great Guns to batter the Walls, skill to undermine them, or courage to ſcale them) to ſit ſtill, till Famine within had made them an entrance.

The State being very ſenſible of what this poor Place ſuffered, conſulted in the firſt place, after the Landing of Sir *Simon Harcourt*, which way was moſt likely to weaken the Rebels ſtrength, the main of which *Tredath* had long felt; therefore they reſolv'd now with their new Forces to relieve that Town. But before we come to the reſult of that Determination, it will not be unpleaſant to ſhew, againſt how many troubles that Place incredibly extricated it ſelf. And here we are obliged firſt to take notice what Forces *Tredath* had.

The Siege of *Tredath*, and its ſtrength.

The 26th. *of Octob.* 1641.

Henry Lord Viſcount *Moor* of *Tredath*, with his Troop of Horſe, conſiſting of ſixty ſix, entred the Town in its defence: As did

Sir *John Nettervile*, Capt.
Rockley, Capt. } with their two half ſtanding Companies.

Seafoul Gibſon, Capt. whoſe Company of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants, and other Proteſtants, to the number of 120.

November the 4th. *following.*

Sir *Henry Tichborn*, Col. and Governour of the Town, with the Regiment and two Troops of Horſe (formerly mention'd) came in.

Novemb. 10.

Captain *Henry Bryan*, Captain *Patrick Trevor*, Captain *Foulk Martin.*

Novemb. 22.

Chriſtopher Roper, Serj. Major;
Capt. *William Cadougan*,
Capt. *Charles Sounſley.* } Theſe eſcap'd from the defeat of *Gellingſtone.*

Fifty Horſe under the Command of Sir *Patrick Weams*, Captain Lieutenant to the Earl of *Ormond.*

All theſe, with three Companies more which came in with the ſecond Relief, were under the Lord *Moor*; thoſe excepted which Sir *Henry Tichborn* brought in.

The Lord *Moor*, upon the firſt diſcovery of the Plot, (having notice of his Siſter the Lady *Blany*'s and her Childrens impriſonment, with ſurprizal of her Caſtle, *Caſtle Blany*, the Town and Caſtle of *Newry*, *Carrick Mac-roſs*, *Charlemont*, Town and Caſtle of *Monaghan*, *Tonrages*, *Mountjoy*, *Cloughoter*, *Dunganon*, and multitudes of Caſtles and Houſes of Strength, Towns and Villages in the North) repair'd in the midſt of the night from *Melliſont* to *Tredath*, and knocking up the Mayor and Aldermen, invited them to a ſpeedy defence; who at firſt promis'd him fair, but proceeded ſlowly, producing few Arms, who (on a Muſter-day before) could appear with ſome hundreds. His Lordſhip (conceiving his preſence neceſſary) drew his whole Family thither; and having regain'd ſome old Pieces of Ordnance, caſt into a Dungeon, he fitted them (and four took out of a Merchants Ship) for ſervice; and placing ſome at one

1641.

one Gate, ſome at another; making up the North-Port, and ſtrengthning the Walls, which he effected with ſingular diligence and ſpeed; one * of the two half-Companies in the Town proving afterwards falſe, the Citizens themſelves (Papiſts) being no way real; which put his Lordſhip on a perpetual watch, there being little relief; ſo that he was with his Troop conſtantly ſcouring the ſtreets, the Inhabitants being no ways aſſiſting: Yet ſo managed he his affairs, as he kept all paſſages free for Sir *Henry Tichborn*'s admittance, who, entring Governour there the 4*th*. of *November* with his Forces, was coldly received by the Citizens, not admitted into any Quarters, till himſelf (after many hours being in the ſtreets) found one. Having firſt drawn out ſeveral Companies to continue the Watch that night, never excuſing his own vigilance or pains: The next day after he enter'd. He endeavour'd to make the Town as defenſible as might be, wherein he and his Officers order'd much to its ſecurity, though many things conſpired to make it (in ſo ſhort a time) not artificially tenable; which yet they afterwards made good with their Bodies and Valour. He expell'd many of the Popiſh Inhabitants, which held intelligence with the Rebels without, and got in all the Proviſions he could, ordering them with the greateſt parſimony imaginable. He and the Lord *Moor* (who accompani'd him in all ſervices alternately walk'd the Rounds, performing all Duties ſo induſtriouſly, as they diſappointed all the frequent little Plots which the Rebels had upon them; and ſo careful were they to encourage and provide for their Soldiers, as they rais'd them up to a far greater confidence of their Abilities to defend the Place, (againſt ſo numerous an Enemy) than there was juſt reaſon for. That which diſcourag'd the Soldiers moſt, was, the conſtant Duty which they perform'd in their Night-Watches; the circuit of the Wall was very large, the Weather (being the depth of Winter) was very ſharp, and the numbers of the Soldiers (who were to watch) were but ſmall, and thoſe very ill cloth'd, ſo as it came oftner to their turns than uſual, which bred ſickneſs and diſeaſes, and ſome even fell down and died upon the Walls.

* Sir *John Netterviles.*

Sir *Hen. Tichborn* enters the 4*th*. of *Novemb.* Governour of *Tredath.*

The third of *December* (there being a want of Corn) there iſſued forth a Party at St. *Lawrence* and the *Weſt-gate*, of 350 Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, to ſecure ſome Carriages ſent out for Corn at the Green-hills, about half a mile off; where unexpectedly (the Citizens having been treacherous in their intelligence) there appear'd in view 3000 men: whereupon ſome Officers advis'd to retreat, and many of the Horſe (Papiſts) in the Reer running back, with a confus'd cry exceedingly diſturb'd thoſe that were at the Gates drawing out. To remedy which, Sir *Henry Tichborn* preſently lights off his Horſe, and in the Front (to the hazard of his Perſon) march'd before the Foot, commanding the Musketeers up the Hill, and his Pikes in that narrow Paſſage to open for the Horſe, and ſo with all expedition made ready to charge the Enemy, giving the Rebels ſo home a Charge, as they betook themſelves to their heels, with the loſs of above 200 of them, but not one of ours, though before we charg'd them they had ſet twice on us: The Victory exceedingly animated our Soldiers, notwithſtanding afterwards many Soldiers (Papiſts) daily revolted from us; and we receiv'd frequent Alarms, which we finding frivolous, afterwards neglected. Then the Confederates ſent to Parley; upon which, one *Darcy*, a Frier, and a Captain of his *Name*, demanded the abſolute ſurrender of the Town for his Majeſties uſe and ſervice, in the

1641. the name of the Commanders of the Catholick Army, expressing how impossible it would be to keep it against their Forces. The Governour with the Captains return'd an Answer as short, That they had a Commission from his Majesty for the defence of the Town, and without his Majesties Command, or the Lords Justices, to the contrary, they would keep it; if the Rebels *attempted* it by the Sword, they would defend it; if by Famine, they should hear they eat their Horses Hides. In prosecution of which, the Governour and Captains of that City, made this unanimous Protestation in its defence, for his Majesties use and service.

WHereas we are beset with such, who pretend their Attempts (in taking of this Town) to be for the advancement of his Majesties *Service, (which notwithstanding we believe is but a pretext to delude the Vulgar) We the Governour and Captains of the said Town, for the further manifestation and approbation of our Loyalty, and thankfulness to his* Majesty, *by whose immediate Command we are charg'd for the defence of his just and Royal Title in it; do likewise hereby unanimously make this following Protestation and* Oath, *and do enjoyn it to be taken by every Soldier and Inhabitant of this Town, as the evidence of their Faith and Truth to the Kings Crown and Dignity, which we shall maintain with our Lives and Estates; and that such as shall refuse it, be put out of the Gates.*

The Oath.

I Shall, to my uttermost, endeavour the defence of this Town against all outward and inward Attempts whatsoever, for his Majesties Service. I shall forthwith discover any Plot, Conspiracy, or Combination, which may or shall come to my knowledge, from without or within, which may any ways be intended to the prejudice of the whole Town, or to the Person of the Mayor, Governour, Aldermen, or any of the Captains or Officers Garrison'd in it.

I shall not attempt or consent, that the Town shall be given, upon any pretence or cause whatsoever, without consent of the Governour, Mayor, and greater part of the Captains and Aldermen in it, or without special Command from his Majesty, or Chief Governour or Governours of the Kingdom.

All which I do hereby swear truly and faithfully to observe and keep, without any fraud, deceit, or mental reservation whatsoever.

Notwithstanding which, some (who took it) were afterwards perjur'd, not without example; and the Mayor and Aldermen refus'd it.

On St. *Thomas Eve*, the Rebels (being encourag'd from the Popish Inhabitants within) about one of the Clock at night (after a Watch-word) approach'd the Walls with a terrible shout; which the Governour answer'd from the Mount with a Canon, continuing the same for some hours; the Towns-men (in the interim) being upon pain of death commanded to keep within doors. Towards morning, the Rebels fled, being pursued by our Bullets,

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Bullets, (from all Quarters) ſo that many dropt; the numbers of their ſlain is not certain: certainly many fell by that attempt, of ours, not one; notwithſtanding at St. *John*'s Gate (which was moſt naked, and where Captain *Morris* * excellently well perform'd his Command) was the hotteſt work. This deliverance was no ſooner over, but new Conſpiracies were hatch'd in the Town, a clandeſtine Oath being impos'd on ſome to ſeize on the Soldiers Arms as they were aſleep, and kill others in their beds; happily diſcovered by a Prieſt, not ſo bloody as the reſt: Yet neceſſities of all ſorts (as well for Beaſts as Men) grew ſo urgent, that within few days no Enemy but thoſe need to do execution: In which extremity, God was particularly flown to, and even in the midſt of their Devotion, the 11*th.* of *January*, there came in from the *State* (vigilant in whatſomever might concern them) a Pinnace, a Frigat, a Gabbard, with two Shalloops, and a Veſſel loaden with Bisket, Powder, and Ammunition; whereby the Garriſon was ſeaſonably reliev'd in the midſt of great extremities; which at the firſt appearance, the Towns-men (well-wiſhers to the Rebels) would needs have perſwaded the Soldiers, that they had been Ships from *Spain* in favour of the Rebels, and appear'd chearful. But the mercy proving otherwiſe, the Soldiers grew hearty, which (without an eſpecial providence) might have prov'd their ruine; for, contrary to the Command of the Governour, and his vigilance, (which was never more remarkable than then) the Soldiers carous'd it too liberally, being (by the Friers themſelves) made to drink, inaſmuch as Sentinels (from their Guards) were drawn in: So as the Rebels, *Jan.* 12. (by the help and treacherous intimation of their own within) made a breach in the Wall about four in the morning, at which, many of their beſt Soldiers and Chief Commanders, to the number of 500, enter'd unheard, till having march'd as far as the Key, they gave a ſhout; which the Governour hearing, inſtantly ran down, unarm'd, onely with his Piſtols in his hands, and was the firſt that caus'd a Drum to beat, at which all was ſoon alarm'd; and finding their Pikes to be ſhort of ours by a yard, we charg'd home, and forc'd them to a retreat, though they had o'r-turn'd a Drake of ours (that lay there) off its Carriage. Soon came in my Lord *Moor* with 15 Horſe, (all that could of a ſudden be got ready) with which, and the reſt, (that were now got together) they quickly repuls'd them. Sir *John Borlaſe* haſting ſo ſpeedily, undreſt, and with that courage to the Breach made by the Nunnery, that his ſervice there in falling upon the Enemy (who fought it ſtoutly) was very remarkable. Here the Beſieg'd kill'd many of the Rebels, as well thoſe as came near the Walls for the ſuccour of thoſe that firſt entred, as they that Invaded it: and great was the deliverance, the Rebels Party within (very conſiderable) having their Doors mark'd with Chalk, as a token to the Rebels, ſhould they have prevail'd: The Beſieged loſt few, if any. Though the Pinnace, on its return, ran aground; upon which, the Rebels plaid thick upon her from both ſides the River, deſperately approaching her very Stern with Pick-axes and Crows of Iron; at which, Captain *Stutfield* (Comptroler of the Ordnance, an excellent Engineer, a ſtout and daring Perſon) preſently threw ſome Granado's amongſt them, which did ſuch execution, as throughly frighted them; yet chas'd them not away till the ſeventh was flung; after which they parted, but were ſo purſued by our Musket and Canon, that many were ſlain.

* This Captain *John Morris* was Page to the Counteſs of *Strafford*, one of ſingular courage through the whole War, and a Colonel in *England*, and Governour of *Pontfract Caſtle*; for which Service (having paſt many Fortunes) he was Condemn'd and Executed at *York*, the eight of *Auguſt*, 1649. The firſt Relief of *Tredath*, the xi. of *January*.

After

1641. After this Relief, (for ſome time) *Tredath* enjoy'd reaſonable Peace, though at diſtance they had often alarms, and within a fortnight, what quantity of Bisket and Meal was brought to the Garriſon, was eaſily ſpent, Famine Fluxes, with other diſeaſes return again, in as much as diverſe of the *Engliſh* Inhabitants (eſpecially ſuch as had flown thither for relief) died daily, and now the Town was narrowly ſearch'd for Proviſions, in which ſcrutiny the Friars (againſt their vow of Poverty) were found full of Trunks of Plate, Money, and other Treaſure, which they not owning (being the Goods of the Rebels) were equally diſtributed amongſt the Garriſon, but could not ſupply the want of food, which rais'd Mutinies (ſpeedily allayed by the Vigilance of the Governour.) However many *Engliſh* as well as *Iriſh*, fled to the Rebels out of meer neceſſity. In as much as Sir *Phelim O-Neal* writ into the North, and gave it out amongſt his Souldiers, that he was certain of the ſudden ſurrender of *Tredath*: ſo as the Town being now driven to great ſtreights, the beſt expedient that could be thought of, was to Man out a Boat for *Dublin*, that the *State* might be rightly inform'd of its Condition, in endeavouring which, the Aldermen and Mariners of the Town ſeem'd very backwards, till the Governour threatned to make ſome of the Aldermen themſelves prove Mariners in that ſervice; whereupon at laſt men were found, and Commiſſioners ſent to the Lords Juſtices, to inform them of the miſery of the *Town*, in which ſervice Sir *John Borlaſe*, Junior, and others were imployed, who having obtained ſome men, and two Peeces of Battery, return'd with a very ſatisfactory ſupply.

The ſame day they weighed Anchor for *Dublin*, a part of the Garriſon made a ſally on the Rebels, Northward, who encountred them ſharply, but were ſoon affronted by ours; many of the Enemy were ſlain, but of ours none, onely by the breaking of a little braſs Peece, a Gunner was hurt, which yet gave them ſo rugged a Salute, that they took leave of us, and we recovered ſome Proviſions: Sir *Henry Tichborn* that night with ſome Musketiers, falling on their Court of Guard, and killed ſome of their Sentinels; As the 11th. of *February*, Lieutenant *Greenham*, with a Party of Horſe and Foot, routed 60 of the Enemy, taking a Lieutenant, Enſign, and ſeveral other, Priſoners; Sallying alſo forth the next day, with the like ſucceſs, getting in ſome Grain, and burning the Countrey.

The ſecond Relief *Febr.* the 14th.

By theſe *Sallies* though ſome were relieved, the Souldiers (in general) fell into great extremity, Horſe-fleſh, Dogs, and Cats, being greedy food, yet (having but an intention to ſeek God) *February* the 14th. a booty of 80 Cows, and 200 Sheep being offer'd, they were (though with much hazard) ſoon recovered of the Enemy: And from the worſt of Winds, a Northweſt, it inſtantly turn'd to the beſt, a S. E. and ſo continued, till in the Evening, that Sabbath, (having all that day crav'd the bleſſing from God) tidings came in that our Relief was come within the Bar: *viz.* two Pinnaces, 6 Gabbards, 3 Frigots, with one Shallop, with a plentiful Relief for three months, a large Fiſher-Boat of the Rebels, loaden with Herring (going to the Confederates) being alſo brought in, notwithſtanding what Cables, Maſts of Ships, and other things they had chain'd over the River, to prevent their arrival: ſo faithful and fortunate was Captain *Stutfield*, whoſe happy Conduct, *Tredath* had now twice experienc'd in the height of miſery, a mercy not to be forgot

forgot no more then that, that *Sunday* morning about four of the Clock, Sir *Phelim O-Neale* (marching ſilently with all the ſtrength he could make) made ſo bold an Attempt, as to apply ſcaling Ladders to the Walls, eſpecially near St. *Laurence* Gate, where (ſometimes) a Sentinel had been omitted, two of which they had preſently fixed, and on each one mounted, the Sentinel (miſſing fire) the Aſſailants preſumed higher, till the Sentinel knocked them down with the Butt of his Musket, and cried out to the Guard, who inſtantly plyed the reſt with their fill of ſhot, ſo that they left thirteen of their Ladders, and many of their dead behind them: nor could all that the Rebels Officers could ſay, encourage their Souldiers to return. 1641.

With the laſt Relief, there came a Proclamation, dated the 8th. of *February*, 1641. from the State, prizing Sir *Phelim O-Neals* head at 1000*l.* *O-Relie's*, and others at 600*l.* and the reſt of the Principal at 400*l.* if they were brought in before the 25th. of *March* next, which made the Souldiers ready to be abroad; the Proclamation may be found at large in the Appendix. After that the *Lords Juſtices, and Council* had thus particularly named thoſe then in Rebellion, and ſate a Price on their heads, few (if any) were ever brought in, ſo intire were the Confederates; though in former Rebellions this Policy produced good effect: whereupon the Commons in Parliament, Ordered all rotten Members fit to be cut off, and new to ſupply their Places, publickly affixing in their Orders, their Names whom they knew engaged in the Rebellion, which Sir *Audley Mervin* * brings in *as juſt evidence of their Conviction, from undeniable Preſidents of Parliament, how many Nocent Perſons ſoever have ſince paſſed in Triumphant innocency, whilſt thoſe ſtand by, whoſe evidence (if admitted) would write the Letter of Condemnation on their foreheads.* However the Catholick Lords of the *Pale* (could words make them innocent) fram'd a Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation of the eight of *February*, but ſo falſe, ſcandalous, and inſinuating, that no anſwer (further then every intelligent mans abhorrency thereof) is requiſite or expedient. Appendix. 6th.

* In his Speech the 13th. of *Febr.* 1662. p. 17. 38.

Since the laſt Relief, the Rebels (as to their Menaces) were ſomewhat milder; and relief and hope, having now animated the Souldiers, the 26 of *February*, the Governour iſſued out with 220 Foot, and 120 Horſe to *Beaubeck*, ſecuring thereby ſome Corn and Hay for the ſervice of the Town, and then advanc'd to *Smithstown*, where they met a Party of the Rebels, fought them, and ſlew 300. *Serjeant Major Forteſcue* took two Colours, Captain *Bryan* a Drum, and eightſcore Cows near *Gellingſton*, where not long before they had defeated our men; Colonel *Preſton* was there hard put to it: The Victory (that it might tend to the raiſing of the Siege) was purſued by 600 Foot, and 120 Horſe, under the Conduct of my Lord *Moore*, with Carriages and two Field Pieces, who aſſaied *Stanime*, which they found ſo unexpectedly Fortified, as having onely ſlain ſome of their men, (abundance of rain falling) the great Guns did ſmall execution, that thence the Party return'd that night, and called in upon *Colp*, a little Village, where they loaded themſelves with Corn, and return'd without any oppoſition. Thoſe of *Stanime* hearing of our Supplies, and reſolution to come on, quitted the Caſtle few days after, which without further work fell into our hands; ſcarce a day now paſſed, without ſome attempt upon the Enemy.

1641. The firſt of *March*, Sir *John Borlaſe* Jun. Lieutenant Colonel, had the Command of four Companies, with which he fac'd the Enemy, and beat them with much diſadvantage, ſecuring at that time 200l. worth of Corn, burning withall, ſuch of their Lodgings as remain'd of the former days work at *Colp*, and return'd with great ſatisfaction: Whilſt the ſame day, the Lord *Moore*, and the Governour marched further, and the Rebels having lin'd Hedges and Ditches, Captain *Billingſley* very reſolutely ſcour'd thoſe places with 80 Musketiers, ſoon routing them, a Lieutenant with 13 Souldiers were ſlain, and a Captain of the *O-Neals* taken Priſoner: The Caſtle of *Colp* (after much hazard) was taken, and all therein (*viz.* 26) were ſlain, ſave the Captain, who was taken Priſoner.

The third of *March* ſome Forces marched out, under the Command of Colonel *Waineman* to *Marlington* (three miles off *Tredath*) with whom all Perſons were permitted to pillage, and return'd home with all ſorts of Grain, having burnt *Draicot*'s houſe, and ſome other places conſiderable: at which time the Rebels forſook many of their Houſes, and we began to be at pretty eaſe.

The firſt of *March*, the Lord *Moore* commanded out a Party of 400 Foot, and 80 Horſe on the Northſide, amongſt his Traiterous Tenants, to *Talagh-hallon*, where Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, with Colonel *Mac-Bryan*, had that night confederated together, eight Colours inſtantly appear'd, being intrench'd much to their advantage, but our men (Lieutenant Colonel *Byron* commanding the Foot) drew up boldly, and gave ſuch ſure fire, as they ſoon betook themſelves to their laſt refuge (their heels) near 400. with 7 Captains, were ſlain, and one took Priſoner (*viz.* *Rory-mac-Art-mac-Croſs-mac-Mahon*, and one Colour; 100 Muskets were taken, and Pikes covered the ground, others ſecuring themſelves by a bog near at hand, were ſo roughly admoniſhed by a Drake from us, that they ſoon removed their ſtanding: This hot skirmiſh was in ſight of our Walls, the Lord *Moore* in this encounter behaving himſelf moſt gallantly, indeed no man braver; for after he was known by the Rebels, they endeavoured to have ſeized on him; yet though he had but 7 in his Company (being then at a diſtance from the main Body) charged them home, killed many, ſcattered the reſt, and got off clear.

Tredath being freed, ſeveral of the Lords of the *Pale* offer (upon Conditions) to come in.

After that *Tredath* had relieved it ſelf, and his Majeſties Forces became full Maſters of the field, ſeveral (as the Lord *Nettervile*, Lord *Slane*, and others) writ Letters to the State to excuſe themſelves, as did thoſe with the Lord *Gormanſton*, about the 21ſt. of *March*, to the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, under the name of the United Lords, that he would move the State for a Ceſſation of Arms, and to know upon what Conditions they might come in and ſubmit; which the Lords *Juſtices and Council* thought a demand full of Inſolency, they having (till then) acted with the forwardeſt of the Rebels, notwithſtanding whatever dehortations or encouragements, the State gave them to the contrary, ſo that then the *State* had no power to mitigate their Crimes; Nor did the Lords *Juſtices and Councel* then think fit to proſtitute his Majeſties Royal Grace, to men ſo ungrateful and unnatural: Beſides, the *State* in their Commiſſion and Inſtructions, found no expreſs Warrant to pardon ſuch pernicious Traitors, as (before they inclined to come in) hoped to carry all before them, by ſurprizal or open force.

In

In the laſt Service of my Lord *Moore*'s, *Barnewell* of *Rahasket* (one of dangerous Parts) was taken, with ſome Prieſts and Friers; *Darcy* of *Platten* in *Meath*, about two miles from *Tredath*, was ſoon after ſummon'd, who denied the ſurrender of his Houſe to the Earl of *Ormond*, yet after hearing of two Peeces of Battery, ſurrendred it. However, at *Atherdee*, the Rebels killed all the Proteſtants, whilſt the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General, leaving *Dublin* the 7th. of *March*, (proſecuting the Deſign formerly mention'd, upon the arrival of the Forces out of *England*, that they might not be idle in the City) was not far from *Tredath*, with 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, burning the County of *Meath*, and ſeveral of the Lords of the Pale's Houſes in their March, who came to *Tredath* the 11th. of *March*, exceedingly admiring that ſuch weak Walls ſhould be able to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy. His *Lordſhip*, with the *Governour*, the Lord *Moore*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Sir *Robert Ferrall*, and others, in a Councel of War, determin'd to proſecute the Rebels: But the Earl of *Ormond*, with the reſt of his Forces, being ſummon'd to *Dublin*, on Buſineſs of great importance, (beneath the capacity of thoſe who would have had it otherwiſe) the Work fell wholly on the Lord *Moore* and the *Governour*, who were by the Earl of *Ormond* recruited with four Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, and two Peeces of Battery; and upon the 21. of *March*, with 1000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, they march'd forward, finiſhing what they had left unburnt at *Slane*, and other Villages in the way. And the 23. of *March*, they advanc'd with Fire and Smoak towards *Atherdee*; about a mile from Town, the Enemy was deſcried to be drawn up into two Diviſions, reported to be 1100 or 1500. upon which Sir *Henry Tichborn* drew his Souldiers into Battalia, ſending up a forlorn Hope before to ſcour the Ditches, which they ſo effectually did, as ſtumbling upon an Ambuſcado of the Enemy's Musketiers, they beat them out of their Holes, drawing ſo nimbly upon them, as they killed about 400 of them in a miles ſpace. At the foot of the Bridge our Foot found ſome reſiſtance, by Musketiers plac'd in a Tower; upon which Sir *Henry Tichborn* (finding a paſſage over the River) galled them ſo on the other ſide, that they ſoon abandon'd it. The paſſage thus open'd, the Horſe enter'd, and with a full career chas'd them through the Town, where one Lieutenant Colonel, and five Captains of the Rebels, were ſlain, the Lord *Moore* doing much execution with his own hands. Now the paſſage being clear, our Forces made an aſſault on *Dundalk*, fortified by the Rebels, with a double Wall, double Ditch, Marſh-ground on one ſide, and Sea on the other, ſo that our difficulty was great. Yet we approach'd the Town the 26th. of *March*, about Nine in the Morning, planted our Ordnance on a little Hill near the Gate, which 500 of them defended a while againſt a forlorn Hope of ours, till they purſued their Work ſo cloſe, as they made many of the Rebels fall, at which they retired; which our Men perceiving, increas'd their fears by ſhouting, that at length a Diviſion, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Waineman*, of about 300, reſolutely approach'd the Gate with Pick-axes, and after a ſtrong encounter enter'd with the Horſe, who purſued the Enemy with a full Gallop, killing many; but (upon the turning towards the next Gate, ſeeing 2 or 3 braſs Peeces planted, and 500 of the Rebels ready to receive us) we fairly retreated, whilſt a Caſtle, plac'd at the head of that Street, (man'd with their beſt Muſketiers) in our return played very hot upon us, whereby 10 of our

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The Earl of *Ormond* viſits *Tredath* with 3000 Foot and 500 Horſe.

Dundalk aſſaulted and gain'd.

1641. Men were ſlain, and Enſign *Forteſcue* (a ſprightly Gentleman) one Serjeant, and one that carried the Colours for another; Lieutenant *Francis Moore* was there alſo ſhot upon the ſhoulder-piece of his Armour, without much hurt, (a Gentleman that merits much for his ſervice through the whole Buſineſs.) At this (we being not ſubject to loſe any Men) the Governour and the Lord *Moore* were ſo enraged, that they ſet the Houſes near the Caſtle (the only *Remora*) on fire, through which (the Wind blowing the ſmoak on the Caſtle, and the Souldiers making bundles of dried Bean-ſtalks, intermixt with Tow and Gunpowder, and carrying theſe on their heads) they got themſelves un-deſcried to the Caſtle-door, where they laid down their bundles, and giving fire by a train of Powder, blew up the Door, and ſome other Boards, thoſe within (being almoſt choaked, and fully frighted) leapt out at a Window, and a Serjeant of Captain *Owen*'s, with 5 Men (upon condition that they might have the pillage of the Place) enter'd it, and ſpeedily ſhewed (by their naked ſwords on the top of the Caſtle) that they were Maſters of it. At which the *Governour* and the Lord *Moore* were reviv'd, and immediately quench'd the Fires, and man'd the Caſtle with 30 good Musketiers, who, playing thick into the Town, hindred the Rebels from walking the Streets. Afterwards we drew up two Peeces of Ordnance againſt the inner Gate, and with 10 Wool-packs (found in the Caſtle very opportunely) a kind of Bulwark was made for the Musketiers, which the Rebels perceiving, left their Peeces there loaden. Whereupon the *Governour* took a Diviſion of a Party of Horſe, and drew by the back of the Town, (towards the North-Gate) killing 40 in his way, and enter'd at a by-Gate, found the Town deſerted. The Lord *Moore*, in the interim, alſo beating open the Gates, took poſſeſſion of the two braſs Peeces, and another in the Market-place, and ſo at Seven a Clock the ſame Night we were Maſters of all. About 100 of theirs were killed, and ſome 14 of ours, 120 Proteſtants were thereby reliev'd, and much good Pillage of all ſort taken therein: Our Forces upon Muſter next Morning were found to be but 750 Foot, and 200 Horſe, theirs near 3000 within the Town, beſides in Artillery and braſs Peeces they much exceeded us.

Thus *Tredath*, which not long ſince was (in the opinion of moſt) given up as an irrecoverable prey to the Rebels, now ſurviv'd their ſcorns; and that meerly through God's Mercy, on the courage and valour of the beſieged, bearing out againſt the utmoſt of Extremity and Treachery, faithfully ſet down by *Dean Bernard*, in his ſiege of *Tredath*, 1642. deſcrib'd with the Follies of ſeveral ſuperſtitions and vanities, no ways prevalent to the practiſer; and had not the providence of the State (at that time) been ſingular, no doubt but *Dublin* would ſoon have been the triumph of their malice and cruelties. And now the County of *Lowth* (which lay on the other ſide of the *Boine*) being clear'd, *Ardes* and *Dundalk* alſo being taken in, Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, who (on all occaſions) made a moſt inconſiderable reſiſtance, ran with the firſt, being reſerv'd for a further miſchief; he got to the *Newry*, and thence paſſed down into the Counties of *Tyrone* and *Ardmagh*, where (in revenge of his loſſes before *Tredath*) he exercis'd the uttermoſt of his Cruelties on Men, Women, and Children, whom he had to that time ſuffer'd to live amongſt the *Iriſh*, moſt barbarouſly killing the Lord *Cawfield*, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, and caus'd Mr. *Blany* (a Gentleman of good Quality) to be hanged for refuſing to hear Maſs. About the ſame time, *Mulmore O-Re-*

Sir *Phelim O-neal* being diſappointed at *Tredath*, revenges himſelf on the *Britiſh* in other Parts.

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lie being likewiſe driven from the ſiege of *Tredath*, retiring to *Belturbet*, (in the County of *Cavan*) there commanded the poor *Britiſh*, who thitherto (*i. e.* after the great ſlaughter) had ſurviv'd to the number of 60. to be forced off the Bridge into the Water, where they were ſwallowed up: As did Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, who miſſing the taking in of the Caſtle of *Augher*, in the County of *Ardmagh*, in revenge gave directions to *Mulmore-Mac-Donnel*, (a moſt cruel and mercileſs Rebel) to kill all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* within the Pariſhes of *Mullebrack*, *Loghgilly*, and *Kilcluneny*, deſtroying there not leſs than 1500 Proteſtants, ſince the 23. of *October*, 1641. He exercis'd alſo his cruelty in the ſame manner, for his loſs before *Liſnagarvy*, *Newry*, and other Places, upon the poor Proteſtants, as if by offering ſo many innocent Souls to death, he ſhould have expiated the guilt of his Cowardlineſs and Treacheries. 1641.

Thus the *Engliſh* Forces enduring no reſiſtance where they came, either poſſeſt themſelves of the Caſtles tenable, or demoliſht the reſt, and having clear'd all paſſages 'twixt *Dublin* and *Tredath*, part of them retir'd to *Dublin*; whilſt Sir *Phelim O-Neal* gave but cold entertainment to the *Inhabitants* of the *Pale*, that had for their ſafety (after their Confederacy with him) retir'd into his Quarters; he and his Confederates renewing their ancient Animoſities againſt them, (the old *Engliſh*) as thoſe who formerly purſued the *Iriſh* in the defence of themſelves, telling them, That the time was not yet paſt memory, when they had done, as now, ſtir'd up the meer *Iriſh* to rebel, making thoſe in the North declare themſelves, and when they found them not likely to proſper, deſerted them, expoſing them to the fury of the *Engliſh*, and their Countrey to ruine and deſolation; but now they were even, their Countrey being firſt ruined. This harſh ſcornful uſage of the old *Engliſh*, by the Northern *Iriſh*, after ſo ſolemn a conjunction between them, and under ſuch a publick calamity fallen upon them, bred in them a great conſternation and trouble; and it made ſo ſad an impreſſion upon the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, (who was the chief inſtrument to bring the Northern *Iriſh* into the Pale, and there to work out that ſolemn conjunction between them) as it broke his heart, and he ſoon after died, *lamenting his Treachery and Infidelity, that he had not been only the ruine of himſelf and his poſterity, but the great firebrand of his Countrey, out of vain ambitious ends, or for the ſetting up of fond ſuperſtitious Inventions, entertaining ſuch Deſigns, as had already caus'd huge ſtreams of blood to be ſhed, and were now likely to determine in nothing, but the extirpation of the old* Engliſh *Families, out of thoſe plentiful Parts of the Countrey, wherein they had moſt happily ſeated themſelves, and which they had moſt pleaſantly enjoy'd, ever ſince the firſt Conqueſt of* Ireland. Others had the ſame Apprehenſions; but being now involv'd with the *Ulſter* Forces, and having withſtood the date of his Majeſty's Favour, the next courſe was to colour their Proceedings by pretence of Grievances, that by Forgeries and Calumnies, which they never ſpare to vent and publiſh, when they would withdraw the Subjects from their obedience, they might the more colourably palliate their foul Contempts, confounding Times, that the riſe of their Inſurrection might ſeem to have ſome ground and encouragement thence: And to that end, they of the *Pale* made *an Apology to his Majeſty*, fraught with ſo many vain, impertinent, and malicious Stories, as (in the judgement of the knowing and moderate Stateſ-man) ſerve only to increaſe their guilt; the main of whatſoever is there alledged, being fully anſwer'd, in the *Reply to the Remonſtrance given in at* Trym, *the 17th. of* March, 1642.

The *Iriſh* taunt the Lords of the *Pale* with old Miſcarriages.

About

1642.

The King offers to go for *Ireland*.

About this time the King (conſidering how ſlowly the Supplies for *Ireland* went on) offer'd (by a Meſſage the 8*th*. of *April*, 1642.) in Perſon to go thither, (as before he had done the 14*th*. and 24*th*. of *February*, as alſo the 9*th*. of *March*, 1641.) intending to raiſe his Guard of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, out of the Counties near *Cheſter*, and to engage his Crown-Lands *for the relief of his miſerable Subjects there*: Well knowing, (as in one of his Declarations to the Parliament he expreſſes) *That as he was (in his Intereſt) more concern'd than any of his Subjects, ſo he was to make a ſtricter account to Almighty God for any neglect of his duty, or his Peoples preſervation.* But the Parliament Voted, That for his Majeſty to go thither in Perſon, *He would be ſubject to the caſualty of War, and the ſecret Practiſes and Conſpiracies of the Rebels; it would be an incouragement to the Rebels; it would impair the means to ſubdue the Rebels, and increaſe the Charge; and withall diſhearten the Adventurers to ſubſcribe and pay in their Money: It would alſo interrupt the proceedings of the Parliament, increaſe the jealouſies and fears of the People, and bereave the Parliament of that advantage, whereby they were induc'd to undertake the War, upon promiſe that it ſhould be manag'd by their advice; ſo as the Journey would be againſt the Law. And that whoſoever ſhould aſſiſt him in it, ſhould be an Enemy to the Common-wealth; and that the Sheriffs of Counties ſhould raiſe Power to ſuppreſs any Levies he ſhould make to that purpoſe: Being loath* (ſaith his Majeſty in his Solitudes) *to ſhoot at any mark here leſs than himſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of his deſtruction but themſelves.* Whilſt at the ſame time, his Majeſties Subjects of *Scotland*, in an Act of Council at *Edinburgh* the 22*d*. of *April* following, upon this occaſion takes notice, That *there could be no greater demonſtration of Care and Princely Courage, than this his Majeſties intention to go in Perſon into* Ireland *againſt the Rebels*. Upon the ſignification of which Royal Intent to the State there, the *Lords Juſtices and Council*, in a Letter to his *Majeſty* the 23*d*. of *April*, 1642. taking notice of his Princely Purpoſe, to take juſt vengeance on the perfidious Rebels, humbly beſought him *to come ſo provided, as to appear in that Kingdom ſuitable to the Greatneſs and Wiſdom of ſo mighty a King*. Which Letter, how finely ſoever it was covered, went not (in ſome mens opinion) without a diſcouragement; foraſmuch as that though ſome (at Court) might conceive (by his Majeſties coming over) a Peace might be made with the *Iriſh* when his Majeſty pleas'd; yet by taking in ſo baſe, perfidious, and barbarous a People, who in ſo execrable a manner had cut off ſuch multitudes of the *Engliſh*, *the event* (as was privately ſignifi'd by ſome) *could not redound to his Majeſties Honour*. Beſides, the Soldiers were then grown ſo implacable to the *Iriſh*, as they would ſcarce endure any ordinary Papiſt, much leſs ſuffer a Rebel to be admitted amongſt them. After all, his Majeſties reſolutions for *Ireland* were prevented, not without ſeveral conſtructions, as each Party apprehended the *Scene*: Though his Majeſty expreſs'd, that he would never refuſe or be unwilling to venture his Perſon for the good and ſafety of his People, yet he was not ſo weary of his life as to hazard it impertinently, and therefore at preſent ſhould deſiſt. However as yet, the Proteſtant Army in *Ireland* being competently ſupplied, the Rebels were frequently chaſtized.

To ſay truth, after the raiſing of the Siege of *Tredath*, and the conſequences thereupon, his Majeſties Forces ſo enlarged their Quarters, as no conſiderable Enemy (ſave ſome Caſtles) lay nearer *Dublin* than twenty

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ty miles on any ſide, that now the Lords Juſtices thought it high time to provide for the ſafety of ſuch places as lay more remote in the Countrey, the *Engliſh* having in many Places (upon the firſt riſing of the *Iriſh*) poſſeſs'd themſelves of ſome Forces, Strong Holds, Towns and Caſtles, which (though very ill provided) they did for many months (yea, ſome for years, after the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion) defend, notwithſtanding long Sieges, multitudes of Rebels encompaſſing them, and all means by Treachery, Force or Famine, experienc'd to draw them into their poſſeſſion. 1642.

It will here take up too large a ſpace in this Story (where many conſiderable things may fall beſides the Pen) to recite the gallant actions perform'd by ſeveral private Perſons in ſome inconſiderable (in reſpect of Strength) Places; many Women ſhewing more courage, conſtancy, and reſolution in the defence of what they were neceſſitated to, than the Men without did in their undertakings againſt them. Great were the Straits many of them were put unto, enduring all manner of extremities, ſubjecting themſelves to all kind of dangers, not daunted with the multitudes of Rebels that lay about them, they in many places iſſued out, and lived onely on the Spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily bread, which they never wanted as long as their Enemies had it. The Rebels were ſo undextrous in the management of their Sieges, as they took very few Places by force; in all their Attempts, whether by Mine, Battery, Aſſault, they ſeldom proſper'd: The great Engine whereby they maſter'd any Fort of the *Engliſh*, was Treachery; Offers of ſafe Conduct, and other Conditions of Honour and Advantage, which might induce the Beſieged (ſometimes reduc'd to the utmoſt extremities) to ſurrender their Places into their hand; which (though ſolemnly ſworn and ſign'd) they yet ſeldom or never kept, but left ſeveral Places as Monuments of their Treachery and Infidelity, uſing thoſe (who ſurrender'd them) as they did the poor Proteſtants in the Town and Caſtle of *Longford*, whom (they having beſieged, and drawn to yield up into their hands upon condition of Quarters, and ſafety for their Perſons) they (as ſoon as they iſſued out) fell upon with their Skenes, their Prieſt (as a ſignal for the reſt to fall on) firſt ripping open the belly of the Miniſter amongſt the *Engliſh*; then his followers ſoon kill'd and hang'd the reſt. After this manner uſed they the 150 Proteſtants, who yielded up (upon fair Quarter) the Caſtle of *Tullagh*, and the Church of *Newtown*, in the County of *Fermanagh*. And the 1400 or 1500 at *Belturbet*, and the Inhabitants of *Ardmagh* and *Loughgell*, and thoſe under the conduct of the Lord *Mayo*; and thoſe 120 murther'd by the *Mac-Swynes*; as thoſe who yielded the ſtrong Caſtle of *Clogbleigh* (ſituate upon the *Manningwater*) to *Richard Condon*, who promiſed Quarter and a ſafe Convoy to *Caſtelions*, contrary to which, they were all of them either hang'd, kill'd, wounded, or kept Priſoners by him and his Company. In the ſame manner alſo he uſed a Party of the Earl of *Barrimore*'s Troop, who (having bravely maintain'd themſelves in a Houſe in *Coole* againſt his Forces) were by his Promiſe (on the Faith of a Soldier and a Chriſtian) of a ſafe Conveyance to *Caſtelions*, contented to yield it up; but were immediately (upon their coming forth) murther'd: As ſome *Engliſh* Families, and the Garriſon Soldiers at *Sligo* were uſed by *O Connor Slygah*, who (upon the quitting of their Holds) promis'd them Quarter, and to convey them over the *Curlew* Mountains in ſafety to *Abbeyboyle* or *Roſcommon*; but he firſt impriſon'd

1642. priſon'd them in a moſt naſty Goal, allowing them onely Grains for their food, and afterwards (when the Rebels were merry with Company, that came to congratulate their Victory over theſe poor Creatures) thoſe which ſurvived were brought forth (by a Frier, *O Connor*'s Brother, and others) and kill'd, or precipitated over the Bridge into a ſwift Water, where they were preſently deſtroy'd. And at *Teagh-Temple*, after the *Engliſh* and *Scots* (who retired thither, were not able longer to reſiſt the Enemy) had yielded the Place, on Conditions to be brought in ſafe Conduct to *Abbeyboil*, were murther'd, hang'd, or buri'd alive: At which terrible ſight, Mrs. *Olyfant* (a Miniſters Wife) being great with Child, fell in Labour, but was ſtill beat forward, till at laſt the Child ſlipt from her, and, what was horrible, ſhe was forced to draw that poor Infant (and the Concomitants of ſuch an accident) after her, till ſhe died, with ſport to them. The Story would be too long, ſhould we mention thoſe 140 taken forth to be ſent for *England*, and drown'd at *Portadown*: or thoſe numbers drawn to *Florence Fitz-Patricks* houſe, and there ſlain: Or thoſe 60 and odd perſons gathered together, on pretence of ſending them to *Clanhughboyes*, drown'd by them: Or their perfidious breach of Quarter, as that of Captain *Sanders*, which we rather remit to future Story, not touching what they do in open War, but their putting the blood of War in their Girdles in the time of Peace. Though we muſt ſay, that when the Inſtructions for the Proteſtant Agents of *Ireland* came afterwards to be conſider'd, great artifice there was, that the cruelties committed againſt the Proteſtants, after Quarter given, Promiſes and Oaths for ſecurity or ſafe Convoy, ſhould be ſtruck out. But no more of this.

The State conſidering theſe ſad truths, and that none but a conſiderable Army was to appear abroad, they provided 4000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, to be ſent out under the Command of the Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of the Army.

Sir *Simon Harcourt*'s Expedition into *Wicklow*.

While Preparations were making for this Expedition, Sir *Simon Harcourt* (who loved always to be in action) the 26*th*. of *March*, 1642. took a ſmall Party of men, and went out towards the County of *Wickloe*, where he found the Rebels had poſſeſſed themſelves of a Caſtle, called *Carrickmain*, within four miles of *Dublin*; and ſeeing him draw near to it with thoſe ſmall Forces, and finding him to have no Artillery, ſo as their Walls were of ſufficient ſtrength to bear them out againſt any attempts he could make, they began to brave him from within, and to uſe reproachful ſigns from the top of the Caſtle, thereby to expreſs their contempt and ſcorn of him. This his ſpirit was not well able to brook; and conſidering the Caſtle was not invincible, and that it would be very great advantage to the City of *Dublin* to remove ſo ill a Neighbour; and that with two Pieces of Battery he could take it (in ſome few hours) he ſent preſently away to the *Lords Juſtices* to acquaint them with his Deſign, and to deſire them to ſend unto him the two Great Guns for the effecting of it. They very well approv'd his Deſign, and gave preſent order for the carrying them out, together with all neceſſaries and proviſions fitting for the ſervice. In the mean time, he took ſpecial care for the ſurrounding of the Caſtle, and diſpoſing of his Men ſo, as they might prevent the Rebels iſſuing out: In which Service, Serjeant Major *Berry* (with 200 Fire-locks, viewing the Caſtle) was ſhot in his ſide, though he died not till eight days after of a Feaver. All things being put in order, whilſt they attended the coming of the Great Peeces, (now on their way) Sir *Simon Harcourt*, with

with ſome of the Commanders, laid themſelves down under the ſide of a little thatch'd houſe, ſtanding near the Caſtle, (which they took as a ſhelter to keep off the Enemies bullets) from whence he ſuddainly roſe up to call to the Souldiers, to ſtand carefully to their Arms, and to their Duties, in their ſeveral Stations; Which one of the Rebels (from within) perceiving, diſcharged his Piece at him, and ſhot him into his right breaſt, under the neck bone; and being ſo wounded, he was carried off, expreſſing his ſubmiſſion to the good hand of God, and much joy'd to pour out his laſt blood in that Cauſe; The pain of his Wound was ſo great, as they could not bring him to *Dublin*, but carried him to *Mirian*, a houſe of the Lord *Fitz-Williams* where the next day he died, to the great grief of the *Engliſh*, and the prejudice of the Service. His Lieutenant Colonel *Gibſon* took the Command of that Party, and the great Guns being come, within the ſpace of very few hours, made a breach ſufficient for the Souldiers to enter, who, being mightily enraged with the loſs of their moſt beloved Colonel, entred with great fury putting all to the Sword, ſparing neither Man, Woman, or Child. The firſt Officer that led them on in the breach, was *Robert Hammond*, (Brother to Doctor *Hammond*, that famous and excellent Divine) Enſign to Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who carried himſelf very gallantly in this Service, and from thence return'd into *England*, where (in the enſuing War, by the ſeveral exploits he perform'd in the Reduction of the Weſt of *England*, under the Command of the Parliament) he attain'd unto a very great Reputation, and one of the chief Commanders in their Army; And at the King's coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, was Governour of *Carisbrook* Caſtle, and of the Iſle, and (upon his notice to the Parliament that the King was arriv'd there) had Command to attend his Majeſty with Reſpect and Honour, with a promiſe that nothing ſhould be wanting to defray the Kings expences, in which ſervice (a tickliſh task at that time) I do not find that he forfeited his truſt, or otherwiſe demean'd himſelf, then was well accepted.

1642.

Lieutenant Colonel *Gibſon* purſues the Deſign, and took *Carrickmain.*

May in his Hiſt. 8. p. 174.

At the time that Sir *Simon Harcourt* went forth, the Lords Juſtices and Council, finding what ill Inſtruments the Prieſts continued to be, in kindling and fomenting the Rebellion, cauſed as many of them as were in Town to be ſeized on, who being put into *French* bottoms, were ſhipt into *France*.

By this time the intended preparations to march forth, under the Lieutenant General (the Earl of *Ormond*) were ready; The Deſign was to relieve ſeveral Places of ſtrength, ſome beſieged, others much diſtreſſed by their wants and neceſſities, but which way the Army was to march, or what Place they were firſt to go to, was kept as a ſecret; However the Army, *Saturday* the ſecond of *April*, 1642. marched from *Dublin* towards the *Naas*, with 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, arriving at *Athy*, the 5th. being 27 miles from *Dublin*; from whence they ſent out ſeveral Parties to relieve *Carlow*, *Marryburrough*, *Balinokill*, the *Burr*, *Caterlagh*, *Clogh-grevan*, *Ballylivan*, and ſeveral other Caſtles and Towns then in diſtreſs, which they did without much oppoſition, releaſing many Women, Children, and other unprofitable People, much incommoding thoſe Places; Sir *Patrick Weams*, Captain of the Lieutenant Generals Troop, Captain *Armſtrong*, Captain *Tarner*, Captain *Harman*, Captain *Schout*, Colonel *Crafford*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, in their ſeveral Commands,

The Marquiſs of *Ormonds* Expedition.

1642. doing excellent ſervice in their Relief of theſe Caſtles, and ſtrong Holds; The laſt paſſing with no little danger through *Mountrath* Woods (whence Sir *Charles Coote*'s Heir had his title worthy his, and his Fathers merits) to *Marryburrough*, a Place of great conſequence, ſeated amongſt ill Neighbours.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, the Rebels having gathered their Forces from *Wickloe*, *Wexford*, *Caterlagh*, *Kildare*, *Queen's* County, *Kilkenny*, *Tipperary*, and *Weſt-Meath*, on *Eaſter* Sunday, the 10th. of *April*, they diſplayed 40 Colours, within two miles of *Athy*, near the *Barrow*, (of which Colonel *Crafford* gave ſpeedy intelligence) under the Command of the Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, the Lieutenant General's great Unkle, making of the old *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* near 10000 men, Horſe and Foot; which the Lieutenant General perceiving, on the other ſide of the River of the *Barrow*, to have ſent out ſome Horſe near *Tankardstown*, over againſt *Grangemellain*; His Lordſhip return'd to *Athy*, giving out he would fight them the next day; but their numbers vaſtly exceeding his, and he, having done the ſervice he went out for, thought it as honourable to retire to *Dublin*, in the face of them, with Sir *John Bowen*, *Fitz-Girrald* of *Timoga*, *Richard Grace* of *Marryburrough*, and Captain *Crosby*, Priſoners. But when they came to *Black-hale-heath*, between *Kilruſh* and *Rathmore*, about 20 miles from *Dublin*, the Army of the Rebels drew up in a place of advantage, to hinder the paſſage of the *Engliſh* Army, having two great Ditches on each Wing, ſo high that we could ſee no more then the heads of their Pikes, and with ſuch a hill before, (betwixt them and us) that we could ſcarce ſee their Colours, the wind alſo on their backs, and a great Bog a mile behind them. However the Lieutenant General called a Councel under a thorn hedge, (being loath to venture ſo gallant an Army on ſuch diſadvantages) but the *Engliſh* Commanders were all of opinion, they ſhould be fought with, numbers making no difference, where the Cauſe was ſo good: in as much as Sir *Charles Coote* told them in few words, that he diſcern'd fear in the Rebels faces, as well as Guilt in their Perſons, and that he thought they would hardly ſtay, till his Lordſhip had put his men in order for the battle, and therefore deſired they might have preſently Command to fall on, which indeed he was ever ready to obey before the Word was given, neither the matter nor the time now admitting of debate. Whereupon, *Friday* the 15th. of *April*, about 7 in the morning, the *Engliſh* Army marching, as if they would force their way to *Dublin*, leaving in and about *Athy*, Captain *Eraſmus Burrows*, Captain *Grimes*, Captain *Thomas Welden*, and the two Captain *Piggots*, with their Companies, 300 whereof was part of our Army, which made ever now and then (as the Enemy halted) an halt, and reſolving to fight the Enemy, drew up in that ſort as did beſt agree with the Ground; Sir *Charles Coote* (who commanded in chief under his Lordſhip) had the ordering of the Foot; Sir *Thomas Lucas* of the right Wing of Horſe, and Sir *Richard Greenvile* of the left; The Lieutenant-General having many Gentlemen with him, (who voluntarily followed him in that expedition) put them all in a Troop, under the Command of Major *Ogle*, a *Reformade*, (a worthy Perſon) and himſelf in the midſt of the firſt rank of them, and ſo attended the Encounter; the Ordnance firſt began to play, but without much effect; The Rebels Army led by *Mountgarret*, *Purcel Baron of Loghmo*, *Hugh-mac Phelim Birn*, Lieutenant of the *Leimſter* Forces, Colonel

The Battle of *Kilruſh*.

Colonel *Toole*, Sir *Morgan Cavenagh*, Colonel *Morris Cavenagh*, *Arthur Caanaugh*, Colonel *Bagnall*, the Lord *Dunboyne*, Colonel *Roger Moore*, was drawn up (as I have ſaid) in a place of great advantage, upon the top of a hill, where there were but too narrow paſſages to come at them; yet our forlorn Hope (commanded by Captain *Rochford*) conſiſting of 150 Musketiers, making up the hill fiercely, diſcharged upon the Rebels, and was ſeconded by Captain *Sandford*, with his Fire-locks, Sir *Charles Coote* leading up the reſt of the Foot with great celerity; Colonel *Crafford* in the Van, and *Serjeant Major Pigot*, excellently well diſcharging their Commands. But before theſe could come near them, our Horſe both under Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and Sir *Richard Greenvile*, (one charging at one of the paſſages, the other at the other) fell in upon them, who would not ſtand the firſt ſhock, but fled preſently, taking their flight to a great Bog not far from them, (a Sanctuary which the *Iriſh* in all their flights, chuſe commonly to provide for themſelves, and ſeldom fail to make uſe of it) and ſo the *Engliſh* gain'd this Victory without any conſiderable loſs, or much hazard; whilſt a body of 2000 Rebels, led by the Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, and General *Hugh Birn*, wheeling about, thought to poſſeſs themſelves of our Ordnance, Carriage, and Ammunition, which my Lord of *Ormond* perceiving, drew out one of his Diviſions to attend that great Body, and with them and ſome Voluntier Horſe, to the number of 30. which were then with his Lordſhip, (the reſt following the execution) he faced that Body, and within a ſhort time put them to rout: there were not above 600. ſome write 300, of the *Iriſh* ſlain, amongſt which, there was the Lord of *Dunboyn*'s Brothers, the Lord of *Ikernis* Sons, and Colonel *Cavenagh*'s Heads, brought by the Souldiers to the Lieutenant General. The Enemy loſt twenty Colours, many Drums, all their Powder and Ammunition, the Lord *Mountgarrets* Wain, drawn by 8 Oxen, where all his Proviſion was, his Sumpture, and the Lord of *Ikernis* Sumpture. Colonel *Monk*, who (by the quick flight of the *Iriſh*) was prevented from doing that ſervice in the field he intended, followed with a Party of his Regiment, to the Bog which the Rebels had taken, which looked even black, (for their Apparel was generally black) being all cover'd over with them, and there began to fall upon them, as reſolving upon a ſevere execution; But he was commanded to retire, *having got Honour enough that day*, and ſo the Army marched off the field confuſedly, whereas that Victory (how juſt ſoever) is ill gloried in, which is the loſs of Subjects. The Van of our Army lay that night at old *Connel*, the reſt on the *Corrough* of *Kildare*, all in open field; arriving at *Dublin* the 17th. of *April*, where they were receiv'd by the Lords *Juſtices* and *Council*, with all imaginable demonſtrations of Joy and Honour; The Lieutenant-General's behaviour being preſented to the King and Parliament, with the greateſt advantage to his Perſon, as the buſineſs would afford: in as much as the Parliament voted 500 l. to be beſtowed in a Jewel, and to be ſent him, as an honourable mark of the high eſteem they had of him, for that days ſervice, which was accordingly done, and brought to his Lordſhip, with a Letter of thanks from them, though I do not hear that he did ever place the Jewel or Letter in his *Archive*; Notwithſtanding we find his Majeſty takes notice, that he was the Perſon very well approv'd of by the two Houſes of Parliament, ſo as the War of *Ireland* was ſtill managed by his Care, and the future Concerns thereof

1642.

1642. intruſted to his vigilance, as the condition of his Majeſties Affairs there, ſhould be thought important: though it was not long before the Parliament entertain'd ſome jealouſies, to the prejudice of his ſervice againſt the Rebels, which (in reference to what was committed to his charge) never alter'd his Principles or Integrity.

Some Tranſactions in *Connaght.*

In *Connaght* generally, the *Engliſh* Garriſons excellently well beſtirr'd themſelves, to the relief of their own, and neighbours ſtreights; wherein Sir *Charles Coot* Junior, mov'd with much vigour and Integrity, often infeſting the Rebels from *Caſtle-Coot*; he had frequent intelligence from the Marquiſs of *Clanrickard*'s own hand (not daring to truſt another, leſt he might be betrayed) who being Governour of the County of *Galloway*, had *Loghreogh* and *Portumna*, his proper Inheritance to reſide in, to which the *Engliſh* reſorted with much ſecurity, and were indeed by him reliev'd with great Hoſpitality, to an incredible charge of his own Purſe, hanging many (though of his own kindred) whom he found imbrued in Blood, greatly reſenting the Barbariſm and Inhumanity of the *Iriſh*; In as much as *Hubert Boy Bourk*, and Sir *Ulick Bourk*, his near Relations, preying on the *Engliſh*, he often fruſtrated by diſcovering, their Deſigns, and furniſhing Sir *Charles Coot* from time to time, with ſupplies of Arms and Ammunition, to oppoſe them, and impoveriſh their Country: So that at laſt by the advice of Colonel *Walſh* and others, they erected a ſtanding Camp near the *Kreggs*, to moleſt and pen up our Garriſon of *Caſtle-Coot*, which being almoſt compleated, the Garriſon iſſued out upon them, who receiv'd us with a good volly of Shot, which ours anſwer'd not, (according to command) till we came cloſe to them; which being done with great reſolution, their hearts fail'd them, and they betook themſelves to the next Bog, which being at ſome diſtance, gave our Horſe and Foot a fair opportunity to hew them down, before they could reach it; in which ſervice Major *Walſh* behav'd himſelf well, with Courage and Rhetorick, endeavouring to make the Rebels ſtand, but in vain, he at length being forc'd to take the Bog for his own refuge, leaving in the Camp, Bread, Arms, Powder, Corn, Meal, &c. in great quantity, which being more then we could carry away, we were forced to burn. In the Spring following, Sir *Charles Coot* being inform'd of a good Prey of Cattle in the Barony of *Athlone*, towards *Balniaſlo*, in the *O Mores* Country, he (with his Forces) adventur'd thither, got ſome Cattle, great quantity of Cloth, and other neceſſaries, killing many of their Souldiers in their beds; though in his return he was fought with by the Rebels, ſculking in in-acceſſible Places, from whence he at laſt got free, with no ſmall hazard to his Perſon, and loſs to the Enemy; Major *Sumner* in this (as in the whole Siege of *Caſtle-Coot*, and other places in *Connaght*) doing excellent ſervice, as Councellor, Engineer, and Souldier, worthily keeping his promiſe with one *Kelly*, a Gentleman of good Quality, and a kin to the Earl of *Clanrikard*, whom, begging his life, he ſaved, ranſoming himſelf afterwards for 10 *l.* in money, ten barrels of Wheat, and as much Salt, which at the following Siege of *Caſtle-Coot*, proved of great value, being ſold then at 2*s.* a Quart. After which in *Eaſter* week 1642. Sir *Charles Coot* attempted to relieve *Athlone*, and (after ſome ſmall diſpute) did it, though the acceſs to the Place was ſuch, as a few men might have been able to have ſtop'd 1000. he found his greateſt difficulty was to fill up the trenches that the Enemy had made, as his Horſe might have free acceſs, which at laſt he compaſs'd, relieving

relieving the Place with what Cattle and other Proviſions he got in his Expedition, not being a little ſtartled, that by ſuch a Troop as the Preſident there had, and other Conveniencies, no more ſhould have been before attempted. Nor had *Roſcommon*, *Tulsk*, *Elphin*, *Knockvicar*, *Abbeyboyle*, *Belanſad*, Perſons leſs active in their defence, even from the firſt ſurprizals of the Rebels, acting to amazement, when nothing but their own courage ſecur'd their Forts; though the laſt, for want of Water, was compell'd (after a long ſiege) to yield to the Rebels, after that the Governour's two Brothers, (the *Kings* from *Boyle*) with Sir *Charles Coot*, had reſolv'd to have reliev'd him; but at *Carickdrumroosk*, Sir *Charles Coot* having intelligence that his own Caſtle was aſſaulted, he was forced to retire back, and very happily prevented that Deſign in the nick of execution, though thereby the other Deſign was fruſtrated. 1642.

The 30th. of *April*, the Lords *Juſtices* and *Council* appointed a Faſt *to be obſerved monthly upon each* Friday *before the Sacrament, to continue until Declaration were made to the contrary, for the wonderful diſcovery of the late Plot againſt the State and true Religion, as for the happy and proſperous ſucceſs which God in his mercy had given his Majeſties Forces againſt the Rebels, and for the avoiding Gods juſt indignation for the future.*

Upon the return of our Forces from the Battle of *Kilruſh*, within few days, *Philip Sidney*, Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, landed at *Dublin*, (his Regiment having arriv'd before.) He was a Member of the Houſe of Commons in *England*, and by them recommended to his Father, to be made Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, though very young. Aſſoon as he landed (being deſirous to put himſelf upon action,) he undertook the relieving of the Lady of *Offalia* *; (Relict of Sir *Robert Digby*) who (upon the moſt inſolent Menaces of the Rebels,) had return'd a noble anſwer, ſeconding that (though then very aged) with an unparallel'd and gallant defence, beſieged in her Caſtle of *Gheſhell* in the *Kings-County*, by a numerous company of Rebels, in a place of moſt difficult acceſs, by reaſon of the Bogs and Woods which encompaſſed it on every ſide.

The Lord *Liſle* lands at *Dublin*.

* This Lady *Offalia* was the only Daughter of *Gerald*, eldeſt Son of *Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, (who died before his Father, Brother of *Thomas*, beheaded the 28. of *H.* 8.) She was Entituled Lady *Offalia*, by the ſpecial Favour of King *James*, in an Award betwixt her and *George*, late Earl of *Kildare*, elſe ſhe could not have had that Title, properly belonging to the eldeſt Son of the Earls of *Kildare*.

The Rebels Letter to the Lady *Offalia*, at *Gheſhel*.

Honourable,

WE his Majeſties loyal Subjects, being at preſent imployed in his Highneſſes Service, for the taking of this your Caſtle, you are therefore to deliver unto us free poſſeſſion of your ſaid Caſtle, promiſing faithfully, that your Ladyſhip, together with the reſt in the ſaid Caſtle reſtant, ſhall have a reaſonable Compoſition; otherwiſe upon the not yielding of the Caſtle, we do aſſure you, that we will burn the whole Town, kill all the Proteſtants, and ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child, upon taking the Caſtle: Conſider (Madam) of this our offer, and impute not the blame of your own folly unto us, think not that here we brag; Your Ladyſhip upon ſubmiſſion ſhall have a ſafe Convoy to ſecure you from the hands

1642. *hands of your Enemies, and to lead you where you pleaſe. A ſpeedy Reply is deſired with all expedition, and thus we ſurceaſe.*

Henry Dempſy. Charles Dempſy. Andr. Fitz. Patrick. } Con. Dempſy. Phelim Dempſy. John Vicars. } James Mac Donnel.

Superſcrib'd, To the Honourable and thrice Vertuous Lady, the Lady Digby: *Theſe Give.*

The Lady *Offalia* her Anſwer to the Rebels.

Superſcrib'd,

For her Couſin *Henry Dempſy*, and the Reſt.

I Receiv'd your Letter, wherein you threaten to ſack this my Caſtle, by his Majeſty's Authority. I am and ever have been a loyal Subject, and a good Neighbour amongſt you, and therefore cannot but wonder at ſuch an Aſſault. I thank you for your offer of a Convoy, wherein I hold little ſafety; and therefore my reſolution is, that being free from offending his Majeſty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my beſt to defend my own, leaving the iſſue to God; and though I have been, and ſtill am deſirous to avoid the ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood, yet being provoked, your threats ſhall no whit diſmay me.

Lettice Offalia.

The Lord *Liſle* and Sir *Charles Coot* relieve the Lady *Offalia.*

Sir *Charles Coot* accompanied the Lord *Liſle* in this Action, which, with 120 Foot and 300 Horſe, was perform'd without much difficulty, the Rebels not daring to attend their Approaches to the Caſtle in a Body, but made little skirmiſhes from the Bogs as they paſſed along. In their way they took in the ſtrong Fort of *Phillipſ-Town* in *Kings-County*, which was built upon a Paſs in a Countrey, almoſt inacceſſible in the former Wars, and kept always by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Iriſh*; but the Rebels, having by Treachery ſurprized this, (as they had done moſt of the other Places of *Ireland*) it was now taken from them by this ſmall Party under the Lord *Liſle*, with their Piſtols and Muskets, the ſwiftneſs of their March, and the illneſs of the Way, not admitting any other Artillery, ſuch an Enemy not much needing it.

They take in *Trym.*

Being now upon their return to *Dublin*, underſtanding that the Lord *Gormanſton*, and other Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, had gather'd a conſiderable Force together about *Trym*, the Lord *Liſle* (by the advice of Sir *Charles Coote*) turn'd his March that way with that ſmall company. When they came near the Town, they ſaw thoſe Lords at no great diſtance

diſtance from them, but in ſuch a poſture as ſhewed they intended not to fight; and ſo facing about, they marched directly into the Town of *Trym*, which was a Place of very inconſiderable ſtrength, but pleaſantly ſituated upon the River of the *Boyne*, in an open Champion Countrey, and incompaſſed with a ſtone-Wall ſo old and ruinous, as afforded (in ſome places of it) entrance to Horſe, over the heaps of rubbiſh, that lay inſtead of the Wall. The Lord *Liſle* approach'd with thoſe Forces to the Town, and Sir *Charles Coote* finding a place where he could get in ſome of his Horſe, brought them on, and got them in without oppoſition, the Lords of the Pale reſolving, of their diſ-ability, to keep that Town, (though they had treble the number of the Aſſailants) quitted it, and march'd out in ſome haſt, while the Lord *Liſle*'s Horſe enter'd in: ſo as they became Maſters of the Town without the loſs of one Man, and finding it a Place of great advantage, ſituated in the moſt plentiful part of the Rebel's Quarters, they reſolv'd to make a Garriſon of it. And for this Reaſon Sir *Charles Coote* got the Lord *Liſle* to go to the Lords Juſtices at *Dublin*, and acquaint them with the ſucceſs they had had, and the great benefit which might redound to the ſervice of the *State*, if they would think fit to ſend them down Moneys to fortifie that Place, and a Regiment of Foot to keep it. 1642.

The Lord *Liſle* (willing to improve all Arguments that might ſecure the preſent Affair) took ſome of his Horſe to guard him to *Dublin*, and ſoon acquainted their Lordſhips with the Concern, preſſing the Buſineſs with all advantages imaginable, whilſt the Rebels having notice (the day following) of his repair to *Dublin*, (no Buſineſs being carried ſo private, as they had not ſoon intelligence thereof) gathered all their Forces together, and having near 3000 Men, they came (in the dead of the Night) to the very Walls of *Trym*, before they were diſcerned, thinking to ſurprize it. But the Sentinels gave the Alarm, and Sir *Charles Coote* (who never us'd to go to Bed when he was abroad) was the firſt that took it, and having his Horſe ready, preſently mounted, but could not (at the inſtant) get above 17 Horſe with him; with theſe, however, he goes to the Gates, knowing that expedition was not only the life of Action, but muſt (at that time) be the only means of their preſervation. He iſſued out, and fac'd the Enemy, very numerous, making their approaches towards them, ſome few more Horſe re-inforcing his ſtrength: He charged the firſt Troop of the Rebels that came towards him, routing them immediately, and following on, (upon their diſorder) charg'd their main Body, which preſently began to grow looſe, which he perceiving, ſo vigorouſly charg'd in amongſt them, as they all betook themſelves to flight, and he (having now more Men come out of the Town) purſued them with great alacrity, doing ſingular execution with his own hands. And as he was encouraging his Men, (bravely to purſue their flying Enemy) he was unfortunately ſhot in the Body (as it was thought) by one of his own Troopers, whether by deſign or accident was never known, it being (for many months after his death) generally reported, and as generally believed, that *He* was accidentally ſlain by one of the flying Rebels, who in deſpair turn'd about and diſcharg'd his Musket at him. And this end had this *gallant Gentleman*, who began to be ſo terrible to the Enemy, as his very Name was formidable to them: His Body was brought to *Dublin*, and there inter'd with great ſolemnity, floods of *Engliſh* tears accompanying him to his Grave: After whoſe death, and

The Rebels reſolve to ſurprize Sir *Charles Coot* in *Trym*.

Sir *Charles Coot* ſlain at *Trym*.

Sir

1642. Sir *Simon Harcourt*'s, the Fate of the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland* ſeem'd eclips'd, if not buried; the great Artifice being then (under ſeveral pretences) to keep the Souldiers within their Garriſons, to conſume the Proviſions and Stores they had, or elſe to lead them forth without any conſiderable ſervice till the Battle of *Roß*.

About the beginning of *June*, 1642. came over ſome Regiments, under the Conduct of Sir *Foulk Hunks*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Kirk*, who brought over the Regiment deſign'd for the Lord *Rannelagh*; whereupon two Regiments were immediately diſpatch'd for *Connaght*, and accompanied thither by the Lord Lieutenant, who in that Expedition, took by ſtorm, *Knocklinch*, a ſtrong Caſtle of Mr. *Linches*, the beſieged, except Women, (not accepting of Quarter) were put to the ſword; and *Trimbleſton*, a Caſtle of the Lord *Trimbleſton*'s, quitted on the former's ſucceſs, as *Kymkelf*, a fair Caſtle of the Lord *Nettervile*'s, and divers other Caſtles: And upon his approach towards *Athlone*, Sir *James Dillon* (who had beſieged it ever ſince *Chriſtmaß*) ran away; ſo that the Lord Preſident, with about 50 Horſe, and ſome 200 Foot, met the Lieutenant General 5 miles from *Athlone*; and after an hour or two's ſtay in the Field, the Earl of *Ormond* took leave of the Lord Preſident, leaving at his departure a Regiment for the Preſident himſelf, and another under Sir *Michael Earnly*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, and Sir *Bernard Aſhley*, and two Troops of Horſe, with which Forces the Lord Preſident might have ſubdued all *Connaght*, except *Galloway*. But he, inſtead of imploying ſuch brave Men abroad, while the Summer laſted, kept them at home on ſhort and rotten Commons, whereby moſt of them were famiſh'd, or contracted mortal Diſeaſes, and were preſently ſo enfeebled, that the tenth Man was hardly able to march. In the mean time, all almoſt that had fought againſt him of his Neighbours, were receiv'd under Contribution, which was never paid, nor Victuals brought in for his Men, though the Countrey yet abounded in Corn and Cattle; ſo that the Garriſon of *Caſtle-Coot*, for meer pity, baked Bread, and ſent them many Cart-fulls thereof, bringing away in their empty Carts many of their ſick Men, that they might not periſh. And yet at laſt the General (the Lord Preſident) was perſwaded to draw out his Men to ſervice, beſieging *Ballagh* Caſtle, in the mid-way between *Roſcommon* and *Athlone*, wherein he made a breach, and commanded a Party to ſtorm it. The Rebels killed many of our Men that day by ſhot, beſides what periſh'd by Stones, and other Materials thrown from the top of the Caſtle; the Night afterwards the Rebels ſtole to a Bog, not far diſtant, through the negligence of our Guards, and left us the Caſtle. The next Exploit of my Lord Preſident, was (with the remnant of the two *Engliſh* Regiments, and what could be ſpared out of our Garriſons thereabouts) a March towards *Balintober*, to which he was provoked by the Enemy, and ſtimulated on by his own Party, impatient of further delays. *O Conner Dun* of *Balintober*, ever ſince his Son was taken, till now, (that is the middle of *July*, 1642.) had acted nothing, though the tacit Votes of the Province did ſeem to own him as their King, Prince, *Roy telel*, or what Name of Supremacy in that Province could be greateſt; who ſeeing that thoſe Forces which were ſent from *England*, to the Lord Preſident, to ſubdue that Province, (which at firſt much frighted the Rebels) had done nothing of moment, through a ſupine negligence, if not worſe, and were much leſs conſiderable than thoſe Forces which we had before, he began to awake out of his Ale and Aqua-

Aqua-vitæ, and to call in Subjects to help him, out of all the Parts of *Connaght*; but above all that came to joyn with him, none were more forward, or came in greater numbers, than the County of *Maio*-Men, and the rather, becauſe in all the Conflicts of *Connaght* with the *Engliſh*, few of that great County came to fight with us. They drew together 1800 or 2000 Foot, and 160 Horſe, and more had joyn'd with them, if we had defer'd to viſit them. It was therefore adjudged neceſſary by the Lord Preſident, Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *Mich. Earnly*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *Edw. Povey*, Sir *Bernard Aſhley*, and others of the Council of War, That we ſhould draw out all the Men, ſick or ſound, that were able to march, and march to *Balintober*. It was a wonder to ſee with what alacrity and courage, our new-come *Engliſh* put themſelves on this ſervice, even they that were ready to die, (as divers of them did on the way) rejoycing that they might expire, doing their Countrey the beſt ſervice they could, as Souldiers, and not as Dogs on a Dunghil. Our March that day was from *Roſcommon*, through *Molinterim*, and over the Hill of *Oran*, near *Clalby*, which is little more than 2 miles from *Balintober*; from thence we might ſee the Enemy coming with all ſpeed to meet us. The Lord Preſident was of opinion that our Forces ſhould retreat, and commanded it; but the reſt were otherwiſe reſolv'd, and without his Orders drew on towards the Rebels, whilſt he waſhed his hands from what evil might accrew. Our Commanders as they march'd, agreed how to order their Men, and on what piece of Ground; but the Enemy came on ſo faſt, that they could not gain the Ground deſired, which made the Work on our part more difficult, for all the way on that Hill, till we come near *Balintober*, is boggy, with great long Heath in all places, very unfit for Horſe-ſervice. However, when the Rebels came near us, Captain *Rob. King* with his Troop (well mounted, and well arm'd with Back and Breſt, and as well diſciplin'd as any in *Ireland*) was commanded to paſs by their Front to their left Flank, as Sir *Charles Coot*, and Sir *Edw. Povey*, with the reſt of their Troops, being before, nearer to the top of that ridge of Ground, were almoſt paſt, that they might make way for our forlorn Hope of Musketiers, to play in the Front of their great Body of Pikes coming on. Captain *Rob. King* (an old Souldier) in executing of this, ſaw (by the badneſs of the Ground he march'd on, and by the Rebels haſte to come up) that he ſhould not, without diſorder, get by the left Point of this Battalia, gave order to his Men to fire in flank all at once, when they ſhould be cloſe up with the Point of the Battalia, over one another's Horſes Manes, which was a thing ſeldom heard of or practiſed, yet was no new thing either to him or his, for he had taught them this, amongſt other Points of War he had long nurtur'd them in, which they exactly perform'd, when he was come within two Pikes lengths of the Enemy, with their Carbines. At which time our forlorn Hope of Foot being come up, fired with excellent ſucceſs on that part of the Front that lay to the right hand; ſo that by this unexpected way of firing by the Horſe, (timely aſſiſted by the Foot) the Enemy was ſoon put into diſorder, with the loſs of many Men; which breach Captain *King* ſoon apprehending, and finding the Pikes of the fall'n Men to have intangled and galled others, he ruſh'd in with his Horſe, and breaking the left corner of the Battalia, ſo amazed the Rebels, as they fell into diſorder, who (quitting their Pikes all at once) made a great noiſe, and began to run; but before their running, (that was almoſt as ſoon as Captain *King* was got

1642.

The Battle of *Balintober*, fought at a Place called now *Na Nart*, the mid-way betwixt *Oran* and *Balintober*.

1642. into their Front) Sir *Charles Coot* and Sir *Edward Povey* charg'd them in the Flank with their Troops, with which they had kept the upper Ground, on purpoſe to encounter with the 160 Horſe of the Rebels; and to them was Captain *Robert King* drawing to ſecond them, or to fall into the Flank of this Battalia, (which he had new broken) but the Rebels Horſe fled before they were able to come near, and therefore they had leiſure to fall into the Flank of the Foot. This Battalia of Pikes was ſuppoſed to be 1200. They had 1000 Musketeers, which either by bad way, or ſtaying longer than the other, for to receive Ammunition, were not come up to begin the Battel, but were within Musket-ſhot, who alſo ran for company. Our men purſued, and killed moſt of them, but were commanded not to come too near *Balintober*, where the Credulous were to believe, ſome had ſeen beyond the Caſtle another great Body of Men; ſo as not purſuing this Victory, we loſt the benefit of it. In this Battel there was a young Gentleman on the *Iriſh* ſide, who very gallantly behav'd himſelf, after that his Party was fled, getting to the corner of a Ditch, where with his Pike he withſtood the encounter of five Horſe that had ſpent their ſhot, till an Agantick Soldier of the *Engliſh* getting within him, ſlew him. And amongſt the dead, one pulling a Mountero from the head of one, there fell down long Treſſes of flaxen hair, who being further ſearch'd, was found a Woman. After this, the Preſident conſider'd what was to be attempted; and it was reſolv'd to go into the County of *Galloway*. But as in all other Deſigns, many Objections were alledg'd, and the Lord Preſident with a few, accompani'd with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, went to *Galloway*, before which the Lord *Forbes* (Lieutenant General under the Lord *Brook*) was come (the *9th.* of *Auguſt*, 1642.) to beſiege the Town with a Fleet; and having taken poſſeſſion of the Abbey near adjoyning, landed many of his Battering Guns. But before he attempted any thing (according to his Commiſſion) he firſt adviſed with the preſent Governour, (the Lord of *Clanrickard*) affectionate to his Majeſties Service. As the Town ſeem'd to be placing his Majeſties Colours on the top of their Tower, charging Captain *Willoughby* (Governour of the Fort) with the breach of Pacification, (an Agreement, it ſeems, aſſented to by the State) though in vindication of himſelf, he and Captain *Aſhley* alledg'd much: Great ſtraits he had been put to, though at length happily reliev'd by the Earl of *Clanrickard*, when he was cloſely Beleaguer'd, together with the Archbiſhop of *Tuam* (*Richard Boyle*) and his Family, beſides 36 Miniſters, 26 of which ſerv'd as Soldiers, and did their Duty. After all, the Lord *Forbes* being by the Town, the Earl of *Clanrickard*, and the Preſident of *Connaght* (with whom he had had ſeveral ineffectual Conferences) daily delay'd in what he endeavour'd to give Captain *Willoughby* ſatisfaction in, prepar'd to make his approach to the Town; but not being ſtrengthen'd by any ſupply he could get from the Lord Preſident, or Sir *Charles Coot*, and diſhearten'd by Captain *Willoughby*, in that every Houſe in the Town was a Fort, he drew off, being perſwaded to a Compoſition to be paid in Money within two months, which he never got. And at the Lord Preſidents return to *Athlone*, the Soldiers Mutini'd, both Officers and Soldiers offering to go to *Dublin*; but the Common Soldiers being very weak, not able to draw into a conſiderable Body, (the *Iriſh Kerns* killing all ſick and fainty perſons, that could not accompany the Body of the Army) that intent for the preſent was deferr'd; though not long after they return'd

turn'd with Sir *Richard Greenvile*, whoſe ſeaſonable relief, and the Battel of *Raconnel*, will be mention'd in its due place. Whilſt the Lord *Forbes* ſail'd up *Limerick* River, relieving ſome Places, and without much oppoſition took in *Fits-Geralds* (the Knight of the Valley, or Glyn) Caſtle, furniſh'd with all Utenſils and Proviſions for a Family. 1642.

About the 20*th.* of *June*, 700 Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Gibſon*, went into *Wickloe*, where the Rebels not daring to face them, they got much Prey, burnt many Villages, and return'd with ſucceſs.

The Kings affairs now growing every day more ſtraitned in *England* than other, Sir *Lewis Kirk* at Court withdrew Sir *Henry Stradling* and *Kettleby* from guarding the *Iriſh* Coaſt, whereby preſently after there came in both Arms and Ammunition in great quantities to *Wexford*; as alſo ſeveral *Iriſh* Commanders, as *Preſton*, *Cullen*, *Plunket*, and others, who having been Colonels in *France*, were readily entertain'd there, much to the heartning of the Rebels.

However, in *Ulſter*, the 28*th.* of *June*, Sir *Robert Stewart* and Sir *William Stewart*, (Perſons deſerving excellently well of the State) near *Raphoe*, got a conſiderable Victory over the Rebels under Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, ſlaying near 2000 of them, though much inferiour in number, Arms, and Ammunition; whilſt *Monroe* fought them towards the *Newry*, but had not ſo good luck to encounter them, as he had the 23*d.* of *May* preceding, when he gave the *Iriſh* Committee of the Parliament of *England* this account, That with 2000 Foot and 300 Horſe, he beat *Owen Mac-Art O-Neal*, Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, and *Owen Mac-Art* the General's Son, being all joyn'd together with their Forces, and forced them to return upon *Charlemont*: after quitting the Generals houſe to be ſpoil'd and burnt by them, with the whole Houſes in *Louhgall*, being the beſt Plantation in *Ulſter*, and ſtraighteſt for defence of the Rebels. The account of ſome Affairs in the North.

Thus in ſome places whilſt we find the War ſucceeded, the Lords Juſtices in the midſt of *Auguſt*, ſuſpecting *Preſton*'s Forces ſhould increaſe, and (according to the reſolution of the Parliament at *Kelkenny*) ſhould firſt gain the Out-Garriſons, and then beſiege *Dublin*, were forced to require the Lord *Conway* to come unto their aid with 3000 Foot, and all the Horſe he could procure, to proſecute the War in *Leimſter*: Who return'd an Anſwer, That their Companies were ſo weak, they could not draw them together; and that the Rebels (having then receiv'd new Supplies) were ſtrong, and that he was engag'd to meet the Earl of *Leven* (the *Scots* General) to encounter *Owen O-Neal*, with all the Forces he could get. Thus that Province reſerved to it ſelf its own ſtrength, not coming in, as by the Tenth Article with the Parliament of *England* the *Scots* were engaged to. See the Article 6. of *Aug.* 1642. Kings Works, fol. 534.

In *Munſter* the Scene was hot; for the Parliament of *England* having ſent over (as into *Leimſter*) ſeveral Regiments of Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe unto Sir *William St. Leger*, Knight, who (having long ſerv'd in the *Low-Countreys* with ſingular reputation) was, ſome years before the Rebellion, made Lord Preſident of *Munſter*; a Command he diſcharg'd with much vigilance and courage, in as much as the Enemy now fear'd no man more: What he did upon the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, (in hope to have ſtopt its current in that Province) we have already mention'd, and ſhould have told you, that the State (to impower him thereunto) admitted him to raiſe a Regiment of Foot, conſiſting of The Affairs in *Munſter*.

1642. 1000 men, and two Troops of Horſe, 60 to each Troop; which afterwards (beſides the ſupplies mention'd) were liſted in his Majeſties Muſters, with Pay accordingly. But the Deſign being general, *Munſter* (at length) was as well diſturb'd as the reſt of the Kingdom; *Caſhel*, *Clonmel*, *Dungarvan*, and *Featherd*, with other Places, were all (on an eaſie ſummons) ſoon yielded to the Rebels, raging through the Countrey; which the Lord Preſident endeavour'd to ſuppreſs, as far as thoſe ſmall Forces he had with him would admit, reſolving near *Redſheard* to have given them Battle, having (at that time) in his company the Earl of *Barrymore*, the Lord *Dungarvan*, the Lord *Broghil*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Sir *Edward Denny*, Serjeant Major *Searl*, Sir *John Brown*, Captain *William Kingsmil*, with 600 Foot, and 300 Horſe. But the Rebels on the other ſide the Mountain privately avoided them, though four to one; and getting to *Caſhel*, held there a general Rendezvous; from whence *Mountgarret* went with his Forces to *Kilmallock*, a Town treacherouſly ſurrendred to the Rebels (a little before) on demand, ſituated on the Frontiers of the County of *Limmerick* towards *Cork*, environ'd with a ſtrong Wall, which held out Loyally for the Crown all *Tyrone*'s Wars, though ſometimes ſtrongly beſieged, and highly diſtreſſed. And the 9*th*. of *February*, 1641. he went to *Butavant*, where the Gentry from all parts appear'd. It is an antient Town, belonging to the Earl of *Barrimore*, in the Barony of *Orrory*, an old Neſt of Abbots, Friers, and Prieſts. There the General *Mountgarret* exercis'd his greatneſs with reſerv'd gravity and diſtance, ſo as none, except Serjeant Major *Purcel* (who had now joyn'd himſelf with the Confederates, contrary to the expectation the Lord Preſident had of him) were admitted to any Command in the Army, more then they had over the Men they brought with them. However, *Mountgarrets* Forces infinitely increas'd, ſo as the Lord Preſident (to ſecure *Cork*) thought it moſt convenient to retreat thither, whilſt *Mountgarret*, the 11*th*. of *February*, lodges his Forces in *Moyallo*, (brought thither by Serjeant Major *Walſh*) the Inheritance of Captain *William Jephſon*, a Town containing one Street of near 200 *Engliſh* Houſes, thirty whereof were ſtrongly built and Slated, having at the South-end thereof a very fair and pleaſant Houſe, called, *The great Caſtle*, committed to the charge of *Arthur Beteſworth*, with 200 Men, Arms, and Ammunition convenient, and one Iron Piece of Ordnance, with two Curriers, whereof they made good uſe and advantage. And at the North-end of the Town ſtood another ſtrong Caſtle, called, *The ſhort Caſtle*, excellently well afterwards defended by Lieutenant *Richard Williamſon*, who, after many Breaches in the Wall, the beſt Aſſaults Serjeant Major *Purcel* could make, and the loſs of many Men, was given over, though at length yielded out of neceſſity, on terms never perform'd; though the remarkable ſtoutneſs of Lieutenant *Williamſon* was ſuch, as he (finding the Rebels to faulter in what they had promiſed) reſolutely getting up a Sword, vowed to be the death of thoſe who ſhould hinder his and his Parties repair to the other Caſtle, never yielded by *Beteſworth*; which (being reſolutely and on a ſudden done) ſtruck ſuch a fear in the Rebels, as *Williamſon* and his Party were all admitted to go to the *Great Caſtle* with what they had, which was not irreparably rifled from them by the Rebels. And ſhortly after, the Rebels having ſome aiery rumors of the Lord Preſidents Forces to fall upon them, *Mountgarret* march'd thence with his Army, the Lord *Muskery* (notwithſtanding all his fair pretences to the *Preſident*) being now

Mountgarret lodges at *Moyallo*.

The Lord *Muſkery* (contrary to his promiſes) takes part with the Rebels.

now come to the Rebels, which was a great ſtrengthning to that Party, he having a conſiderable Eſtate, and much Money left him by a miſerable Father; whilſt it may be thought, the Lord *Roch*, *Mac-Donnogh*, and others, (being brought to great ſtraits) could not worſen, but might advance their Eſtates by the Rebellion. Many were much concern'd, that the Lord *Mountgarret* would go from *Moyallo*, leaving the Countrey to be govern'd by themſelves; a great conteſt ariſing amongſt them who ſhould be Chief, Serjeant Major *Purcel* (Baron of *Loghmo*) challenging the Generalſhip of that Province: But the Heads of the Confederacy meeting at the Lord *Muskery*'s Houſe, (to avoid contention about Superiority) there reſolved, that none of the Gentry of the County ſhould bear any Office in the Army; but that one *Garret Barry* (who had long ſerv'd under the King of *Spain*, and was reputed a good Soldier) ſhould be General, and the Lord *Muskery*, and ſome other prime and ſelect Men, ſhould be call'd, *The Council of War*; ſo that that difference at the preſent was compoſed. And this *doughty General* muſtering up his Forces, hover'd about *Cork*, without any Attempt worth notice; whilſt other parts of the *Iriſh* Army viſited *Liſmore*, the Cattle in and about that Place being driven away by Colonel *Richard Butler*. The 23*d*. of *February*, Mr. *Richard Bealing* ſummon'd the Caſtle; but the Lord *Broghil*, whom neither Promiſes nor Threats could work any thing upon, told them, That he knew not what Quarter meant, daring him to the Aſſault as ſoon as he would; which *He* threatned within half an hour after: But intelligence being brought, that Sir *Charls Vavaſor* was landed at *Toughal* with 1000 Men, the Enemy fled to *Dungarvan*; and the Lord Preſident determining to look abroad, advanced with that Regiment, and the Lord *Broghil*'s, and Captain *Courtney*'s Troop of Horſe, towards *Talloe*, hoping to ſurprize Colonel *Richard Butler*; but being diſappointed (Intelligence flying ſwifter than our March) he ſet forward towards *Dungarvan*, burning the Countrey as he went, being in all 2000 Horſe and Foot, taking order, that a Peece of Artillery ſhould be brought him from *Cork* by Sea; and, having ſlain many of the Enemy in *Talloe*, he burnt the Town, and ſo went forward to *Dungarvan*; and coming to it the 3*d*. of *March*, 1641. ſent a Summons; but they refuſing, (and ſetting out a Flag of Defiance) he with his Men violently entred the Town, and upon the 5*th*. of *March* took the Caſtle, giving the Enemy Quarter. He put a Ward of 40 Musketeers into the Caſtle, under the Command of Lieutenant *Roſington*, from whom the Enemy not long after ſurpriz'd it. The Lord *Broghil*, the Lord *Barrymore*, marching each of them afterwards on ſeveral Expeditions, happily ſucceeded, taking in divers Caſtles, as *Tourin* the 8*th*. of *March*, which the Lord *Broghil* burnt; and *Bally-Mac-Patrick*, ſtanding upon the *Black-water*, which the Earl of *Barrimore* ſhortly after burnt; meeting now and then with the Enemy, on whom they did good execution: As did Captain *Jephſon* in the relief of *Rathgogan*, and taking in of *Balliha*; as alſo in the Encounter, he and Lieutenant *Downing* had with the Enemy at his return, where he ſlew 150 of them: The like ſucceſs he had in taking in *Ballynageragh*, Sir *Philip Purcival*'s Caſtle. Not long after, Captain *Sherlock*, Head of the *Waterford* Rebels, amounting to 700, endeavouring to take *Cappaquin*, guarded by Captain *Hugh Crocker* with a hundred men, was in the ſtreets killed, and his Forces routed. The 3*d*. of *July*, 1642. the Lord *Broghil*, with 60 Horſe, and 140 Foot, went to fetch off Sir *Richard Osborn* from his Caſtle of *Knockmone*, in

1642.

A conteſt (upon *Mountgarret*'s leaving *Moyallo*) who ſhould be Chief.

Barry choſen General; *Muſkery*, &c. ſtyled, The Council of War.

Bealing's vain Summons of the Caſtle of *Liſmore*.

The Lord Preſident's advance to *Talloe*.

Dungarvan taken by the Lord Preſident.

1642. in the County of *Waterford*, ſix miles from *Liſmore*, who in his advance thither, burnt and deſtroy'd the Rebels Quarters, though in his return towards *Liſmore*, he ſent his Scouts to deſcrie the Enemy, ſuſpecting they ſhould way-lay them, as indeed they did, ſetting themſelves in Battalia in a Field near unto *Cappaquin*, having a little half-Grove at their backs; upon which the *Engliſh* perceiv'd, that there was no way to ſecure themſelves, but by making their way with the Sword, and therefore put their Men in the beſt poſture they could, the Enemy playing very hard upon them: upon which the Lord *Broghil* reſolutely encountred them with his Horſe, whilſt Captain *Stephen Brodrip* led on his Foot in an orderly and well-compacted Body, galling them on all ſides ſo effectually with his Musketeers, that the Enemies Horſe and Foot were ſoon put to flight, with the loſs of one onely man of ours, and at leaſt 200 of theirs, beſides two of their beſt Captains, who died the next day, though their Horſe carried them off then. This was the firſt pitcht Battel ſince the Rebellion in *Munſter*; and had the Enemy ſucceeded, *Cappaquin*, *Liſmore*, and ſome other Places would have been an eaſie Prey. Not long after, the Earl of *Barrymore* took in, upon Quarter, the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cloghleagh* in the County of *Cork*, the Inheritance of Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, who admitted Sir *Arthur Hide* to keep it, but moſt treacherouſly he left it to be ſurprized by *Condon*, whoſe Anceſtors had been formerly the Proprietors of it; (an inſolent Rebel, as his Predeceſſors were before him.) Afterwards the Lord *Dungarvan*, and the Lord *Broghil*, ſummoning the Caſtle of *Ardmore*, in the County of *Waterford*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Waterford*, after ſome petty boaſts to withſtand the utmoſt hazard, it was yielded the 21 of *Auguſt*, 1642. on Mercy, Women and Children being ſpared, but 140 Men were put to the Sword: into which Caſtle they afterwards put a Ward. And here I might give you a Diary of Paſſages concerning his Majeſties Fort of *Dunganon*, the Lord *Eſmond* (an old experienc'd Soldier) being Governour thereof, to its ſurrender the 4*th*. of *Auguſt*, 1642. to the Rebels, at which time it was yielded up upon Quarter for Life and Goods: Serjeant Major *Flin*, accompanied with Captain *Cronyne*, entering thereupon; *Flin* proteſting, that he had a Commiſſion for that end, and in taking of it, reſolv'd to keep it againſt the Puritans, his Majeſties Enemies; otherwiſe he and the reſt loved the *Engliſh*, and thereupon ſetled the Lord *Roch* in the poſſeſſion of the ſame, and the reſt of Mr. *Courtney*'s Eſtate. To which I might add the Siege of the Caſtle of *Limerick*, Captain *George Courtney* Conſtable, from the 15*th*. of *January*, 1641. to its ſurrender to the Rebels the 23 of *June*, 1642. in which time many memorable accidents happen'd, worthy the beſieged. As of *Bonrattie*, under the Earl of *Thomond*; *Roſmanagher*, poſſeſs'd by *Chriſtian Powel*; as of *Cappagh*, defended by *Francis Morton*; as of *Dromline*, kept by *Edward Fenner*; or ſhould we particularly take or give you a Diary of the Paſſages of the Ward of *Michaels-town* to the Ceſſation, and of the Services of *Knockmone*, Sir *Richard Osborn*'s Caſtle. But we are ſcanted in time, as we ſhould be more, ſhould we take notice of the Siege of the Caſtle of *Archerſtown*, in the County of *Tipperary*, commanded by *Henry Peiſly* Eſq; , from the 1*ſt*. of *December*, 1641. to its ſurrender to *Purcell*, Baron of *Loghmo*. As alſo ſhould we inſiſt on the Siege of *Rathbarry-Caſtle*, in the County of *Cork*, *Arthur Freek* Owner thereof, and Commander in Chief, from the 14*th*. of *February*, 1641, to the 18*th*. of *October* following, when Sir *Charles Vavaſor* Baronet, and Captain *Jephſon*, fetch'd

The Battel near *Cappaquin*, the firſt in *Munſter* well fought and managed.

The Earl of *Barrymore* took in *Cloghleagh*.

Ardmore Caſtle taken in.

The Fort of *Dunganon*.

Limerick.

C. *Archerſtown*.

Rathbarry Caſtle.

fetch'd them off ſafe to *Bandon*, firing the Caſtle and its Appurtenances. As alſo the Rebels taking in of the Caſtle *Dundede*, the 14*th.* of *February*, 1641. as alſo *Dunowen* ſhortly after. As alſo of their taking in of the Caſtles of *Traley*, *Clare* Caſtle, *Clonelowane*, and 26 others in the County of *Clare*, whoſe name, with their Governours, would be too tedious to rehearſe. Not to particularize the Siege of the Caſtle of *Asketon*, in the Barony of *Conello*, in the County of *Limrick*, *William Eams* Seneſchal, from the midſt of *November*, 1641. to the 14*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1642. when it was ſurrendred (upon Conditions) to *Patrick Purcel* of *Croe*, Lieutenant General of the Rebels. To which we might add the Siege of *Caſtle Matrix*, in the Pariſh of *Raceele*, in the Barony and County foremention'd, beginning the laſt of *April*, 1642. by *Morrice Herbert* the Younger, and was yielded up to the Rebels in *October* following. As alſo the Caſtle *Loegar*, *William Weekes* and *Richard Hart* Conſtables, ſo appointed by the Lord Preſident *St. Leger*, the 18*th.* of *March*, 1641. to its ſurrender. And amongſt the reſt, (omitting many whom we have not time to inſiſt on) we might particularize the paſſages of the Siege of the Caſtle of *Kilfinny*, in the County of *Limrick*, the Lady *Dowdall* Commandreſs, and Owner of the Caſtle, which after forty weeks reſiſtance, (in that time behaving her ſelf, in ſeveral Encounters, with more than *Amazon* courage, and exemplary conduct) was delivered up to the Rebels, ſhe being reduc'd to the uttermoſt extremities: which particularly to inſiſt upon, would extend this to a Volume beyond my leiſure, though I will not ſay, the Readers content, which they (as well as perſons intereſſed in the excellent management of thoſe and other affairs) muſt favourably paſs over, it being ſafer (in general) to name them, than (not particularly) to expreſs their actions, deſerving a Hiſtory; which the imperfect information (I could hitherto reach to) rather wounds than illuſtrates. Yet that from *Hercules* his Foot, the ſucceſs and courage of the *Engliſh* may be drawn, accept of an Abbreviate of Sir *William Cole*'s Services with his Regiment, conſiſting of 500 Foot, and one Troop of Horſe, out of his Garriſon of *Eniskillin*, perform'd in the Counties of *Fermanagh*, *Tyrone*, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, *Leytrim*, *Sligoe*, and *Donegall*, ſince the 23*d.* of *October*, 1641.

1642.

Dundede and *Dunowen* Caſtle.

Asketon.

Caſtle *Matrix.*

Caſtle of *Loegar.*

Caſtle *Kilfinny.*

An Abbreviate of Sir *William Cole*'s Services, in his Fort of *Eniskillin.*

Swordmen of the Rebels, kill'd in ſeveral Fights and Skirmiſhes, that account hath been taken of	2417
Starv'd and Famiſh'd of the Vulgar ſort, whoſe Goods were ſeiz'd on by this Regiment	7000
Engliſh and *Scotch* Proteſtants reſcued from bondage, and reliev'd by this Regiment	5467
Colours taken from the Rebels in thoſe Fights	0013
Drums (with ſome Arms) taken from them	0011
Boats taken from them in *Loghearn* and *Loghmelvie*	0027
Cotts broken and ſunk there	0109
Iſlands taken and clear'd in *Loghearn*	0365
in *Loghmelvie*	0006
Leather Boats or Curaghs taken from them by Sea-ſervice at *Tellinhead* and *Loghearn*	0010
Boats gain'd there by Sea from them by this Regiment	0005
Caſtles taken from the Rebels	0004

Viz. The Caſtle of *Newportown*, Caſtle *Atkinſon*, Caſtle *Knockballymore*, Caſtle *Haſſet*, alias *Crewmiſh.*

After

1642. After this rate the *Engliſh* (in all parts) fought, ſo as indeed the Rebels (by the War they had commenc'd) loſt in the general many Men, and much of their ſubſtance, as a Judgment upon their Deſign and Treachery.

Sir *Frederick Hamilton*'s Enterpriſes. And here we cannot but mention Sir *Frederick Hamilton*, who had a Garriſon of Horſe and Foot at *Mannor Hamilton*, in the County of *Leytrim* in *Connaght*, by which he perform'd frequently excellent ſervice againſt the Rebels, never attempting them or their Quarters but with ſingular ſucceſs; as at *Sligoe*, about the *1ſt.* of *July*, he enter'd and burnt the Town, freed many Proteſtants, ſlew in the ſtreets 300 of the *Iriſh*, and in his return encounter'd *Owen O-Rork* from *Cavan*, who beſieged his Caſtle (in the interim) with 1000 men, which he clear'd of the Rebels without any conſiderable loſs to himſelf, but much to the Enemy: a Diary of which, even from the *23d.* of *October*, 1641. to the end of the enſuing year, I have read with much ſatisfaction. And had not ſome differences happen'd betwixt Sir *William Cole* and him (the one not liking a Superiour, the other an Equal) their concurrence might have been more fatal to the Enemy; though, apart, they did what became worthy men.

We have declared how the excellent management of Affairs in *Munſter* (by the Lord Preſident and his Aſſiſtants) kept all things in ſome reaſonable temper, (though the *Engliſh* were much deſpoil'd, and driven out of their habitations in ſeveral Places, by their *Iriſh* Neighbours) until the Battel of *Kilruſh* before mention'd: When the Lord *Mountgarret*, and others of the Rebels Commanders (having had ill ſucceſs there) fell back with all the Forces they could make into *Munſter*, and there waſted the Countrey with Fire and Sword, making that Province a ſeat of the War, coming down even to the very Walls of *Cork* with great Forces; not far from whence the Confederates, *promiſing General Garret Barry*, with the conſent of his Council of War, (the Lord *Muskery* and others) planted his Camp at *Rochforts* Town, holding thereby *Cork* (in a manner) beſieg'd on the North-ſide; whilſt my Lord *Roch*, the Lord of *Ikern*, *Dunboin*, the Baron of *Loghmo*, Mr. *Richard Butler*, with the *Tipperary* Forces, were drawing down on the South, till by the valour of thoſe few *Engliſh* then in Town, (*viz.* the Lord *Inchiquin*, Col. *Vavaſor*, and 400 Musketeers, and 90 Horſe) they were beaten off, with the loſs of 200 of their Men, their Tents, and whole Bag and Baggage being taken.

The Rebels under *Garret Barry* beaten before *Cork*.

Sir *William St. Leger*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, vigilant and faithful. In the whole Service, Sir *William St. Leger* (as long as he had health) was active with the meaneſt Officers of the Army, doing many times a private Soldiers duty, as well as a careful Generals. But finding at length the Rebels multitudes to increaſe, and his Men to decay, (even in being victorious) and the Supplies of Men and Money with Proviſions (which he expected out of *England*) to come over very ſlowly, and far ſhort of what the neceſſities of that Province required; well underſtanding too the difference then in *England* betwixt his Majeſty and the Parliament, and what were the deſigns of ſome, putting fair Gloſſes on the Rebellion of *Ireland*, which his Soul apprehended as one of the moſt deteſtable Inſurrections of the World: Theſe things ſo troubled his Spirit, as being diſcouraged in the deſperate undertakings, neceſſity, and the honour of his Nation put him daily upon, ſo deep an impreſſion fixed in his mind, as the diſtemper of his body increaſing, he waſted away, and died at his houſe at *Downrallie*, four miles from *Cork*, in the County of *Cork*, 1642. and was there buried; a little before whoſe death, he writ (the ſecond

The Lord Preſident of *Munſter* dies.

of

of *April*, 1642.) a moſt ſignificant Letter to the Lord Lieutenant touching the Affairs of that Province, and his utter deteſtation of the Rebels Remonſtrance (ſent him after a motion made for a Ceſſation) which he would have ſeconded with further teſtimony of his averſion to their inſolency, as would have tended much to their dis-encouragement, had he been enabled with any reaſonable ſtrength ſo to have done. 1642.

The Command of the Forces in this Province was, after the death of Sir *William St. Leger*, for the preſent (by the Lords Juſtices and Council) committed to the Lord *Inchequin*, who had married his Daughter, and (during his Father in Law's life) had ſhewed himſelf very forward in ſeveral Services againſt the Rebels: He was a meer *Iriſh-man*, of the antient Family of *O-Brian's*, but bred up a Proteſtant, and one that had given good teſtimony of the truth of his Profeſſion, as his hatred and deteſtation of his Countrey-mens Rebellion; and having match'd into the Lord Preſident's Family, was held the fitteſt Perſon to caſt the Command upon, till there were another Lord Preſident made by the King, or he confirm'd by his Majeſty in that Province. In the mean time, the Lord *Inchequin* takes ſome opportunity, and having beaten the Rebels Forces at the Battel of *Liſcarrol* in the County of *Cork*, got great reputation by that action. The Battel was fought on *Saturday* the 3*d.* of *September*, 1642. in which, on the *Engliſh* Party, was kill'd *Lewis Boyle*, Lord Viſcount *Kynalmeaky*, ſecond Son to the late Earl, and Brother to this of *Cork*, who behav'd himſelf moſt nobly in that Expedition, and was buried at *Toughall* in his Fathers Tomb. And on the *Iriſh* ſide was ſlain Captain *Oliver Stephenſon*, Grandſon of him, who in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* had done eminent ſervice in the Wars againſt the Earl of *Deſmond*. And afterwards the Diviſion increaſing in *England*, the ſending over a new *Lord Preſident* was neglected; ſo as the Lord *Inchequin* continu'd in the Government, managing affairs there, ſometimes for the King againſt the Parliament, ſometimes for the Parliament againſt the King, as he conceiv'd might bring on the abſolute ſettlement of that Government upon himſelf; of whom we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

The Lord *Inchequin* choſen in his Place.

The Lord *Inchequin's* excellent ſervice at the Battel of *Liſcarrol*.

And now having ſhewed you the effects of the *Engliſh* Courage ſtrangely reviv'd, and managed againſt the Rebels; it will be ſeaſonable to acquaint you by what means the Forces there have been animated to ſo eminent a Service.

You have already read the generous reſolutions of the Parliament in *England*, upon the firſt diſcovery of the Rebellion, as the encouragement his Majeſty gave them upon his firſt and ſecond appearance in the Houſe of Lords, after his return from *Scotland*. And you have read (if it would have been admitted) how he would have adventured his Royal Perſon thither, and have rais'd 10000 *Engliſh* Volunteers ſpeedily for that Service, if ſo the Houſe of Commons would have declared that they would pay them; which would not be accepted, but inſtead thereof, the 24*th.* of *January* following, the Town and Caſtle of *Carickfergus* were adviſed (by the two Houſes) to be given in Command and Keeping to the *Scots*, 2500 of which were to be tranſported thither, and paid by *England*; ſo as to be accountable (according to their Order the 22. of *Jan.*) to the King and Parliament, and the Lord General in his Place, for all their actions in that Service. Which his Majeſty was loath to grant, *as prejudicial to the Crown of England, and employing too great truſt for Auxiliary Forces.* Though at the importunity of the Parliament, it was ſo

Carickfergus delivered to the *Scots*.

1642. ſetled at *Windſor* the 27*th.* of *January*, 1641. But what ſervice the *Scots* did in thoſe Parts, more than ſubſiſt by *Engliſh* Pay, deſerves an enquiry.

It will now be convenient to acquaint you, that after many neceſſary Propoſitions to the *King* from the *Parliament*, (paſſionately affected with the miſeries of *Ireland*) it was, in the Petition of the Houſe of Commons, *December* the firſt, mov'd, *That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to forbear to alienate any of the Forfeited or Eſcheated Lands in* Ireland, *which ſhall accrue to the Crown, by reaſon of this Rebellion, that out of theſe, the Crown may be the better ſupported, and ſome ſatisfaction made to his Subjects of this Kingdom* (England) *for the great Expences they were like to undergo in this War.* To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *That concerning* Ireland, *he underſtood their deſire, of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from their much care and love, and likewiſe that it might be a Reſolution very fit for him to take: But whether it be ſeaſonable to declare reſolutions of that nature before the event of a War be ſeen, that he much doubted. Howſoever, we cannot* (repli'd his Majeſty) *but thank you for this care, and your chearful Engagement for the ſuppreſſion of that Rebellion, upon the ſpeedy effecting whereof, the Glory of God in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, the ſafety of the* Britiſh *there, our Honour, and that of the Nation ſo much depends; all the Intereſts of this Kingdom being ſo involv'd in that buſineſs. We cannot but quicken your affections therein, and ſhall deſire you to frame your Councils, and to give ſuch Expedition to the Work, as the nature thereof, and the preſſures in point of time require, and whereof you are daily put in mind by the inſolencies and increaſe of the Rebels.*

The Bill of Loan paſſed at *Weſtminſter.*

Upon which the Parliament (willing to omit no time, precious in ſo weighty a Concern) paſt a *Bill of Loan towards the Relief of Ireland*, beginning thus.

Whereas (ſithence the beginning of the late Rebellion in Ireland) *divers cruel Murthers and Maſſacres of the Proteſtants there have been, and are daily committed by Popiſh Rebels in that Kingdom, by occaſion whereof, great multitudes of Godly and Religious People, there inhabiting, together with their Wives, Children, and Families, for the preſervation of their Lives, have been enforced to forſake their Habitations, Means, and Livelihood in that Kingdom, and to flee for ſuccour into ſeveral parts of his Majeſties Realm of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *having nothing left to depend upon, but the charitable Benevolence of well-diſpoſed Perſons.*

The Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament taking the ſame into their charitable conſiderations, for the Honour of Almighty God, and the preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion and Profeſſors thereof, have reſolv'd preſently themſelves to contribute towards the neceſſities of the ſaid poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, who being many in number, it is thought expedient, that through all his Majeſties Realm of England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *a general Collection ſhould be with all expedition made for that purpoſe, &c.*

Other Expedients (conſidering the ſtate of the Kingdom at that time) not being convenient to be urg'd, the effect of which was incredible, ſo vaſt and free a Sum flowing in thereupon, as nothing but a compaſſionate ſenſe of the ſufferings of their Brethren, and a duty to their Religion, could ever have rais'd ſo much: Yet that being ſhort of their Exigencies, the *State* was then forc'd to another Act paſs'd for *Subſcriptions on certain*

Propoſitions

Propoſitions, for Lands of the Rebels in Ireland. To which thoſe of the United Provinces of *Holland* were alſo encourag'd, by a Declaration of both Houſes, the 2d. of *Feb.* 1642. which is worthy often to be conſidered; but being long, though excellently, and with much caution, pen'd, we ſhall refer you to the Act it ſelf, *Anno* 17. *Carol. primi.* Immediately upon which Act, divers Captains, (entertain'd for the *Iriſh* ſervice) adventur'd their firſt 6 Months Pay upon the Propoſitions. 1642.

Yet before theſe Propoſitions could be brought into an Act, (that no time in ſo great a Concern might be omitted) both Houſes of Parliament joyn'd in a Letter to the High Sheriffs of *England*, that they might publiſh at the enſuing *Lent*-Aſſizes, all the Propoſitions touching his Majeſty's Promiſe, to paſs the two Millions and half of Acres of Land in *Ireland*, for an encouragement to ſuch as ſhould in the interim ſubſcribe: After which, the Act fore-mention'd, immediately enſued; upon the paſſing of which Act, theſe ſubſcrib'd in the Houſe of Commons.

Several Sums preſcrib'd.

Mr. *Walter Long*, 1200 *l.* Sir *Robert Pie*, 1000 *l.* the 8th. of *March*, 1641. Mr. *Samuel Vaſſall*, 1200 *l.* Sir *Samuel Rolls*, of *Devon*, 1000 *l.* *William* Lord *Munſon*, 2400 *l.* Sir *John Harriſon*, 1200 *l.* the 19th. of *March:* Sir *William Brereton*, 1000 *l.* the 21. of *March:* Sir *Edward Aiſhcough*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John* and Mr. *Edward Aſh*, 1200 *l.* the 24th. of *March:* Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, 600 *l.* the 25th. of *March*, 1642. Sir *John Clotworthy*, in Money, 500 *l.* Sir *John Clotworthy*, for his Entertainment, as Colonel in the *Iriſh* Wars, 500 *l.* Mr. *Henry Martin*, 1200 *l.* the 26th. of *March:* Mr. *Arthur Goodwin*, 1800 *l.* Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, of *Leiceſterſhire*, 1200 *l.* Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, 1200 *l.* Sir *Robert Parkhurſt*, 1000 *l.* Sir *Thomas Dacres*, 600 *l.* Sir *John Pots*, 600 *l.* Sir *Arthur Ingram*, 1000 *l.* Dr. *Thomas Eden*, 600 *l.* Mr. *Oliver Cromwel*, 500 *l.* Mr. *Nathaniel Fines*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Pym*, 600 *l.* Sir *Walter Earle*, 600 *l.* Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, 600 *l.* Sir *John Northcot*, 450 *l.* Mr. *Roger Matthew*, 300 *l.* Sir *Nathaniel Bernardſton*, 600 *l.* Sir *William Maſham*, 600 *l.* Sir *Martin Lomley*, for *Martin Lomley* Eſq; his Son, 1200 *l.* Mr. *Thomas Hoyle*, of *York*, 600 *l.* Mr. *Anthony Bedingfield*, and Mr. *William Cage*, 700 *l.* Sir *William Allenſon*, of *York*, 600 *l.* Mr. *William Havengham*, 600 *l.* Mr. *Harbert Morley*, 600 *l.* Sir *William Morley*, 1200 *l.* Sir *John Culpeper*, 600 *l.* Sir *Edward Partherick*, 600 *l.* *Richard Shuttleworth* Eſq; 600 *l.* Mr. *John More*, and Mr. *William Thomas*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Liſle*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Blackſton*, 600 *l.* Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, 2000 *l.* Mr. *Bulſtrod Whitlock*, 600 *l.* Sir *Edmond Momford*, and Mr. *Richard Harman*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Trenchard*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Gurdon*, 1000 *l.* Mr. *John Barker*, 1000 *l.* Mr. *William Harriſon*, 600 *l.* the 29th. of *March:* Mr. *John Wilde*, Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Lane*, 1000 *l.* *Nathaniel Hallows*, of *Derby*, for himſelf and others, 1400 *l.* *John Franklin*, 600 *l.* Mr. *George Buller*, of the County of *Cornwal*, 600 *l.* Sir *Henry Mildmay*, 600 *l.* the 1. of *April:* Mr. *Oliver St. John*, 600 *l.* Sir *John Wray*, 600 *l.* Sir *Thomas Barrington*, 1200 *l.* Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, 600 *l.* the 2. of *April:* Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, 1000 *l.* Mr. *John Crew*, 600 *l.* Sir *John Peyton*, 600 *l.* the 4th. of *April:* Sir *William Plaſtors*, 600 *l.* Sir *William Strickland*, 600 *l.* Sir *Thomas Savine*, 1000 *l.* *Alexander* and *Squire Bence*, 600 *l.* Mr. *John Rolls*, of *Devon*, 450 *l.* Mr. *John Hampden*, 1000 *l.* Mr. *William Jeſſon*, 300 *l.* Sir *Edward Baynton*, 600 *l.* *Thomas* Lord *Wenman*, and Mr. *Richard Winwood*, 1200 *l.* the 5th. of *April:* Sir *William Drake*, 600 *l.* Mr. *William Spurſtow*, 600 *l.* Sir *John*

1642. *Welyn*, of *Godstow*, in the County of *Surrey*, for himself and others, 1500 *l.* the 7th. of *April*: Mr. *Miles Corbet*, 200 *l.* the 9th. of *April*.

And that this intended Design might proceed, (till the whole made up a considerable sum) the Gentlemen of the County of *Buckingham*, freely offer'd unto the House of Commons, to lend 6000 *l.* upon the *Act of Contribution for the Affairs of* Ireland, and to pay in the same before the first of *May*, 1642. which the *House* took in very good part, and accepted of, and order'd the 9th. of *April*, 1642. that the said 6000 *l.* should be repaid out of the first Moneys, that shall be rais'd in that County, upon the Bill of 400000 *l.* and that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Winwood*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, should return thanks to the County of *Bucks* from this House, for their kind offer, and acceptable service. And it was further order'd and declared by the House of Commons, That if any other County or Persons shall do the like, it will be kindly accepted of by them, and that the Moneys so lent shall be repaid them, (with Interest, if they desire it) out of the Moneys that shall be rais'd in those Counties where such Persons inhabit, out of the Bill of 400000 *l.*

To strengthen which precedent *Act for Subscriptions*, &c. there was an *Act of Additions, and Explanation of certain Clauses in the former Act*; as also an *Act giving further time to Subscribers for Lands in* Ireland, *with an Advantage of* Irish *Measure*: By vertue of *which* great sums were rais'd, and (in truth) the Forces of *Ireland* yet competently well supplied. But his Majesty perceiving a defect, in the necessary Transportations of what was requisite, he (by the Advice of his Council) declares *, *That he hopes, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all our loving Subjects, will concur with us, in the constant preserving a good understanding between us and our People, but at this time, their own and our Interest, and compassion of the lamentable condition of our poor Protestant Subjects in* Ireland, *will invite them to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongst themselves; that so we may with one heart, intend the relieving and recovering of that unhappy Kingdom, where those barbarous Rebels practise such inhumane and unheard of Outrages, upon our miserable People, that no Christian Ear can hear without horrour, nor Story parallel.*

* In a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in Answer to the Remonstrance of the Commons, the 15th. of *Decemb.* 1641.

The King expresses his deep Resentment for *Ireland*.

And yet further to dis-burthen his thoughts for *Ireland*, he was pleas'd to signifie to both Houses of Parliament, the 24th. of *Feb.* 1641. *That for* Ireland, *in behalf of which his heart bleeds; as he hath concurred with all Propositions made for that Service by his* Parliament, *so he is resolv'd to leave nothing undone for their relief, which shall fall within his possible power.*

And because his Majesty's removal to *York* from the *Parliament*, should not hinder the Supplies for *Ireland*, he, from *Huntingdon*, the 15th. of *March*, 1642. declares, *That he doth very earnestly desire, that they will use all possible industry, in expediting the Business of* Ireland, *in which they shall find so chearful a concurrence by his* Majesty, *that no inconvenience shall happen to that Service by his absence, he having all that passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which he hath expressed in his former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, than he hath endeavour'd to do by those Messages, (having likewise done all such Acts, as he hath been mov'd unto by his* Parliament;) *therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Protestant Subjects shall grow upon them, (though his Majesty shall be deeply concern'd in, and sensible of their sufferings) he shall wash his hands before all the World, from the least imputation of slackness, in that most necessary and pious Work.*

Thus

1642.

His Majeſty's ſenſe of *Ireland*, and the Parliament's Return.

Thus his Majeſty reſented that horrid Rebellion, having nothing left further to expreſs the deep ſenſe he had of the publick miſeries of his Kingdom. Yet the *Parliament*, who conceiv'd themſelves deeply intruſted with the Concerns of *Ireland*, (the proſecution of that War being left to them, but not ſo as to exclude his Majeſty) replied, *That they humbly beſought his Majeſty to conſider, how impoſſible it is that any Proteſtation, (though publiſht in your Majeſty's Name) of your tenderneſs of the miſeries of your Proteſtant Subjects in* Ireland, *&c. can give ſatisfaction to reaſonable and indifferent Men, when at the ſame time divers of the* Iriſh *Traitors and Rebels, the known Favourers of them, and Agents for them, are admitted to your* Majeſty's *Preſence with Grace and Favour, and ſome of them imployed in your Service, and when Cloaths, Munition, Horſes, and other Neceſſaries, bought by your* Parliament, *and ſent for the ſupply of the Army againſt the Rebels there, are violently taken away, ſome by your Majeſty's Command, others by your Miniſter's.* To which it's replied, That thoſe Cloaths, *&c.* entring into *Coventry*, his Majeſty had good reaſon to believe, they would have been diſpos'd of amongſt the Souldiers, who there bore Arms againſt him; putting the *Parliament* beſides in mind, That he was ſo far from diverting any of thoſe Proviſions made for the relief of *Ireland*, (the thought of whoſe miſerable condition made his heart bleed) that 3000 Suits of Cloaths being found at *Cheſter*, for the Souldiers in *Ireland*, he commanded that they ſhould be ſpeedily tranſported thither, no neceſſity of his own Army being ſufficient to prevail with him to ſeize on them.

Thus both the *King* and *Parliament*, intereſſed in the great Concern of *Ireland*, were paſſionately affected with her ſad condition, whilſt the diſtractions and jealouſies at home ſo diſ-cemented their Forces, as the *Iriſh* Harp hung on the Willows, and thoſe noble Souls (which even now return'd with Laurels) droopt betwixt the living and the dead.

Ireland neglected.

Affairs ſtanding in this poſture, neither of them prov'd at leiſure to conſider, (more than in Declarations) the miſerable condition of bleeding *Ireland*; inaſmuch as they were ſo far from ſending over thither any further ſupplies of Men, Money, or Ammunition, how inceſſantly ſoever they were mov'd to it from the Lords Juſtices and Council, as the *Parliament* at that time (finding themſelves under great Neceſſities for want of Money) order'd the ſum of 100000 *l.* of the Adventurers Money, (then in the hands of the Treaſurer, for the relief of *Ireland*) to be made uſe of, for the ſetting forth their Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, then ready for his March againſt the King at *Nottingham*; notwithſtanding a Clauſe in that memorable Act, *That no part of that Money ſhall be imployed to any other purpoſe, than the reducing of thoſe Rebels.* This rais'd a great noiſe, and highly reflected upon the *Parliament*, That they (who ſo heartily on all occaſions, had complain'd of the King's neglect of his poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*) ſhould now make uſe of that Money, to raiſe Arms againſt him in *England*, and ſo leave the remnant of thoſe ſuffering Souls in *Ireland*, to the Inſolencies of the Rebels, and their own Forces, Fleſh of their Fleſh, ſent over with ſo much Charge, for the ſuppreſſion of that horrid Rebellion, to neglect and ſcorn, for want of a ſeaſonable and juſt ſupply. Upon which, his *Majeſty*, from *York*, the 30th. of *Auguſt*, 1642. ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, requiring them to retract that Order: To palliate which, they alledg'd many things againſt the King; As the denying the Lord *Wharton*, to go with

The Parliament makes uſe of part of the Money collected for *Ireland*.

5000

1642. 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse, for the relief of *Munster*; the hindring of two Pieces of Battery, (writ for by the Lords Justices;) the detaining of the Lord Lieutenant, (the Earl of *Leicester*) when the Affairs of *Ireland* were known to suffer, for want of a Commander in Chief; notwithstanding his Majesty * had charged them, that they had detain'd the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, on whom (writes he) he relyed principally, for the conduct and management of Affairs there, never regarding his earnestness, formerly prest, (when he was thought to be stayed by the Parliament) that he should repair to his Command; of which, the Earl of *Leicester*, in a Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, is not silent, order'd by the Parliament to be printed, the 26th. of *September*, 1642. To which the Parliament adds, The calling away of Sir *Charles Lloyd*, Captain *Green*, and others, in actual imployment against the Rebels, attesting, that the 100000 *l.* borrowed of the Subscription-Money for *Ireland*, they soon re-paid with advantage, being then forc'd to make use of it, to prepare a competent Army for the defence of the King and Kingdom, without any prejudice to the Affairs of *Ireland*, whose subsistence depends on the welfare of this. In Answer to which it was replied, That that Kingdom (were the Money restored) in the mean time suffered by that Diversion; and that had the Lord *Wharton*'s Forces been approved of, there was no further security, (that those should have been sent for *Ireland*) than other Forces that were rais'd for that purpose, and yet imployed against his Majesty at *Edge-hill*; the other Exceptions of the Parliament (in his Majesty's Papers) being also answer'd, which begot a Reply, not altogether pertinent in this place to pursue.

* In his Answer to the Parliament's Petition, the 28th. of *April*, 1642.

However, the *Parliaments* imploying the 100000 *l.* (contrary to the Interest of the foremention'd Act, in the 17th. year of *Car.* 1. with his Majesties full consent before he left the Parliament,) was the cause that it produced so little good effect for *Ireland*; many of the Subscribers taking that occasion (as others before had done upon his Majesties motion to go for *Ireland*) to withdraw their subscriptions, and others not to pay in their Money, which was with so much Caution provided for, and guarded with so many advantagious Circumstances for all the Adventurers, as if it had been carried on, and seasonably applied, with that Care and Sincerity it ought to have been, *it would in a little time have reduc'd that whole Kingdom, and have eas'd that poor People of many of those Calamities, they have since endur'd.* The want of which put the *Lords Justices* and *State* on many difficulties.

Yet that something might seem to be done, there was an Order of the Commons House of Parliament, the 3d. of *August*, 1642. *That the Ministers about the City of* London, *should be desired to exhort the People, to bestow old Garments and Apparel, upon the distressed Protestants in* Ireland; in reference to which, the 19th. of *September* following, the *Lord Mayor of London* ordered, that those Cloaths should be brought to *Yorkshire-hall* in *Blackwel-hall*, to be ready for shipping them for *Ireland*; and a vast Supply was brought in, Charity never so much manifested its compassion as in that Cause; which afterwards was entrusted to a Reverend Person, who discharged his trust with singular Prudence and Integrity; though as to the Army these Cloaths never reach'd or intended.

And now the Rebels finding their Strength much augmented by the unhappy differences in *England*, their chief Contrivers of the Conspiracy

cy (the Clergy) met at *Kilkenny*, and there Eſtabliſhed in a *General-Congregation*, ſeveral Conſiderations for their future Government.* 1642.

Upon which Proceedings, and the validity of the 6th. Article of thoſe *Prelate-Dignities*, and learned men; the firſt *General-Aſſembly* at *Kilkenny*, ſate the 10th. of *November*, 1642. according to what *Scobel* * gives us an account of; Though *Peter Walſh* (one of the Aſſembly certainly to be credited) in his ſecond part of the firſt Treaties of his Hiſtory, and vindication of the Loyal Formulary, * writes that the firſt *General* or *National-Aſſembly* of the Confederates, began at *Kilkenny*, the 24th. of *October*, 1642. and continued to the 9th of *January* following, upon which day they were diſſolved, having conſtituted (to ſucceed them) the *Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland; and that they might be the better tied together with the Holy bond of Union and Concord (as is expreſſed in the thirty third Article of the General Aſſembly, and the third of the Congregation.;) They framed the enſuing Oath of Aſſociation to be taken by all in that Confederacy.

* Appendix *7th.*

* In his Collection of Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, *fol.* 197.
* *Fol.* 740. The General Aſſembly at *Kilkenny*. As alſo *Mahone* in his *Diſput. Apologet.* p. 101.

The Preamble to the Oath of Aſſociation.

The Preamble to the Oath of Aſſociation.

WHereas the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom, have been inforc'd to take Arms for the neceſſary defence and preſervation, as well of their Religion Plotted; and by many foul Practiſes endeavour'd to be quite ſuppreſs'd by the Puritan Faction, as likewiſe their Lives, Eſtates, and Liberties, as alſo for the defence and ſafeguard of his Majeſties Regal Power, juſt Prerogatives, Honour, State, and Rights, invaded upon; and for that it is requiſite that there ſhould be an unanimous Conſent, and real Union between all the Catholicks of this Realm, to maintain the Premiſſes, and ſtrengthen them againſt their Adverſaries: It is thought fit by them, that they, and whoſoever ſhall adhere unto their Party, as a Confederate, ſhould for the better aſſurance of their adhering fidelity and conſtancy to the publick Cauſe, take the enſuing Oath.

The Oath of Aſſociation.

The Oath of Aſſociation.

I A. B. *do profeſs, ſwear and proteſt, before God, and his Saints, and his Angels, that I will, during my life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Soveraign Lord* Charles, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *and to his Heirs, and lawful Succeſſors; and that I will, to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, maintain all his and their juſt Prerogatives, Eſtates and Rights, the Power and Priviledge of the Parliament of this Realm, the Fundamental Laws of* Ireland, *the free exerciſe of the* Roman Catholick *Faith and Religion, throughout this Land, and the Lives, juſt Liberties, Poſſeſſions, Eſtates and Rights, of all thoſe that have taken, or ſhall take this Oath, and perform the Contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratifie all the Orders and Decrees, made and to be made by the ſupream Council, of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, concerning the ſaid publick Cauſe; and that I will not ſeek directly or indirectly, any Pardon or Protection, for any Act done or to be done, touching this general Cauſe, without the conſent of the major part of the ſaid Council; and that I will not directly or indirectly do any Act or Acts, that ſhall*

1642. *ſhall prejudice the ſaid Cauſe, but will, to the hazard of my Life and Eſtate, aſſiſt, proſecute and maintain the ſame.*

Moreover, I do further ſwear, That I will not accept of, or ſubmit unto, any Peace, made or to be made with the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, without the conſent and approbation of the general Aſſembly of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks. And for the preſervation and ſtrengthning of the Aſſociation, and Union of the Kingdom, that upon any Peace or Accommodation, to be made or concluded with the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, as aforeſaid, I will, to the utmoſt of my power, inſiſt upon, and maintain the enſuing Propoſitions, until a Peace, as aforeſaid, be made, and the Matters to be agreed upon, in the Articles of Peace, be eſtabliſh'd and ſecured by Parliament.

So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.

The Propoſitions mention'd in the aforeſaid Oath.

The Propoſitions.

1. THat the *Roman Catholicks*, both Clergy and Laity, to their ſeveral Capacities, have free and publick Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion and Function throughout the Kingdom, in as full luſtre and ſplendor, as it was in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7th. or any other Catholick King's, his Predeceſſors, Kings of *England*, and Lords of *Ireland*, either in *Ireland* or *England*.

2. That the ſecular Clergy of *Ireland*, (*viz.*) Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parſons, Vicars, and all other Paſtors of the ſecular Clergy, and their reſpective Succeſſors, ſhall have and enjoy all and all manner of Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Immunities, in as full and ample manner, as the *Roman Catholicks* ſecular Clergy had or enjoy'd the ſame, within this Realm at any time, during the Reign of the late *H.* 7. ſometimes King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, any Law, Declaration of Law, Statute, Power and Authority whatſoever, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

3. That all Laws and Statutes made ſince the 20th. year of King *H.*8. whereby any Reſtraint, Penalty, Mulct, Incapacity or Reſtriction whatſoever, is or may be laid upon any of the *Roman Catholicks*, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, for ſuch the ſaid free Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion within this Kingdom, and of their ſeveral Functions, Juriſdictions and Priviledges, may be repeal'd, revoked, and declared void, by one or more Acts of Parliament to be paſs'd therein.

4. That all Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Chaunters, Provoſts, Wardens of Collegiate Churches, Prebendaries, and other Dignitaries, Parſons, Vicars, and other Paſtors of the *Roman Catholick* ſecular Clergy, and their reſpective Succeſſors, ſhall have, hold and enjoy all the Churches and Church-Livings, in as large and ample manner, as the late Proteſtant Clergy reſpectively enjoy'd the ſame, on the firſt day of *October*, in the year of our Lord, 1641. together with all the Profits, Emoluments, Perquiſits, Liberties, and the Rights to their reſpective Sees and Churches, belonging as well in all Places, now in the poſſeſſion of the Confederate Catho-

Confederate Catholicks, as alſo in all other places that ſhall be recovered by the ſaid Confederate Catholicks from the adverſe Party, within this Kingdom, ſaving to the Roman Catholick Laity their Rights, according to the Laws of the Land. 1642.

And that the *Supreme Council* (the legitimate iſſue of the *General Aſſembly*) might look with the better face of Authority, they fram'd to themſelves a *Seal*, bearing the mark of a long Croſs, on the right ſide whereof a Crown, and a Harp on the left, with a Dove above, and a flaming Heart below the Croſs, and round about this Inſcription, *Pro Deo, pro Rege, & Patria Hibernia unanimis*; with which they ſeal'd their Credentials to Princes, and under that Seal paſs'd their principal Acts of Sovereignty. Their Seal.

Having now modell'd themſelves into a ſeparate *State*, confronting his Majeſties Royal Government ſetled in *Dublin*, ordering in their *Supreme Council* at *Kilkenny* (in the ſaid Province of *Leimſter*) all their Affairs, Civil and Military, through the whole Kingdom.

As to War, they had their Forces under the Conduct of four well experienc'd Generals, (before mentioned) anſwering the ſeveral Provinces of *Leimſter*, *Munſter*, *Connaght*, and *Ulſter*. Giving out Letters of *Mart*, An Example of which, together with the Authority they aſſum'd, (notwithſtanding his Majeſties Proclamation of the *1ſt.* of *January*, 1641.) we ſhall hear give you at large.

By the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

The Confederates Commiſſion to a Privateer.

TO all Men, to whom this Preſent ſhall come. We the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of this Realm, ſend Greeting. Know ye, That we have taken into our ſerious conſideration the great and neceſſary uſe we have of Ships of War, for the defence of the Coaſts of this Realm, and advancement and furtherance of Commerce with Foreign Nations, and for oppoſing his Majeſties Enemies, who daily hinder and annoy his Majeſties good Subjects of this Kingdom by Sea, *and ſtop all free Trade in this Realm and abroad; have therefore conſtituted and appointed, and do hereby ordain, conſtitute, and appoint our well-beloved Friend, Captain* Francis Oliver, *Native of* Flanders, *having received good teſtimony of his ſufficiency and integrity, to be Captain of the Ship, called,* St. Michael the Archangel, *of burthen* 120 *Laſts or Tuns, or thereabouts; hereby giving and granting unto the ſaid Captain, full and abſolute Power, Commiſſion, and Authority, to furniſh the ſaid Ship with all Neceſſaries, fit for Sea and War; and with the ſame to croſs the Seas, and take, hinder, and prejudice all ſuch as he ſhall find or meet of* His Majeſties Enemies, the Enemies of the General Catholick Cauſe now in hand in this Kingdom, *their Ships and Goods whatſoever, either by Sea or Land, by what means ſoever; and the ſaid Shipping or Goods to ſet to ſale, and diſpoſe of as lawful Prizes, and open Enemies Goods; ſaving unto his Majeſty and his lawful Officers, and unto all other Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, all Rights, Requiſites, and Duties, due or uſual, anſwered out of all Prizes. And we hereby command all Officers of all our Ports, Harbours, and Havens, within our Juriſdiction, throughout this Realm, to admit the ſaid Captain* Francis

1642. Oliver, *and his Companies, Ships, and Goods, from time to time, to pass and repass, come and go, without molestation or trouble. And that all Commanders of Forts, and all other Officers of his Majesties loving Subjects, to be aiding and assisting unto him in execution, and furtherance of the Premisses whatsoever, and as often as occasion shall require.*

And lastly, we pray all Foreign Princes, States, and Potentates, to defend, protect, assist, and favour the said Captain, his Ships and Goods, when, and as often as he shall come into their respective Coasts and Harbours.

This our Commission to continue during pleasure. Given at Kilkenny, *the last of* December. 1642.

Was signed, Mountgarret, Hugo Armachanus.
Gormanston, Johan. Episc. Clonfertensis.
Nic. Plunket, Patr. Darcy, James Cusack, Jeffry Brown.

And as to Civils, they had their Officers of State, Justices of *Oyer and Terminer*, and of the Peace, with their Courts of Judicature in several kinds, and Councils Supreme, County, Provincial, and (on occasion) National; this being as Parliamentary called their *General Assembly*.

They had their Negotiations also abroad, and from abroad, and by Envoys, Agents, and publick Ministers, Extraordinary and Resident; they receiv'd the sense of other Princes, and return'd their own, being also by those Princes treated at home, in like manner as if they had been some State absolute, or more considerable; of which, read the * *Appendix*. All the subsequent Acts being derived from the Orders establish'd at *Kilkenny*, the 24*th*. of *October*, 1642.

* Appendix 8.

By what I have mention'd you may see, how the Rebels endeavour'd to get credit abroad, and repute at home, managing their Concerns with so much subtilty, as having them anvil'd in every *Covent*: nothing was omitted to mature their designs, or colour what they had now begun with the fairest pretence; whilst the *State* in the interim (through the distractions in *England* daily increasing, which gave fresh fuel to the Rebels presumption) were so straitned for want of Supplies, that the *Lords Justices* having (by all the ways imaginable) represented (as well to his Majesty as to the Parliament) the miserable condition they were in; assuring them, that without further Supplies of all kinds, (the Soldiers being so unruly, as the Lieutenant General, the 23*d*. of *May*, 1642. was forc'd to publish a sharp Proclamation against their exorbitancies) it was not possible for them to carry on the War, or to hinder the Incursions of the Rebels, even into those parts which they had recovered out of their hands; thought fit to take another course for the present: And that the Forces they had in *Ireland* might be ready for action, and in the mean time not wholely unserviceable, they allotted (after no little opposition to the contrary,) to several Captains and other Officers of the Army, such convenient Houses and Villages, as they had taken from the Rebels, giving them leave to carry their several Troops and Companies under their Command to Quarter in them; by which means they freed themselves from the present Charge of providing Victuals for them, forcing them to live upon the spoils of their Enemies; which they quickly found the way to do, and made themselves Masters of all the Cattel and other Substance of those that lived within reasonable distance of them. By which means

Custodiums allotted to the Soldiers.

means, all the conſiderable Places belonging to the Rebels (within twenty miles of *Dublin*) came to be in the hands of the Soldiers, as having them granted by way of *Cuſtodium* for the preſent unto them: an Expedient acceptable to the Officers, and extremely prejudicial to the Rebels. 1642.

The 10*th.* of *June*, the Lords Juſtices and Council finding themſelves much prejudic'd by their Protections they had given to many, who under pretext of labouring at the Plow, had their Weapons hidden near them, to cut off ſtragling Soldiers and Proteſtants, as they paſſed by them ſingle. The State, to prevent ſuch inconveniencies, withdrew their former Protections by a Proclamation of that Date. A circumſtance much inſiſted on by the Rebels; but the Reaſons of the State will beſt appear by their Proclamation, no Protection being ever violated by the State with their privity, or revoked, but on time given. Appendix 9.

And now that the State of *Ireland* might have the leſs charge upon them, they thought it convenient to ſend the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mahon* into *England*; whoſe Fates I ſhall here give you a particular account of, though they ſuffered not till ſome years after. The Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mahon* ſent into *England.*

Mac-Guire was one principally deſign'd for the ſurprizal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the ſecuring or murthering of the *Lords Juſtices* and *Council*, for which intent he came purpoſely the day before to *Dublin*; but the Plot being that night detected, he fled diſguiſed from his uſual Lodgings at one *Nevils*, a Chirurgeon, in *Caſtle-ſtreet*, and ſecretly hid himſelf at one *Kerns*, a Tailor, in *Cook-ſtreet*, where he was found in a Cock-loft by Mr. *John Woodcock*, one of the Sheriffs of *Dublin*, ſtanding with his Cloak wrapped about him in an obſcure place; in which poſture he was apprehended, and brought before the *Lords Juſtices* and *Council*, to whom he confeſſed ſufficient to be committed to the Caſtle the 23*d.* of *October*, about the time he intended to have perpetrated his Villany in that Place; from whence, the 12*th.* of *June*, 1642. (after ſeveral Examinations had of his Guiltineſs) he, with *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon*, was ſent into *England*, where they both continued Priſoners ſome years in the *Tower* of *London*; whence they made an eſcape the 18*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1644. and were retaken the 20*th.* of *October* following. Strange! that in ſuch a time they could not ſecure their Eſcape; but vengeance would not ſuffer them to live. *Mac-Mahon*, in *Michaelmaſs-Term*, the 18*th.* of *November* that year, was tried at the *Kings-Bench-Bar* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſhortly after executed at *Tyburn*: Whilſt the Lord *Mac-Guire* made ſuch a defence for himſelf, as his final Trial was not till the 10*th.* and 11*th.* of *February*, 1644. in *Hilary*-Term, at which time he was brought to the *Kings-Bench*, where (*after his Indictment read for conſpiring to diſinherit the Kings Majeſty, to raiſe Sedition, and breed a miſerable ſlaughter amongſt the Kings Subjects*) he firſt mov'd to have his Peers, (being Baron of *Inſkillin* in *Ireland*, and forceably brought to *Weſtminſter*) for that none ought to be condemn'd but by ſuch; in purſuance of which, he pleaded the Statute, the 10*th.* of *H.* 7. whereby all the Statutes made in *England* ſhould from thence-forth be in force in *Ireland*. Upon which, the King's Council (Serjeant *Roll* and *Whitfield*) beſide *Pryn* and *Nudigate*, demurr'd, and the *Defendant* joyn'd in the Demurrer. At length, Judge *Bacon* declar'd, that an *Iriſh* Baron was triable by a Jury in *England*, (ſo the Lord *Grey* was tried for Acts done in *Ireland*) upon which an Order paſs'd the 10*th.* of *February*, by the *Lords and Commons* for his Trial; at Their Trial at *Weſtminſter.* *Mac-Mahon's* Execution.

1642. which he deſir'd reſpite for the ſummoning of his Witneſſes; which, in conſideration that his Lordſhip had had long time to expect his Trial, and that no Witneſſes could ſay any thing againſt what the Witneſſes (on the Kings ſide) could prove, was deni'd. Afterwards he made a general Challenge againſt 23 that were Empannel'd for the firſt Jury; which peremptory Challenge was accepted, the Law allowing it: And the Priſoner (for that time) was diſcharg'd, with a Command to be brought again the next day; which was done accordingly. Then he mov'd, that his Plea of Peerage might be referr'd to another Court, or to the Lords; but that was deni'd, for that he had put himſelf on the Countrey: beſides, the Lords and Commons had order'd his Trial. Then another Jury was nam'd, which his Lordſhip accepted againſt, for that *he conceiv'd it not fit, that thoſe who had bought his Land, ſhould paſs upon his Trial.* To clear which (after ſome heats in arguing betwixt the Kings Council and the Defendant) the Judge conſented, that the Jury ſhould be required upon Oath to anſwer, whether any of them had any Adventure, or ſhare of the Rebels Lands in *Ireland*: Which being anſwer'd in the Negative, the Court proceeded; and he being in ſeveral Circumſtances (beſides his Confeſſion) found Guilty, the Judge demanded, why Sentence ſhould not paſs againſt him, his Lordſhip (amongſt other things, too tedious, and of little concern to mention) deſir'd to know by what Seal the Judge proceeded againſt him? Who anſwer'd, By the Old, and Order of Parliament. To which the Lord *Mac-Guire* repli'd, That (under favour) he conceiv'd, that the Ordinance of Parliament for a new Great Seal, made the old invalid. To which the Judge repli'd, That he acted by the old Seal, being made a Judge at that time. Beſides, there is nothing (ſaith he) done in this Court by the new Seal; the Sheriffs are hereby a Charter that comes in from year to year, and there is no other Seal in order of Execution. After which, the Judge proceeded to Sentence, which he heard patiently, having doubtleſs long the Sentence of death in himſelf; and accordingly he was Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd, at *Tyburn*, the 20*th.* of *February*, 1644.

The Lord *Mac-Guire*'s end.

But to return to the *State*, who, in the manner before mention'd, continu'd the Army Quarter'd in ſeveral *Cuſtodiums*, not being able (by reaſon of the want of Money, Proviſions, and other neceſſaries) otherwiſe to furniſh any part of it out in ſuch manner, as might put them in a poſture to undertake any great Action abroad; ſome in the interim improving the preſent neceſſities to the advantage of a Deſign then in the womb.

However we find, that though the Parliament in *England* wonder'd (as one in eminent Place then heard) that the Army in *Ireland* did little, *Yet it was to be admired* (writes he*) *they did ſo much, conſidering the ſmall means they had to effect ſo great things: They did then abound onely in ſickneſs, and hurt men, which made the Regiments and Companies very weak; Monies came not in at all, and for Cloathes and Shoes few or none: notwithſtanding they had hearts manifeſted by their works; for no Enemy, but as ſoon as they looked on them, inſtead of uſing their Arms, exercis'd their Heels; no Fort or Caſtle which they offer'd to keep, which they ever deſerted, or any that they attempted, but yielded to them.* In as much as that *Noble Perſon* (which obſerv'd this) in ſome paſſion could not but take notice, That if all this were nothing, let it be ſo eſteem'd! The Enemy in the interim having ſupplies of Men and Arms.

* The 20*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1642.

Indeed

Indeed that Affairs proceeded with no currenter a pace, (this year) many obſtacles contributed thereunto. The Government was in the hands of *Two*, though in the main entirely faithful and knowing, yet vaſtly differing in their tempers; *one* being of a ſedentary, the *other* of an active life; *He* allied to moſt of the leading Men of the Council, the other onely prevalent as his Reaſon and Gallantry, wrought on the generous. Beſides, *ſome* had ſuch intereſt elſe-where, as all was not reſented with ſuch integrity as was meant; That, in the management of Affairs at the Helm, Authority it ſelf was often Eclipſed; nor could *any* (who was neceſſitated to hold the Reins with others) poſſibly evade the inconveniences they were then frequently inforced upon, how well ſoever they had been vers'd in the Art of Government; *ſome* will have it, that there was much artifice uſed to lengthen out the War: For at that time, whether by the Governours of the City of *Dublin*'s omiſſion, or ſome other Fate upon the Army, hard for me to determine, the Rebels on one ſide came often to the Gates, giving frequent Alarms, and took away the Cattle from under the Walls. And in *Lowth*, *the moſt conſiderable Garriſon* was almoſt deſtroyed through *thoſe Perſons*, who (having the Government of the County) protected their Tenants; nor would *thoſe* that had Power to force a Supply improve their intereſt, being better able to diſperſe an Enemy, than diſoblige a Neighbour. 1642.

Cauſes why Affairs proſpered no better.

The *Scots* General (the Earl of *Leven*) in the North, who with the recent and veterate Soldiers made up 20000, did little, deſirous rather it ſeems to keep themſelves ſafe in *Knockfergus*, and the Frontiers, than venture much abroad, as appear'd by their repulſe at *Charlemont*, whence they retir'd with no Honour, and admitted *Dunganon* to be re-taken by the *Iriſh*, after it had been bravely recovered by the vertue of an *Engliſh* Gentleman. Indeed the *Engliſh-Scots*, who joyn'd with the *Engliſh* Regiments, did excellent ſervice; and that the other fail'd, may be imputed to the rawneſs of their Men, the want of Victuals, (of which they ſtood in great need) and ſome hardſhip they endur'd, happily not incident to their tenderneſs.

Now for *Connaght*, ſuch was the carriage of *ſome* there, that two compleat Regiments, conſiſting of full 2000 Men, were in ſix months reduc'd, through want, (though the Country thereabouts was ſtored with all manner of Proviſions, not having been harraſs'd by an Enemy) to 600. Upon which, ſeveral Articles were preferr'd by Perſons of Honour, againſt *thoſe*, who were charg'd with that misfortune, and the buſineſs, referr'd to the *Council of War*; which wav'd their Cenſure; and the main Parties concern'd therein voluntarily undergoing (afterwards) a private Duel, (producing no ill to either Party) no more was urg'd thereupon: Though as to the carriage of that buſineſs (in reference to the Soldiers Clothes and Neceſſaries) it could not eaſily be wip'd of, nor the deſerting of a Government without Orders, where there was more ſtore of Ammunition, Arms, and other Neceſſaries, than Soldiers to uſe them.

However, in *Auguſt* this year, 1642. the Lord *Moor*, Sir *John Borlaſe* jun. and Colonel *Gibſon*, with 500 Men apiece, went into the Counties of *Lowth* and *Meath*, with two Pieces of Battery, and two Field-Pieces, with which they aſſaulted the Caſtle of *Sedan*, obſtinately defended thirty hours by Captain *Flemming*, thrice ſtormed, who at laſt fought with them out of the Ruines. At which time the Lords of the Pale were not ſo reſolute, the Lord *Gormanſton* flying from the Fort of the *Nabar*, and the Lord

1642. Lord *Slane*, from the Caſtle of *Newtown*, thereby leaving *Lowth* and *Meath* clear'd of the Enemy; who finding good heels loſt 500 onely at *Sedan*, whilſt Captain *Burrows*, *Pigot*, and *Grimes*, with ſome others, defeated 800 of the Rebels near *Athy*, and ſlew about 200.

And now in reſpect that the State found great inconveniencies by the Protections, the Commiſſioners (they had formerly given authority to,) gave, the State of the Countrey being now far different from the Condition wherein it ſtood, 27 of *October*, 1641. at the granting of the ſaid Protections; and that the Rebels of all Degrees and Conditions, had ſince with hateful and bloody obſtinacy declared their Purpoſe, to extirpate the *Britiſh* throughout the whole Kingdom, without hope of reconcilement, other then by the ſtrength of his Majeſties Forces; They did the 19*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1642. revoke, repeal, make void, and annul all ſuch Protections, from and after ten days from the date thereof, more at large to be ſeen in the Inſtrument it ſelf in the Appendix, carrying weighty reaſons for that Act.

The 25*th.* of *Auguſt*, the Lords, in a Letter to Secretary *Nicholas*, ſent a Copy of the Rebels Petition, together with the Rebels of the *Pales* Letter to the Earl of *Ormond*, in the anſwer to which, exceptions were taken, that they had not ſent the Original, and with all took notice, that as his Majeſty would be ready to puniſh the Rebels, ſo he would not ſhut up his mercy againſt thoſe who did unfeignedly repent; upon which the Original was ſent, and his Majeſties Pardon beg'd.

The Lord *Liſle*'s Expedition into *Weſtmeath*, &c.

Soon after the Lord *Liſle*, with the men under his Command, marched towards the Counties of *Weſtmeath*, and *Cavan*, where they arriv'd about the middle of *September*, having deſtroyed all where they had paſs'd, without ſtriking a ſtroak; the Rebels being (according to their uſual Cuſtom) retired to Places of ſtrength, (confiding more in their Walls then Valour) wherefore paſſing into the County of *Monaghan*, he ſate down before *Carrickmacroſs*, a houſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s, very well Fortified, where the Rebels having endured the battery of two ſmall Pieces of Cannon for one day, fled away the next night (the outward Guards of the Beſiegers, being remiſly attended), leaving their Proviſions of all ſorts behind them: The Lord *Liſle*, after this ſucceſs, better much then he could expect, with ſo ſmall Forces, having put a Garriſon in the Place, returned to *Dublin*.

About one month after my Lord *Liſle*'s return to *Dublin*, the *State* was inform'd by the Lord *Moore*, that *Carrickmacroſs* was beſieged by near 2000 Rebels, and that if it were not ſuddainly relieved, not onely the Place would be taken, but our men loſt; whereupon it was reſolv'd to ſend away preſently 1000 Foot, with ſome Troops of Horſe, under the Command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* and my Lord *Moore*, to raiſe the Siege; And it fell into debate what ſhould be done with the Place, and upon a due conſideration of all Circumſtances, and an impoſſibility on our part, to Man and Victual the Place; from hence an Act of Council was made *for the demoliſhing of the houſe, and bringing of our men back:*

Cap. *Vaughan*'s Reſolution.

before this was put in execution, Letters came from Captain *Vaughan* from *Dundalk*, to acquaint the *State*, that with 100 Foot and 50 Horſe, he had been to ſee in what ſtate *Carrick* was; that he found the men well, Victualled for 14 days, and that the Siege was raiſed; that there came upon him in his return 2000 of the Rebels, who charged him, and (as Captain *Martin* ſaid) ſhot near 5000 ſhot at his men, who thereupon began

began to be ſomewhat in diſorder, ſo as he ſaw they could not well retire; Whereupon he charged them with his Horſe, routed them, killing 30 or 40 of them, and got ſome Arms: Yet the reſolution taken to demoliſh *Carick* was not alter'd. 1642.

The Summer being thus ſpent, the Winter apace drew on, and the Proviſions of the County failing, where the Souldiers lay in Garriſon in the *Cuſtodiums*, the greateſt part of them return'd to *Dublin*, where they took up their Quarters, to the great grievance of the Inhabitants: And now the differences between the King and his Parliament in *England* were grown ſo high, and their preparations (to encounter one another in a ſet Battle) ſo conſiderable, as upon that fatal day, the 23. of *October*, 1642. They came to an Engagement at *Edge-Hill*, where the encounter was ſo fiercely maintain'd on both ſides, with ſo much courage and reſolution, (headed by the Earl of *Lindſey* for the King, and the Earl of *Eſſex* for the Parliament, manfully diſcharging the parts both of Generals and Souldiers) as the loſs being (in a manner) equal, both reported themſelves Conquerors, but neither were thenceforth in a condition, to adminiſter ſufficient relief, to the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*, whereby the Army (though but lately ſent over out of *England*) was wholly neglected, which made many of the Commanders take up thoughts of quitting that ſervice, and repairing to the King at *Oxford*, having (as it was ſaid) ſecret invitations thereunto: which being underſtood by the Parliament, and finding that (from the Battle of *Kilruſh*, which was fought in *April* 1642. till *October* following) the Army in *Leimſter* had not been ſo active, as reaſonably might have been expected. The Parliament to quicken the War, to inform themſelves of the wants and defects of the Army, and of all other things, that might enable them the better to ſend thither and diſpoſe of there, ſuch Forces, Moneys, Ammunition, and neceſſaries for that ſervice (according to the Statute which enabled the Lords and Commons in Parliament, from time to time to direct) thought it very expedient, (though by Secretary *Nicholas* from his Majeſty, expreſly commanded * to the contrary) to ſend into *Ireland* a Committy for that purpoſe (in the depth of Winter, Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, and Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, authorized from both Houſes, called (by his Majeſty *) *their Ambaſſadors*, to which the Citizens of *London* joyn'd one Captain *Tucker*, who carried with them 20000 *l.* in ready money, beſides 300 Barrels of Powder, ten Tun of Match, and other Ammunition. They arriv'd at *Dublin* the 29*th.* of *October* by long Sea, and upon the 2*d.* of *November*, preſented them to the *State*, producing the Ordinance of *Parliament*, together with their inſtructions to be read. The Lords *Juſtices* and *Council* ordered their Reception with reſpect, which they improv'd to the voluntary putting on of their Hats, ſitting behind the Council on a Form; nor could this their carriage be reproved, though reſented, Affairs at that time having brought on thoſe Exigencies, which their coming could onely relieve, during whoſe abode there (having Votes onely in Military Affairs) they ſaw that Parties were continually ſent forth to encounter the Rebels, and when there was a failing either in Money or Proviſions, they engaged their own particular Credits to make up the defect: Yet in reſpect of their being admitted, as they were (conſequently were thought to be ſpies on his Majeſties Miniſters there) His Majeſty much diſliked their Addreſs, and in a Letter (deliver'd to

**October*, 14th.

* In Declar. 22. *Octob.* 1642.

Goodwin and *Reynolds* arrive in *Ireland.*

1642. to the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 10*th.* of *February*,) Order'd their removal, which was done with much content by the Board, but ſome regreets to the Commiſſioners; who reſolv'd preſently to quit *Ireland*; and to ſpeak truth, it ſoon appear'd (by the Index of ſome mens ſpirits) what hazard they might have run, ſhould they have been obſtinate therein: though many ſuſpected (as it fell out) their return would certainly ſlacken the relief of the Proteſtant Army againſt the *Iriſh*.

There were three main things principally intended by this Committee, during their ſtay in *Ireland*.

1. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſatisfie the Officers of the Army, of the great care the Parliament took to provide their Pay, and to ſend over money, and in the mean time to furniſh the Army with all manner of Proviſions and Ammunitions, that ſhould be thought neceſſary, for the carrying on the War againſt the Rebels.

2. They made a Book, wherein they deſired, that all the Officers of the Civil Liſt, as well as the Army, ſhould ſubſcribe, and declare their free conſent, that ſome part of their Pay and Arrear, due to them for their ſervice there, ſhould be ſatisfied out of the Rebels Lands, when they were declared to be ſubdued: Upon which many great ſums were underwritten; (but upon information of his Majeſties diſlike thereof) the Commiſſioners (being ſharply threatned) returned the Book, ſo that moſt ſtruck out their Names, fruſtrating thereby a Deſign, which would infinitely have obliged others to have ſubſcribed: In reference to which, the Kings Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* aſcertain'd, *That his Majeſty never ſent any ſuch Letter, to divert the courſe of the Officers ſubſcribing, but the Souldiers were meerly diſcouraged from the ſame, by diſcerning that for want of Supplies, they ſhould not be able to go on with that War.*

See *Hush.* Collect. *fol.* 248.

3. They finding that moſt of the Officers of the Army had lodg'd their Troops and Companies in their *Cuſtodiums*, which were moſt of them Places of ſtrength, enough at leaſt to keep them from being ſurprized ſuddainly by the Rebels, and that there were 7 or 8000 of the Army quartered in *Dublin*, who conſumed all the Proviſions ſent over for their ſupply, lying idle there, and oppreſſing the poor *Engliſh* Inhabitants, and ſuch *Engliſh* as had taken ſanctuary there; Or elſe making but ſmall expeditions abroad, waſting not the Enemy ſo much as they did their own Proviſions: It was moved therefore, and furthered by *this Committee*, that a conſiderable Force ſhould be ſent forth; Whereupon it was reſolved, 4000 men ſhould be ſent out to take *Roſs*, or ſome other Town thereabouts, where they might Winter, and live in part upon what they could take from the Enemy; whereupon many difficulties being found in the Deſign, the Lord *Liſle*, General of the Horſe, accepted of it, with Colonel *Monk*, and others, who made ready to go; the *Lieutenant General of the Army*, the Earl of *Ormond*, being then much indiſpoſed: But as ſoon as his Lordſhip recovered, he came to the Council Board, and there declared, *that he could not in Honour permit ſuch a conſiderable part of the Army, to go out upon ſuch an important Service, under any other Command then his own*; and ſo undertook the leading out of the Army himſelf, and carried it to *Roſs*, of which you ſhall hear more in its due place. The Parliaments Committee imbarked for *London* by long Sea, the 27*th.* of *February*, 1642. the difference of whoſe Carriage was obſervable; ſo much Integrity, Diſcretion, and Humility appear'd in the one, and ſo much Pride, Arrogancy, and

They leave *Ireland.*

and Intemperancy in the other; as the one went away highly valued, and well eſteem'd, and the other extreamly hated and deſpiſed. As for *Tucker*, he was the City's property, which every one improved to their own humour. 1642.

During their continuance in repute, hearing that *Balanokil* was Beſieged by *Preſton*, the moſt reputed Captain amongſt the Rebels, Colonel *Monk*, was ſent forth with 600 Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, the 5*th.* of *December*, 1642. to relieve it, which he ſoon did, the Enemy raiſing the Siege upon his reproach; but in his return he met *Preſton* with 3000 men, in a diſadvantagious Place; and though he ſaw evident danger in ſo unequal a Fight, yet he thought there would be more in a Retreat. Wherefore having intrench'd himſelf, ſo as to fear no attack but in the Front, he reſolved to receive them bravely; and taking care that his Musketiers ſhould not ſpend their ſhot in vain, he ſaluted the Rebels, in their approach, with ſuch a ſhower of Bullets, as killed the boldeſt of them, and made the reſt begin to give way, which the *Engliſh* perceiving, came hotly upon them. But the Fight was ſoon ended, by the cowardlineſs of the *Iriſh*, who with much more ſhame than ſlaughter, loſing not above 60 Men there, betook themſelves to the next ſtrong Place, and Colonel *Monk*, without the loſs of one Man, return'd to *Dublin*.

Colonel *Monk* relieves *Balanokil*.

The Committee of Parliament (whilſt they remain'd at the Council) interpos'd in many things: Amongſt the reſt, it being deſired by the Officers of the Army, that Major *Wodowes* might repair to his Majeſty, to expreſs their ſervice; the Committee demonſtrated, that the Parliament would certainly withdraw their Supplies, on notice of ſuch an Addreſs: Upon which the Ships were ſtayed; yet the Buſineſs was ſo argued, as the Major had licence to proceed in his Journey.

And now the Committee being diſcharg'd the Council, *where the proſecution of the War was to be managed*, the Parliament took it ill, inaſmuch as the want of all things afterwards was exceeding great, and the main part of the remaining Army was quarter'd within the City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, upon the poor Inhabitants, altogether unable to bear the Neceſſities of their Families, much leſs ſupport 7 or 8000 Men. In alleviation of which, the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 31ſt. of *December*, 1642. publiſht a Proclamation, That all *Cuſtodiums* ſhould ſend to his Majeſty's Granaries, or Stores of Corn, half the Wheat gather'd there, at 10 *s.* the Barrel, in ready Money, *&c.* to the Relief of that and the adjoyning Garriſons. Yet ſmall Supplies coming in thereupon, the Lords Juſtices and Council order'd by another Proclamation, the 15th. of *January*, That all Corn-Maſters, and others, ſhould ſell their Corn at a lower rate, than was propos'd the 28th. of *December*, 1641. and that Bakers accordingly ſhould ſize their Bread.

Neceſſity of all things in *Dublin*, upon the withdrawing of the Parliaments Committee.

About the 20th. of *January*, 1642. Sir *Richard Greenvile*, with a Party of 200 Horſe and 1000 Foot, with 600 Suits of Cloaths, and Money, reliev'd *Athlone*. In his return, he was encounter'd at *Raconnel* by 5000 Rebels, which he routed, took their General *Preſton's* Son Priſoner, killed many, gained 11 Colours, and ſurprized many Priſoners; for which ſervice, Captain *William Vaughan* was by the Lords Juſtices (to whom he brought the News) Knighted. The *Iriſh* thought much of this Victory; for that there was an old Propheſie, That who got the Battle of *Raconnel*, ſhould conquer all *Ireland*. The Army return'd to *Dublin* the 10th. of *February*, with the remnant of Sir *Michael Earnley's* Regiment,

Sir *Richard Greenvile* relieves *Athlone*. The Battle at *Raconnel*.

1642. giment, and others, who for their better Accommodation, would have had ſome of theſe Cloaths, which was denied, and they laid up in the Caſtle, where (with others) they afterwards prov'd unſerviceable to his Majeſty's Forces, much in want of them in the depth of Winter.

The Lords Juſtices being driven to great ſtrait, and left without hopes of Relief from *England*, and the Inhabitants of *Dublin* being no longer able to ſupport the Neceſſity of their Families, and relieve the Souldiers, their Inſolencies being high, the State entertain'd a Deſign of ſending the greateſt part of the Army (then quarter'd in *Dublin*) into ſome Parts diſtant from that City, where they might live upon the Rebels; and for this end, coin'd their own Plate, encouraging others to the ſame Advance of the State's ſervice, whereupon (at firſt) they order'd Pieces of Money marked to their Weight.

The Lords Juſtices coin Plate with his Majeſty's Stamp.

Many brought in freely; thoſe indeed who (conſidering their imployment, and what was expected from them) had leaſt reaſon to do it, whilſt others iſſued only out their Warrants and Receipts, never yet diſcharged: Yet by the help of what came in, and ſome ſupplies out of *England*, (which had not wholly deſerted *Ireland*) the Army march'd out 2500 Foot and 500 Horſe, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, whoſe carriage in that Buſineſs, and his ſucceſs at the Battle of *Roſs*, we ſhall leave to the Lords Juſtices and Council's Letter, to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in *England*, the 4th. of *April*, 1643. where (beſides the Account of that Battle) they preſent a true ſtate of their Affairs, Civil and Military.

SIR,

The Lords Juſtices Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in *England* touching *Roſs*, &c.

OUr very good Lord, the Marqueſs of Ormond, *having in his March, in his laſt Expedition, conſulted ſeveral times with the Commanders and Officers of the Army, in a Councel of War, and ſo finding that ſubſiſtence could not be had abroad, for the Men and Horſes he had with him, or for any conſiderable part of them, it was reſolved by them, that his Lordſhip with thoſe Forces ſhould return hither, which he did on the 26th. of* March.

In his return from Roſs, *(which in the caſe our Forces ſtood, he found difficult to be taken in, as though our Ordnance made a breach in their Walls, it was found neceſſary to deſert the Siege) he was encountred by an Army of the Rebels, conſiſting of about* 6000 *Foot and* 650 *Horſe, well arm'd and horſed; yet it pleas'd God ſo to diſappoint their Councels and ſtrength, as with thoſe ſmall Forces which the Lord Marqueſs had with him, being of fighting Men* 2500. *and* 500 *Horſe, not well armed, and for the moſt part weakly horſed, (and thoſe, as well Men as Horſe, much weakned, by lying in the Fields ſeveral nights in much Cold and Rain, and by want of Man's Meat and Horſe Meat) the Lord Marqueſs obtain'd a happy and glorious deliverance and victory againſt thoſe Rebels, wherein were ſlain about* 300 *of them, and many of their Commanders, and others of Quality, and divers taken Priſoners; and amongſt thoſe Priſoners, Colonel* Cullen, *a Native of this City, who being a Colonel in* France, *departed from thence, and came hither to aſſiſt the Rebels, and was Lieutenant General of their Army, in the Province of* Leimſter; *and the Rebel's Army was totally routed and defeated,*

feated, and their Baggage and Ammunition ſeized on by his Majeſty's Forces, 1642.
who lodged that night where they had gain'd the Victory, and on our ſide about 20 *ſlain in the Fight, and divers wounded.*

We have great cauſe to praiſe God, for magnifying his Goodneſs and Mercy to his Majeſty, and this his Kingdom, ſo manifeſtly, and indeed wonderfully, in that Victory.

However, the joy (due from us upon ſo happy an occaſion) is, we confeſs, mingled with very great diſtraction here, in the apprehenſion of our unhappineſs to be ſuch, as although the Rebels are not able to overcome his Majeſty's Army, and devour his other good Subjects, as they deſire, yet both his Army and good Subjects are in danger to be devoured, by the wants of needful Supplies forth of England: *For as we formerly ſignified thither, Thoſe Forces were of neceſſity ſent abroad, to try what might be done for ſuſtaining them in the Countrey, ſo as to keep them alive till Supplies ſhould get to us. But that Deſign now failing, thoſe our hopes are converted into aſtoniſhment, to behold the unſpeakable Miſeries of the Officers and Souldiers for want of all things, and all thoſe wants made the more inſupportable in the want of Food, whilſt the City (being all the help we have) is now too apparently found to be unable to help us, as it hath hitherto done. And divers Commanders and Officers in the Army, do now ſo far expreſs the ſenſe of their Sufferings, (which indeed are very great and grievous) as they declare, That they have little hope to be ſupplied by the Parliament, and preſs with great importunity to be permitted to depart this Kingdom, as it will be extream difficult to keep them here.*

By our Letters of the 23*d. of* March, *we ſignified thither the unſupportable burthen laid on this City, for victualling thoſe of the Army left here, when the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *with the Forces he took with him, marched hence; which burthen is found every day more heavy than other, in regard of the many Houſe-keepers thereby daily breaking up Houſe, and ſcattering their Families, leaving ſtill fewer to bear the burthen. We alſo by thoſe Letters, and by our Letters of the* 25*th. of* February, *advertiſed thither the high danger this Kingdom would incur, if the Army ſo ſent abroad, ſhould by any diſtreſs, or through want, be forced back hither again, before our Relief of Victuals ſhould arrive forth of* England.

When we found that thoſe Men were returning back hither, although we were (and are ſtill) full of diſtraction, conſidering the diſmal conſequences threatned thereby in reſpect of our Wants: Yet we conſulted what we could yet imagine feaſible, that we had not formerly done, to gain ſome Food for thoſe Men; and found, that to ſend them or others abroad into the Countrey we cannot, in regard we are not able to advance Money, for procuring the many Requiſits incident to ſuch an Expedition. In the end therefore, we were inforced to fix on our former way, and to ſee who had yet any thing left him untaken from him, to help us; and although there were but few ſuch, and ſome of them poor Merchants, whom we have now by the Law of Neceſſity utterly undone, and diſabled from being hereafter helpful to us, in bringing us in Victuals, and other needful Commodities, yet were we forc'd to wreſt their Commodities from them. And certainly there are few here of our ſelves and others, that have not felt their Parts in the inforced rigour of our Proceedings, towards preſerving the Army; ſo as what with ſuch hard dealing, not leſs grievous to us to do, than it is heavy to others to ſuffer, and by our deſcending (againſt our hearts) far below the Honour and Dignity of that Power we repreſent here, under his Royal Majeſty, we have with unſpeakable

1642. *difficulty prevail'd, ſo as to be able to find Bread for the Souldiers for the ſpace of one Month.*

We are now expelling hence all Strangers, and muſt inſtantly ſend away for England, *thouſands of poor diſpoil'd* Engliſh, *whoſe very eating is now unſupportable to this Place.*

And now again, and finally, We earneſtly deſire, (for our Confuſions will not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) That his Majeſty, and the Engliſh *Nation, may not ſuffer ſo great, if not irrecoverable, prejudice and diſhonour, as muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of our not being reliev'd ſuddenly; but that yet (although it be even now at the point to be too late) Supplies of Victuals and Munition in preſent to be haſtned hither, to keep life until the reſt may follow, there being no Victual in the Store, nor will there be a* 100 *Barrels of Powder left in ſtore, when the out-Garriſons (as they muſt be inſtantly) are ſupplied, and that remainder, according to the uſual neceſſary expence, beſides extraordinary accidents, will not laſt above a month. And the reſidue of our Proviſions muſt alſo come ſpeedily after, or otherwiſe* England *cannot hope to ſecure* Ireland, *or ſecure themſelves againſt* Ireland, *but in the loſs of it, muſt look for ſuch Enemies from hence, as will perpetually diſturb the Peace of his Majeſty, and his Kingdom of* England, *and annoy them by Sea and Land, as we often formerly repreſented thither; which Miſchiefs may yet be prevented, if we be yet forthwith enabled from thence with means to overcome this Rebellion.*

We hope that a courſe is taken there, for haſtning thither the Proviſions of Arms and Munition, mention'd in the Docquet, ſent in our Letter of the 20th. of January, *and the* 600 *Horſes, which we then moved might be ſent hither for recruits, and that the* 7893 *l.* 3 *s. for Arms to be provided in* Holland, (*beſides thoſe we expect in* London) *hath been paid to* Anthony Tierens *in* London, *or to* Daniel Wibrants *in* Amſterdam; *and if that Sum had been paid, as we at firſt deſired, we might well have had thoſe Proviſions arriv'd here by the* 10th. *of* March, *as we agreed. However, we now deſire, that that Money, if it be not already paid, may be yet paid to Mr.* Anthony Tierens *in* London, *or Mr.* Wibrants *in* Amſterdam, *that ſo thoſe Proviſions may arrive here ſpeedily, which (conſidering that Summer is now near at hand) will be very neceſſary, that when our Supplies of Victuals, Munition, Cloaths, Money, and other Proviſions, ſhall arrive, we may not, in the publick Service, here loſe the benefit and advantage of that Seaſon. And ſo we remain.*

From his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, *the 4th. of* April, 1643.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond's* Expedition againſt *Roſs.*

This Letter, as you ſee, was writ ſome weeks after the Battle of *Roſs*; however, in brief, it gives you a faithful Account: Yet that a more particular one may alſo be committed to Poſterity, accept of the following, from the Pen of a chief Officer in that Expedition.

March the 2d. 1642. the *Engliſh* Army march'd forth from *Dublin* toward *Kilkenny*, conſiſting of about 2500 Foot and 500 Horſe, together with two Pieces of Battery, and four ſmall braſs Pieces, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* being Lieutenant General of the Army, and my Lord *Liſle* General of the Horſe.

The

The 3d. the Army being come nigh *Caſtlemartin*, the Rebels then poſ- 1642.
ſeſſing it, gave it up to the Lieutenant General, upon his promiſe of fair Quarter, which they accordingly had, to march away thence with the ſafety of their Lives, they being in number above 400 Men and Women; and the ſame day 3 Diviſions of Foot were ſent to *Kildare*, and a Caſtle called *Tully*, which the Rebels then quitted, and left unto us.

The 4th. the Army came to *Tymolin*, where finding two Caſtles poſſeſt by ſome Rebels, our Cannon compell'd them to ſubmit to mercy, very few of them eſcaping with their Lives, there being about 100 of them ſlain; and alſo of the *Engliſh* Army was ſlain Lieutenant *Oliver*, and about 12 Souldiers.

The 11th. my Lord *Liſle* march'd from the Army at *Temple-ſoul* before day towards *Roſs*, having with him Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, and about 400 Horſe, and alſo Sir *Foulk Huncks*, with about 600 Foot. Being come within two miles of *Roſs*, our Horſe took 4 Horſemen of the Rebels, Priſoners, who inform'd us, that the Army of the Rebels lay then about 3 miles diſtant thence, being near 4000 Men. Shortly after my Lord *Liſle* came before the Town of *Roſs*, and by a Trumpeter he ſent to the Town, to have ſome one of Quality therein to come to treat with him, concerning the ſurrender of the ſame to the King's uſe, which they refuſed to do. Then Sir *Thomas Lucas*, fearing the ſafety of the Army, (by reaſon he underſtood that the Rebel's Army lay the laſt night within 2 miles of the *Engliſh* Army) importuned my Lord *Liſle* to march back with all his Horſe, to ſecure the Army, leaving Sir *Foulk Hunks* with his Diviſion of Foot, to guard a Paſs in that way. And then after a few miles riding further, the *Engliſh* Army appear'd at hand, which march'd on towards *Roſs*, nigh before which that night a great part of our Horſe and Foot lodged. And the next morning our Cannon were drawn and planted againſt the Town, and continued battering with two Pieces, on a part of the Town-Walls, about two days together, which made a fair breach therein, which Sir *Foulk Huncks* undertook to aſſault with his Men, and attempted it, but were beaten back with ſome loſs, which ſo much diſ-heartned the Souldiers, that they would not be drawn on again; and finding that the beſieged had both daily and nightly very many Men, and much Ammunition, and other Recruits, conveyed by Boats into the Town, and underſtanding that the Rebel's Army was grown very ſtrong within few miles of ours, and our Lieutenant General finding Bread to be grown ſcarce in our Army, reſolv'd to leave *Roſs* as it was, and gain Honour by a Battle with the *Iriſh*.

The 18th. our Army being march'd away, about 2 miles diſtant from *Roſs*, the *Iriſh* Army appear'd fairly in view, who haſtned their Forces into Battalia, on a Ground of ſome advantage, nigh the way our Army was to paſs. Whereupon our Commanders endeavour'd with all diligence to draw their Forces into Battalia, to confront the Rebels within the diſtance of Cannon-ſhot, our Cannon being plac'd at the Front of our Infantry, which was winged by our Horſe-Troops, and advanc'd forwards before our Army, within Musket-ſhot of the Enemy's fore-Troops; Sir *Richard Greenvile* (having that day the Vauntguard of the Horſe) had his Diviſion for the right Wing of the Army; likewiſe my Lord *Liſle*'s Diviſion (having the Battle) had the left Wing of the Army; Sir *Thomas Lucas*'s Diviſion (having the Rearguard of the Horſe) had the one half of his Diviſion, *Roſs* Battle.

1642. ſion, appointed to ſtand for Reſerves for both the Wings of Horſe. Both Armies being order'd againſt one another, Sir *Richard Greenvile* ſent forth towards the Rebels a forelorn Hope of 60 Horſe, commanded by Lieutenant *White*, which advancing towards 2 Troops of the Rebels, they ſeem'd to ſhrink from. Then (our Cannon beginning to play) Captain *Atkins*, commanding a forelorn Hope of about 100 Musketiers, march'd forwards directly before our Foot-Army towards the Rebels, who had mann'd a Ditch in a High-way, lying right before their Army, with a great number of Musketiers; during which time, certain other Diviſions of the *Engliſh* Foot followed orderly their forelorn Hope, Captain *Atkins* with his ſhot excellently performing his part, by exchanging ſhot with the Rebels that lay in ambuſh. Sir *Richard Greenvile*, with his Diviſion on the right Wing, advanced to begin the Battle; in the interim whereof, Sir *Thomas Lucas* (being Major General of the Horſe) came and took upon him the chief Command thereof; and ſo leading thoſe Troops on towards the Enemy, being come paſt a deep High-way, that lay between both Armies, preſently (at hand) advanc'd towards thoſe Horſe, a Diviſion of Horſe and Foot of the Rebels. Sir *Richard Greenvile* being then in the head of his own Troop, (which had the right hand of that Diviſion) commanded his Men to keep together and charge home without wheeling; which was no ſooner ſpoken, but immediately Sir *Thomas Lucas* call'd aloud to our Troop, to wheel to the left hand, which they preſently performing, were gotten into a Lane in ſome diſorder, and before they could get out of the ſame, and come into any good order again, a Troop of above 100 of the Rebel's Horſe, all Gentlemen of Quality, and Commanders, led by *Cullen*, their Lieutenant General, charg'd our Horſe on the left Flank. Whereupon Sir *Richard Greenvile* encouraged ſeveral of his Troops, by his example, to charge the Enemy, where meeting with Colonel *Cullen* in the head of his Troops, divers blows paſs'd betwixt them; mean while my Lord *Liſle* with his Troops, gallantly charg'd *Cullen*'s Troop, on his Flank and Rear, whereby they were ſo routed, that the Troops were all intermixed one with another, and the execution of both Parties continued violent, until about 20 of the Rebel's Horſe eſcaped away together, leaving the reſt of their Company to be killed and taken Priſoners, (as they were;) during which time, the Foot and Cannon performing well their parts, drove the Enemy to ſhift away to ſave themſelves, which Captain *Hermon* ſeeing, purſued their Rear with ſome Horſe, with which he did notable good execution; and, to ſay the truth, it is probable that moſt of the Rebels had that day been cut off, had not the un-paſſable deep High-way betwixt both Armies, hindred our left Wing of Horſe from giving on upon their ſide, and alſo the diſorder that hapned to the right Wing of the Horſe, by their unhappy wheeling to the left hand. But ſo ſoon as the Officers of thoſe Troops could reduce their Men again into order, my Lord *Liſle* and Sir *Richard Greenvile* preſently purſued the Enemy with 2 Troops, and ſent Sir *William Vaughan* with 2 Troops more to purſue others, flying away to the right hand. And having followed the chaſe of them about 2 or 3 miles diſtant from the Army, (the Rebels having made their eſcape over Bogs, and un-paſſable Grounds for Horſe) our Horſe were fain to leave them, and return to the reſt of the Army, where the Cannon ſtood. In which ſervice were 300 of the Rebels ſlain, amongſt which were a great number of their beſt Gentry and Commanders: There were of the Rebels taken

taken Priſoners, Colonel *Cullen* their Lieutenant General, Major *Butler*, beſides divers other Captains, and ſome of their Enſigns; of the *Engliſh* Forces were ſlain not full 20 Men: in which ſervice, Sir *Thomas Lucas* unhappily received a very ſore wound in his head. That night, the *Engliſh* Army lodged at *Ballybeggan*. After which time, the Army march'd without moleſtation of any Enemy, until they return'd to *Dublin*, whether the Rear of the Army came ſafe on *Munday* the 27*th*. of the ſame month, 1643. 1643.

The Army from *Roſs* return and quarter in *Dublin*, to the further burthen of that City.

Where they were again Quarter'd, even to the undoing and great deſolation of that poor City, which had now ſuffered ſo much, and ſo long, under the burden and inſolencies of unpaid, wanting Soldiers, as they were unable to bear it longer, and with loud cries and complaints made known their Grievances to the Lords Juſtices and Council, wholely unable to relieve them. And indeed, ſuch was the poſture of the preſent affairs at that time, as every thing tended to bring on a Ceſſation; yet for the preſent, the Lieutenant General (that the Soldiers might be quieted) publiſh'd a ſtrict Edict, *Prohibiting all Soldiers to offer the leaſt violence to any who brought Proviſion to the Market, or any Inhabitants of the Town, under the ſevereſt Penalties of the Marſhals Court; which, for a time, begat an obedience.* But the Army being ill Cloath'd, meanly Victuall'd, worſe Paid, and ſeldom employ'd in ſervice, neceſſity enforc'd them to thoſe outrages Humanity could not take notice of, many of them being the effects of a very pinching want; though the Lords Juſtices and Council (to the great diſlike of the Army) purſued ſome of the Offenders with exemplary Juſtice: A ſenſe of which, with the Meagre return which Serjeant Major *Warren* brought out of *England*, on his ſollicitation for the Soldiers Pay, and the diſſatisfaction that thence aroſe; ſome of the Officers, not all, (there was a Party that preſum'd they might have gone through with the work, had there not been another in the Loom) afterwards preſented the State, the 4*th*. of *April*, 1643. with a Paper, in ſuch a ſtile, threatning ſo much danger, as the Lords Juſtices and Council remitted the Copy of it to the Parliament of *England*, which here follows.

My Lords,

The Armies Remonſtrance.

AT our firſt entrance into this unhappy Kingdom, we had no other deſign, than by our Swords to aſſert and vindicate the Right of his Majeſty, which was here moſt highly abuſed, to redreſs the wrongs of his poor Subjects, and to advance our own Particulars in the proſecution of ſo honeſt undertakings. And for the reſt of theſe, we do believe they have, ſince our coming over, ſucceeded pretty well; but for the laſt, which concerns our ſelves, that hath fall'n out ſo contrary to our expectations, that inſtead of being rewarded, we have been prejudic'd; inſtead of getting a Fortune, we have ſpent part of one: And though we behave our ſelves never ſo well abroad, and perform the actions of honeſt men, yet we have the Reward of Rogues and Rebels, which is Miſery and Want, when we come home. Now (my Lords) although we be brought to ſo great an Exigence, that we are ready to rob and ſpoil one another; yet to prevent ſuch outrages, we thought it better to try all honeſt means for our ſubſiſtence, before we take ſuch indirect courſes.

1643. *courſes. Therefore if your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to take us timely into your conſiderations, before our urgent wants make us deſperate, we will, as we have done hitherto, ſerve your Lordſhips readily and faithfully. But if your Lordſhips will not find a way for our preſervations here, we humbly deſire, we may have leave to go where we may have a better being: And if your Lordſhips ſhall refuſe to grant that, we muſt then take leave to have our recourſe to that firſt and primary Law, which God hath endued all men with, we mean, the Law of Nature, which teacheth all men to preſerve themſelves.*

Hence (with what countenance ſome gave it) it was thought, the Rebels (as to the bringing in of the Ceſſation, and their further Aims) prevail'd more, than in all their Battels, Treacheries, and Surprizals.

About *Eaſter*, the Rebels, under *Preſton*, beſieg'd *Baranokil*; at which time (even the 11*th.* of *April*) Colonel *Crafford* march'd forth of *Dublin* with 1300 Foot, and 130 Horſe, a *Culvering* and a *Saker Drake*, towards *Monaſtar-Even*, that with his Party he might there live; and (if he ſhould be adviſed by the Garriſons thereabouts) he had Orders to ſet upon *Preſton*, who had with him 4000 Foot, 500 Horſe, three Pieces of Battery, and four Field-Pieces.

The Confederates Petition ſent to his Majeſty.

But here we muſt acquaint you, that about *November*, 1642. the Lords Juſtices ſent his Majeſty, then at *Oxford*, a ſhort *Petition, in the name of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland*, which they had received from them, deſiring, that his Majeſty would appoint ſome perſons to hear what they could ſay for themſelves, with many expreſſions of Duty and Submiſſion. Shortly after which, Sir *James Mountgomery*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Knights and Colonels, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audley Mervin*, a Committee for *Ireland*, in behalf of themſelves and other Commanders in his Majeſties Army, there attended his Majeſty at *Oxford*, ſetting forth by their Petition as follows.

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty.

The Proteſtant Committe's Petition to his Majeſty.

WE your Majeſties moſt humble Subjects, being entruſted from conſiderable parts of your Majeſties Forces in the Kingdom of Ireland, *to petition your Majeſty, and your Parliament for Supplies; and finding that your Majeſty had committed the care and managing of that War to your Parliament here, we addreſs'd our ſelves unto the ſame, whoſe ſenſe of our miſeries, and inclination to redreſs, appear'd very tender unto us. But the preſent diſtempers of this your Majeſties Kingdom of* England (*to our unſpeakable grief*) *are grown ſo great, that all future paſſages, by which comfort and life ſhould be conveyed to that gaſping Kingdom, ſeem totally to be obſtructed; ſo that unleſs your Gracious Majeſty, out of your ſingular Wiſdom, and Fatherly Care, apply ſome ſpeedy Remedy, We your diſtreſſed and loyal Subjects of that Kingdom muſt inevitably periſh. Our condition repreſents unto your Majeſty the eſtate of all your Majeſties faithful Proteſtant Subjects in* Ireland; *the influence of Princely favour and goodneſs ſo actively diſtill'd upon your Kingdom of* Ireland, *before the birth of this monſtrous a Sa-*

1643.

Rebellion there, and ſince the ſame, ſo abundantly expreſs'd in Characters of a deep ſenſe, and lively preſentment of the bleeding condition thereof, gives us hope, in this our deplorable extremity, to addreſs our ſelves unto your Sacred Throne, humbly beſeeching, that it may pleaſe your Gracious Majeſty, amongſt your other weighty cares, ſo to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that periſhing Kingdom, that timely relief may be offered; otherwiſe your Loyal Subjects there muſt yield their Fortunes a Prey, their Lives a Sacrifice, and their Religion a Scorn to the mercileſs Rebels, powerfully aſſiſted from Abroad. Whilſt we live, we reſt in your Majeſties Protection; if our deaths are deſign'd in that Cauſe, we will die in your obedience; living and dying, ever praying for your Majeſties long and proſperous Reign over us.

Montgomery, Hard. Waller, Arth. Hill, Aud. Mervin.

Unto which his Majeſty, by his Principal Secretary, the Lord *Faulkland*, return'd this Anſwer, from the Court at *Oxford*, the *1ſt.* of *December*, 1642.

His Majeſty hath expreſly commanded me to give this Anſwer to this Petition.

His Majeſties Anſwer.

THat his Majeſty hath, ſince the beginning of that monſtrous Rebellion, had no greater ſorrow, than for the bleeding condition of that his Kingdom; and as he hath by all means labour'd, that timely relief might be afforded to the ſame, and conſented to all Propoſitions (how diſadvantagious ſoever to himſelf) that have been offer'd him for that purpoſe; and at firſt recommended their condition to both his Houſes of Parliament, and immediately of his own meer motion ſent over ſeveral Commiſſions, and cauſed ſome proportion of Arms and Ammunition (which the Petitioners well know to have been a great ſupport to the Northern parts of that Kingdom) to be conveyed to them out of Scotland, *and offered to find* 10000 *Volunteers to undertake that War; but hath often ſince preſt by many ſeveral Meſſages that ſufficient Succours might be haſtned thither, and other matters of ſmaller importance laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and moſt really intended, in his own Royal Perſon, to have undergone the danger of that War, for the defence of his good Subjects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe perfidious and barbarous Rebels; and in his ſeveral Expreſſions of his deſires of Treaty and Peace, hath declared the miſerable preſent condition, and certain future loſs of* Ireland *to be one of his principal Motives, moſt earneſtly to deſire, that the preſent Diſtractions of this Kingdom might be compos'd, and that others would concur with him to the ſame end: So his Majeſty is well pleas'd, that his Offers, Concurrence, Actions, and Expreſſions, are ſo rightly underſtood by the Petitioners, and thoſe who have employ'd them, (notwithſtanding the groundleſs and horrid Aſperſions which have been caſt upon him) but wiſhes, that inſtead of a meer general Complaint (to which his Majeſty can make no return but of Compaſſion) they could have digeſted and offered to him any ſuch deſires, by conſenting to*

which

1643. *which, he might convey (at leaſt in ſome degree) comfort and life to that gaſping Kingdom, preſerve his diſtreſſed and Loyal Subjects of the ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true Proteſtant Religion from being ſcorn'd and trampled on by thoſe mercileſs and Idolatrous Rebels. And if the Petitioners can yet think on any ſuch, and propoſe them to his Majeſty, he aſſures them, that by his readineſs to conſent, and his thanks to them for the propoſal, he will make it appear to them, that their moſt preſſing perſonal ſufferings, cannot make them more deſirous of relief, than his care of the true Religion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of that Duty which obliges him to his Power to protect both, renders him deſirous to afford it to them.*

Faulkland.

Upon the Petition of the Confederates of *Ireland*, his Majeſty granted a Commiſſion to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to meet, and hear what the Rebels could ſay or propound for themſelves; by vertue of which, the Earl of St. *Albans* and *Clanrickard*, the Earl of *Roſcommon*, Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, and other his Majeſties Commiſſioners met at *Trim*, to whom the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* Commiſſioners (the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Robert Talbot* Baronet, and *John Walſh* Eſq;) produced a Remonſtrance the 17*th*. of *March*, 1642. to be preſented to his moſt Excellent Majeſty, by the name of, *The Remonſtrance of Grievances, preſented to his Majeſty in the name of the Catholicks of Ireland*. Yet though (as you ſee) this Remonſtrance was ſolemnly received by his Majeſties Commiſſioners, and by them tranſmitted to his Majeſty; as before had been the preſumptious Propoſitions from *Cavan*, the Letter of the *Farrals* to the Lord *Coſtilough*, Dr. *Cale*'s Agency from the Rebels, the United Lords Letter to the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, and the Lord *Mountgarret*'s to the Lieutenant General, and all other Addreſſes to the State; as afterwards the Propoſitions of the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, even to his Majeſty (by their Agents) to himſelf at *Oxford*: Yet the bleeding *Iphigenia* abounds in ſo much Impudence, as to affirm, that to this day, (the 23*d*. of *December*, 1674.) they were not heard to ſpeak for themſelves. Shameleſs Soul! *The Commiſſion from his Majeſty*, that the Rebels might be heard, was brought over, and confidently delivered at the Council-board, the 22. of *January*, by *Thomas Bourk* Eſq; (a Contriver of the Rebellion) to the amazement of All not acquainted with the Plot. In the Remonſtrance there are pieced together (ſaith that excellent and judicious Perſon *, who knew as well their Sophiſtry, as the States Intereſt) *ſo many vain inconſiderable fancies, many ſubſequent paſſages acted in the proſecution of the War, and ſuch bold, falſe, notorious Aſſertions, without any the leaſt ground or colour of truth, as without all doubt they abſolutely reſolv'd, firſt, to raiſe this Rebellion, and then to ſet their Lawyers and Clergy on work to frame ſuch Reaſons and Motives, as might with ſome colour of juſtification ſerve for Arguments to defend it. It is indeed, to ſpeak plainly, a moſt infamous Pamphlet, full fraught with ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon the preſent Government, and his Majeſties Principal Officers of State within this Kingdom: it was certainly framed with moſt virulent intentions, not to preſent their condition and preſent ſufferings to his Majeſty, but that it might be diſpers'd to gain belief amongſt Foreign States abroad, as well as diſcontented Perſons at home,*

The *Iriſh* Remonſtrance.

The Parl. Declaration concerning the Riſe of the Rebels. *Husb. Collect. fol.* 248.

* Sir *J. T.* Hiſt. *Irel.* the Pref.

1643.

home, and ſo draw aſſiſtance and aid to foment and ſtrengthen their Rebellious Party in Ireland. Of which, if any deſire to be more fully ſatisfi'd, each Particular is clearly anſwer'd (by a Perſon then at the Helm, very faithfully, though not with that vigour the truth requir'd) in a Book, entituled, *The falſe and ſcandalous Remonſtrance of the Inhumane and Bloody Rebels of Ireland**. And upon the 8*th.* and 9*th.* of *April* following, it came to be conſidered in the Commons Houſe of Parliament in *Ireland*, ſeemingly diſliked by all, though with that artifice by ſome, as the Remonſtrants themſelves could not have inſinuated more in its defence; in as much as theſe (not finding they gain'd on the Anti-Remonſtrants) at laſt brought into diſcourſe the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the more colourably to take off the diſpute concerning the Remonſtrance; whereby the buſineſs growing hot, the Houſe was Prorogu'd till the 6*th.* of *May*.

* Printed by *Edw. Huſb.* 1644.

All things being now in that condition, as the neceſſities of the Army daily increas'd, a Ceſſation grew generally to be ſpoke of; his Majeſty having imparted his Commands therein to the Lords Juſtices by the following Letter.

C. R.

His Majeſties firſt Letter of the 23*d.* of *April*, touching the Ceſſation.

Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellors, We greet you well. Whereas conſidering the preſent Condition of Our Affairs, as well in this as that Our Kingdom, through the famous Plots and Practiſes of Perſons, diſaffected to Our Perſon and Government, We have given Command and Authority to Our Right Truſty, Entirely, and Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, the Marquis of Ormond, *Lieutenant General of Our Army and Forces in* Ireland, *to Treat with* Our Subjects, *who in that Kingdom have taken up Arms againſt us; and to agree with them upon a Ceſſation of Arms for one Year; which, as it is a Service of very great Concernment to Us and Our preſent Affairs, both here and there; ſo We Will and Command, that you therein give your moſt effectual aſſiſtance and furtherance to advance the ſame, by your Induſtry and Endeavours, as there ſhall be occaſion.*

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the 23. of *April*, 1643.

An Abbreviate of the War in *Munſter*.

About the 1*ſt.* of *May*, 1643. the Lord *Inchequin* (ſince the death of his Father-in-law, Sir *William St. Leger*, as yet Commander in Chief in the Province of *Munſter*) march'd forth with his Army, divided into two Parties; one Commanded by himſelf, into the Weſt of the County of *Cork*, doing excellent ſervice there, without reſiſtance: and the other

1643. under the Conduct of Sir *Charles Vavaſor*, with ſelect Numbers, reſpectively gathered from the Garriſons of *Youghall*, *Talloe*, *Caſtle Lions*, *Liſmore*, *Mogily*, and *Cappaquin*; the whole number conſiſting of about 1200 Musketeers, and 200 Horſe, beſides Volunteers and Pillagers. In which Expedition, Major *Appleyard*, *May* the 2*d*. near the Caſtle of *Coſgrave*, was aſſign'd to fall on *Ballykeroge*, (Sir *Nicholas Walſh*'s Town and Lands) that he might burn and ſpoil them: And Sir *Charles Vavaſor* undertook the Paſſage to the *Comroe*; upon the left hand whereof there ſtands an exceeding high Mountain, and under the brow a large Wood, through which the Army was neceſſitated to paſs, an unpaſſable Bog being on the right hand. The Enemy (never wanting intelligence) againſt Sir *Charles* came, had caſt up a Trench breaſt high, with ſpike holes along the ſide of the Wood, from the Mountain to the Bog, with a ſtrong Barricado, and two Courts of Guards for Musketeers to lodge in, more artificially done than they were accuſtomed to: But by the help of a Fog (our Guide proving faithful) the Rebels were not aware of us till our Horſe were upon them, at which they ſhot, and we retreated leiſurely (our Foot not being come up) through Providence, without harm; and Sir *Charles* commanded ſome Dragooners, of Captain *Pynes* Company, to alight, which they did, ſoon entring the Enemies Trenches, and, before the Foot came, gain'd the Paſs; and the Horſe and Foot march'd within Musket-ſhot of *Dermod O Brian*'s (Lord of the Countrey) Caſtle, where they made a ſtand, till the Soldiers had fir'd the Countrey, and took away their Cattle, the Enemy not daring to reſcue them, firing (as they march'd away) by *Comroe*-Caſtle, a good Houſe of *Peter Anthony*'s, an *Engliſh* Papiſt, with many other Thatch'd Houſes thereunto belonging. The ſame day the whole Army Rendezvouſing on a Hill near *Kilmac-Thomas*, reſolv'd that night to have advanc'd to *Stradbally*; but marching by *Mac-Thomas*'s Caſtle, they within gave fire upon us; 60 of our Soldiers, being not able to endure ſuch an affront, ran out of the Main Body to the Caſtle, without either Captain, Lieutenant, Enſign, or other Officer; and recovering a Ditch upon the South-ſide of the Caſtle, (the Wind blowing Southerly) they ſet the Thatch'd Houſes on fire, and aſſaulted the Caſtle by the help of the ſmoak, (blinding the Warders) upon which the Beſieged cri'd, *A Drum, a drum*; at which, many who had flown thither for ſafety inconſiderately, ran out, and were by our Soldiers knock'd on the head; whilſt the Warders (delivering the Caſtle on ſome Terms) had Quarter, as the other might have had too, had they ſtaid in the Caſtle; from amongſt which, ſix or ſeven that were thought dead roſe up, which (the Soldiers would have killed) but in pity, Sir *Charles Vavaſor* ſuffer'd to go with the Warders to *Ballykeroge*. After which ſervice, Enſign *Boughton* and 40 Musketeers took in a Houſe, built by *James Wallis* Eſq; ſtrongly fortifi'd by *John Fitz-Gerald*, Son and Heir to *Mac-Thomas*; the Warders and the reſt being on Terms alſo convey'd to *Ballykeroge*: And ſo facing *Clonea* (belonging to *Tibbot Fitz-Gerrard*) and *Coſgrave* Caſtles, and paſſing by *Dungarvan*, ſome of the Rebels iſſued out of Town; but the *Engliſh* Forces drawing into a Body to oppoſe them, they retired without the leaſt Encounter, our Forces marching to their own Garriſons.

About the 27*th*. of *May*, the Lord *Inchequin* compleats an Army of 4000 Foot, and 400 Horſe, which Rendevouz'd at *Buttevant*; out of which he ſent 200 Horſe, under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, (a re-

reſolute active man) and 1200 Foot, under the Conduct of Lieutenant Colonel *Story*, (no ways backward of the Employment) into the County of *Kerry*; a dangerous Journey, conſidering the length of the way, and ſcarcity of Proviſion they had with them, the Enemy having waſted and fired *Trally*, (a Place as well accommodated with good Land for Corn and Cattle, as any other Place in *Munſter*) leſt the Lord *Inchequin* ſhould quarter there. Whereupon the Lord *Inchequin* (conſidering the danger of the Journey) to divert the Enemy, laid a pretended Siege to the Town of *Kilmallock*, (a Place of great conſequence, and a Key to *Limerick*) whereby, the Rebels eyes being fixed on *Kilmallock*'s relief, the Expedition was much facilitated; *Bridges* and *Story* bringing away a great Prey of Cattle, ſome Priſoners, and fetch'd off many *Engliſh* from the Caſtle of *Ballybeggan* without any reſiſtance, ſave a looſe Skirmiſh, wherein the Enemy loſt four men, and were routed. 1643.

The Lord *Inchequin*, the 28*th.* of *May*, having ſent Colonel *Myn* to *Patrick Purcel* of *Croe*, Governour of *Kilmallock*, to acquaint him, he came forth onely to meet an Enemy in the Field, not to Beſiege the Town. He releaſed the Lady *Humes* and her Son, Priſoners at *Kilmallock*, for one *Burget*, a Priſoner at *Cork*, whether the Lord *Inchequin* march'd, whilſt Sir *Charles Vavaſor*, after a well regulated Diſpute (ſtoutly defended by the Rebels) took in *Cloghleigh*, commanded by one *Condon*, wherein was 20 Men, 11 Women, and about 7 Children, ſome of which the Soldiers ſtript, in readineſs to kill them; but Major *Howel* drawing out his Sword, defended them; and whilſt he went to Colonel *Vavaſor*, (then at *Ballyhindon*, Mr. *Roche*'s Houſe, where he was invited that day to Dine) committed them to Captain *Wind*, who leaving them to a Guard of Horſe, they ſtripped them again, and afterwards fell upon them with Carbines, Piſtols, and Swords: a cruelty ſo reſented by Sir *Charles Vavaſor*, that he vowed to hang him that commanded the Guard; and had certainly done it, had not the next days action prevented it, which was the moſt conſiderable loſs the *Engliſh* ever received from the Rebels, a miſchief they might have avoided had they been leſs confident, and given greater credence to their Intelligence.

The 4*th.* of *June*, being *Sunday*, early in the morning, before break of day quarter, Mr. *Hill*, with a Squadron of Horſe, was ſent to Scout about *Cloghline* and *Caſtlegrace*, in the County of *Tipperary*; and before day-light he was encompaſſed by the Enemies Horſe; ſo that he, with his Company, with great difficulty eſcap'd, and bringing word to the Leaguer at *Cloghleigh*, the Alarm was up, and preſently our Foot drew themſelves into two Diviſions in a Field next the Mountain, where the Enemy came down, when preſently two or three Bodies of the Enemies Horſe appear'd on the ſide of a Hill, (a mile and a half from us.) In the mean time Sir *Charles Vavaſor* (lying the night before at Caſtle *Logons*) was ſent for, and he (without delay) came away as faſt as his Horſe could carry him: but before he came, a Party of Musketeers, to the number of 200, under the Command of Captain *Philip Hutton*, and a Troop of Horſe commanded by Captain *Freek*, drew up nearer to the Enemy by half a mile, and there ſtood for the ſpace of two hours; ſome of the Horſe in the interim advanc'd further, ſounding their Trumpets on both ſides. At length, *Chriſtopher Brian* (the Lord *Inchequin*'s Brother) deſir'd to Parle with Quartermaſter *Page*, and after ſome Complements and Diſcourſes paſt, they parted; as did afterwards Captain *Richard*

1643. *Richard Fitz-Morris* (the Lord of *Kirries* Brother) with the ſaid *Chriſtopher Bryan*. Preſently after notice was given, that the Enemy was advancing; but we could diſcover no Foot all this while, (their management of this buſineſs being very cloſe.) Whereupon Sir *Charles Vavaſor* demurr'd upon it, and took order for what was needful, and called back the ſaid *Hutton* and the Horſe from the Mountain. In the interim, Captain *George Butler* (a Native of this Kingdom, a man of undanted ſpirit, and well experienc'd in Martial Diſcipline) came to Sir *Charles* from the Lord *Inchequin* with a Letter, importing, That the ſaid *Butler*'s Company and Sir *John Brown*'s were marching from *Moyalloe* towards him, and now within a mile and half to him, were at his diſpoſal. Upon that, Sir *Charles* and the reſt of the Officers conſulted what was beſt to be done, and concluded, ſuch a Body of Horſe could not be without a conſiderable Body of Foot, and therefore fully reſolv'd to make good a Retreat, giving order, that all the Carriages with the Artillery (that were now at a ſtop on the *Manning Water*) ſhould haſt away, till they recovered the *Black Water* at the Ford of *Farmoy*, to help to make good that Paſs, in caſe he ſhould be hard put to it. After this, Sir *Charles* ſtaid a while, ſo long as he might well conceive the ſaid two Companies, Carriage and Ordnance to be at the Ford, and then preſently marched on to Caſtle *Lyons*, the Front led by Lieutenant *King*, the Body by Major *Howel*, and the Rear by Sir *Charles* himſelf, a Forlorn-hope of about 160 Musketeers in the Rear was commanded by Captain *Pierce Lacy*, Captain *Hutton*, and Lieutenant *Stardbury*, and all our Horſe in the Rear likewiſe; who no ſooner came over the *Manning Water*, and recovered the top of the Hill, but the Enemies Horſe were at our heels: From this Hill to the Ford there is a dangerous Paſſage of a Narrow Lane, which the Enemy knew full well, and ſo did our Men too: And the Enemy perceiving that moſt of our Men were marching within this Lane, (excepting the Forlorn-hope and the Horſe) charged us in the Rear, coming on as the *Mooriſh* and *Getulian* Horſe, mention'd by *Saluſt* in *Jugarth*'s War, not in Order and Warlike manner, but by Troops and ſcattering Companies at adventure, that the Fight rather reſembled an Incurſion than a Battel; and ſo hemm'd in and preſt on our Horſe, (being but 120) that they were able to move no way, but fall into that Lane amongſt the Foot, which they did, thereby routing our whole Foot. The Ordnance by this time was not carried over the *Black Water*, nor the two Companies as yet come to make good the Paſſage, ſo that all our Colours (ſave one brought off by *Dermot O Grady*, Enſign to Captain *Rowland St. Leger*, who gallantly ſav'd It and himſelf) were taken, our two Pieces of Ordnance ſurpriz'd, and Sir *Charles* himſelf (together with Captain *Wind*, Lieutenant *King*, Enſign *Chaplain*, Captain *Fitz-morris*, and divers others) taken Priſoner; beſides thoſe that were kill'd in the Place, (*viz.*) Captain *Pierce Lacy*, Captain *George Butler*, Lieutenant *Walter St. Leger*, (three Natives of this Kingdom) Lieutenant *Stradbury*, Lieutenant *Roſington*, Lieutenant *Kent*, Enſign *Simmons*, with divers other Lieutenants and Enſigns, beſides common Soldiers, to the number of 300, ſome affirm 600.

The *Engliſh* Army routed.

The *Iriſh* worſted before *Cappaquin*.

Upon which ſucceſs, they boldly attempted *Cappaquin*, which more gallantly withſtood them, in as much as after all their attempts, the Aſſailants were ſhamefully beaten off towards the end of *June*, and forc'd to retreat, having loſt upon the firſt Aſſault 62 men; afterwards, attempting

tempting it again, they were repuls'd, and fearing the Lord *Inchequin's* approach, marched away, having loſt in that enterprize Lieutenant Colonel *Butler*, (Brother to the Lord of *Armally*,) Captain *Saint John* of *Saint Johnstown*, Captain *Pierce Butler* of *Ballypaddin* in the County of *Tipperary*, Captain *Grady* deſperately hurt, one Enſign killed, as were four Serjeants, and two hurt, beſides ſeveral Priſoners taken: one of their Horſemen compleatly arm'd ran to us, who (amongſt other paſſages) diſcovered the particular loſſes of the Enemy, their chief Gunner was likewiſe ſlain in this ſervice: Upon the retreat and marching away, a Party of our Horſe commanded by Sir *John Brown* ſallied out of the Town after them, and killed ſome of their Men and Pillagers in the Rear of their Army, who found 25 graves after them in the Camp, wherein they buried their dead by 4 and 5 in a grave, as by veiw appear'd. 1643.

Yet though the Enemy had no ſucceſs in taking in *Cappaquin*, we by Colonel *Myn* * took in the Caſtles of *Timolege*, *Roſcarby*, and *Rathbarry* in the Weſt, and *Liſmore* nobly defended it ſelf under Captain *Barderoe*, whilſt the Lord *Inchequin* appearing with 2506 Horſe and Foot, rais'd the Siege, whoſe Army upon news of the Ceſſation, drew off, then ready to give Battle.

* Colonel *Myn* after the Ceſſation, went into *England* with his Regiment, oftentimes encountring *Maſſy* (who joyntly expreſt much valour) And in a conflict near *Hartpury*-fields in *Gloceſterſhire* was ſlain by *Maſſies* Forces, 1644. and by reaſon of his Gallantry, buried at *Gloceſter*, with the loſs of the *Engliſh* Regiment he brought from *Ireland*. Sanders *H. C.* 1. *Fol.* 731. The tranſactions in *Connaght*: *Galloway* Fort taken by the *Iriſh*.

In *Connaght*, after the Battle of *Raconnel*, till Midſummer, there was not any conſiderable ſervice done by our Souldiers; and the Enemy either kept cloſe in Garriſons, or was drawn off to the Siege of *Galloway's* Fort; And now the Enemies finding that without the Command of ſome experienc'd General, and the uniting of their Forces, they were able to do little, yea, not to defend themſelves; they got for Commander *John Bourk* (or as they more commonly called him, *Shane O-Tlevij*) deſcended from the *Bourks* of Caſtle *Barr*, or if you pleaſe of the *Mac Williams*: His firſt exploit was againſt the Fort of *Galloway*, to the taking and demoliſhing of which, the Townſmen contributed both with Bodies and Purſe very largely; they wanted good battering Guns, and therefore reſolv'd to take it by *Famine*, it being but poorly provided by ſuch as the Parliament appointed to bring timely ſupplies by Sea, knowing that in it they ſhould get battering Guns, to take in the reſt of the *Engliſh* Garriſons in that Province. To this end, they made a Chain of Maſts, Casks, and Iron, acroſs that part of the Harbour next to the Fort, and planted ſtrong Guards at each end of it; They prepared ſome few Ship-Guns, and a Morter-Piece, which was well caſt by a Runnagate out of the Lord *Forbes* Ships, which afterwards they made uſe of at the Siege of Caſtle *Coot*; ſo that with much Induſtry rather then Gallantry, they at length got the Fort by Compoſition, its Relief coming too late into the Harbour; The event of which ſo much ſtruck the Governour, as he did not many months after ſurvive the loſs.

Upon the taking of the Fort, the *Iriſh* were overjoy'd to be Maſters of ſo many brave Guns, and thought that the Reputation of this and the help of the Guns, would reduce ſuddainly all *Connaght*; they reſolv'd firſt to fall on Caſtle *Coot*, the moſt painant thorn in their ſide, being confident that upon their ſucceſs there, they might in all probability expect to have the reſt, not becauſe it had any great ſtrength in its Walls, but was well mann'd, and vigilantly attended; though with 4000 Horſe and Foot, and anſwerable Accommodations of War, they queſtion'd not but to Maſter it ſoon, having *Preſton's* Engineer, Monſieur *La Loo* (an

Caſtle *Coot* Beſieged.

1643. (an expert *Low-Countrey* Souldier) to manage their Works, who upon the knowledge of the ſituation of the Place, queſtion'd not its ſurrender, *Galloway* having (for Fireworks, and fitting expedients for that ſervice) furniſhed him with 300 *l.* However, though they had made as regular and handſom a Fortification about the Caſtle, as ever was attempted in *Ireland*, yet the Garriſon ſo nobly attack'd each Redoubt, that thence enſued many brave Attempts, much certainly to the prejudice of the Beſieged; the Garriſon maintaining their own againſt all the Attempts the Beſiegers ever adventur'd, which in truth were many, not without Skill as well as Courage maintain'd; in as much as the Governour Captain *Richard Coot*, ſince Lord Baron of *Coloony*, having ſent forth a private Meſſenger to Major *Ormsby*, (who before with the help of the *Engliſh* Garriſons, had very ſucceſsfully beaten *Owen Roe-O-Neal* out of the Province with great loſs, coming to ſet upon *Boyle*, *Jamestown*, *Carrickdrumzooſh*, and *Elphin*,) at *Tulſol*, to inform him of his wants, very carefully conſulted with *Boyle* and *Roſcommon*, who joyntly agreed (upon a private Sign) to relieve them of Caſtle *Coot*; which the Enemy having notice of by one, whom the Garriſon had familiarly entertain'd, the Treachery (on the Enemies ſide) was carried on, as they ſet forth two Parties, as if *one* had made to the Caſtles Relief, whilſt the *other* oppos'd it; to the countenance of which, the Governour being (from the Walls) encouraged by the Souldiers (though againſt his own ſuſpicions) adventured forth with 60 Musketiers, but ſoon found the deceit of the buſineſs; The Enemy all this while having skirmiſh with themſelves as two Parties, who now joyntly fall upon the Governour with thoſe he drew out, who ſo gallantly oppos'd them, though (in compute) not leſs then 700 Men, as they retired to their Camp, and he ſecured his Retreat (with much Honour) to his Caſtle; The Enemy in the Interim, making a bold aſſault on the other part of the Caſtle, which he came time enough to relieve, beating off the Enemy with a conſiderable loſs, and having ſlain many of their men, caus'd them decently to be laid out (not beheaded as the *Iriſh* barbarouſly are accuſtomed to do) for which their General ſent him a Preſent of Tobacco, (then very acceptable;) However, afterwards he beat them to inacceſſible Places, in Bogs and Woods (their uſual Refuge) and recover'd at that time ſtore of Tobacco, Cloaths, and 11 weeks Pay, newly come, to ſatisfie their Souldiers; Yet they hearing of the Ceſſation, but not yet having an Expreſs from the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, more violently (then ever) ſhot at the Caſtle; and having now a Meſſenger of the Ceſſation, they ſo far ſuſpected him as a ſpy, as they impriſon'd him, endeavouring ſtill to gain the Caſtle; but finding their attempts vain, Forces from *Boyle*, *Roſcommon*, &c. faithfully having relieved the Caſtle, all joyntly gallantly ſet on the Rebels, which their General perceiving, grew ſo much enraged againſt his Souldiers, as to profeſs he had rather be Captain of the 200 in the Garriſon, then General of the 3000 he had; ſo as at length the Governour as well as *Bourk*, having an Expreſs from the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, both acquieſs'd therein.

The *Iriſh* break the Ceſſation.

Thus his Majeſties Forces (where they were unanimous) vigorouſly proceeded; nay ſhould I adventure to recount all their actions, time would fail, we are obliged to be brief, though in omitting any, injuries may be done excellent Perſons, whoſe pardons I beg, whilſt they had no better ſupplies then other Places.

However,

1643.

However, the neceſſities of the Army were daily aggravated, yet they (in ſome mens opinion) not ſeeming ſufficient to bring on a Ceſſation, ſuch as were principal oppoſers of it, were thought requiſite to be remov'd; And the 23. of *April*, 1643. Sir *Francis Butler* arriv'd from *England* with a Superſedeas for the Lord *Parſon*'s Government, and a Commiſſion to the Lord *Borlaſe*, and Sir *Henry Tichborn*, to be Lords Juſtices; who accordingly the firſt of *May*, were inſtituted in the Government; Who (betwixtthe unpaid and Refractory Souldiers, and the difficulties that aroſe about the Ceſſation, which they were to conſent to, but acted little in) encountred no ſmall difficulties in their Government, whatever cenſure it hath ſince met with: Soon after their admiſſion, freſh hopes of a more plentiful Supply exceedingly cheer'd the Souldiers; but that failing, Murmures, Mutinies, and a diſcontented Spirit raged every where, highly fomented, that *neceſſity* might be a main plea for the Ceſſation; of *which* his Majeſty being daily inform'd, writes this Letter.

Sir *Jo. Borlaſe*, Sir *Hen. Tichborn*, Lords Juſtices.

C. R.

His Majeſties ſecond Letter about the Ceſſation.

RIght truſty and Right well beloved Couſen and Councellor, we greet you well, by our Letters of the 23. of the laſt month: We gave you our Command to Treat and Agree upon a Ceſſation of Arms for one year, with thoſe our Subjects in that our Kingdom, who have taken up Arms there againſt our Authority; and having ſince ſeen the Propoſitions, which you and the reſt of our Commiſſioners ſent us from our ſaid Subjects, We find the ſame to be of ſuch great importance, and many things therein alledged, ſo neceſſary to be further examined and inquired into, as we have been the rather induced to have ſuch a Ceſſation, as we have formerly written unto you, ſo as it may be with Honour to us, and without prejudice to our Intereſt and Service; This Bearer Mr. William Brent, *is a Perſon whom we have purpoſely ſent over, to give us an account of your proceedings in a Buſineſs of this Conſequence, to whom you may give credit, and by him we ſhall deſire to hear from you, when you ſhall have any Matter of moment to ſend over unto us.*

Given at our Court at *Oxon*, the 3*d*. of *May*, 1643.

To our right truſty and entirely beloved Couſen and Counſellor, *James* Marquiſs of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of our Army in *Ireland*.

1643. This (upon the Treaty) the Confederates Commiſſioners acknowledge to have ſeen, but inſiſted upon one (formerly mention'd) of the 23. of *April*, (more important they conceive) which upon promiſe (that upon the agreement of the Treaty perfected,) they ſhould have a Copy of the Treaty, went on: though as to his Majeſty, that there might be a further evidence of his Intentions, to ſubdue the Rebellion in *Ireland*, he (being preſented the 5*th.* of *May*, 1643. by Sir *Robert King*, *William Jephſon*, and *Arthur Hill* Eſquires, from the Parliament, with a Bill entituled, *An Act for the ſpeedy payment of Moneys, ſubſcribed towards the reducing of the Rebels in* Ireland, which yet remain'd unpaid) was ſo far from denying to paſs the ſaid Act, (though driven from his Parliament, with far the Major part of both Houſes) that he inclin'd to paſs the Act, if he might be aſſured to have it imployed to no other purpoſe, then the Reducing of the Rebels, &c. Which Conditions not being anſwered, no more was attempted by that Bill, a defect not reſting in his Majeſty, but thoſe that ſent it; whereby the ſtraights in *Ireland* ſtill increaſing, the Lords Juſtices writ to his Majeſty (as a little before they had done to the Parliament) the enſuing Letter.

See *Husbands* Collect. *Fol.* 160.

May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Lords Juſtices Letter to his Majeſty of the preſent ſtate of *Ireland.*

AS ſoon as we your Majeſties Juſtices entred into the charge of this Government, we took into our conſideration at this Board, the ſtate of your Army here, which we find ſuffering under unſpeakable extremities of want of all things, neceſſary to the ſupport of their Perſons, or maintenance of the War; here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or other Proviſions requiſite towards their ſuſtenance, no Money to provide them of any thing they want, no Arms in your Majeſties Stores, to ſupply their many defective Arms, not above 40 *Barrels of Powder in your Stores, no ſtrength of ſerviceable Horſes being now left here, and thoſe few that are, their Arms for the moſt part loſt or unſerviſeable, no Ships arriv'd here to guard the Coaſts, and conſequently no ſecurity rendred to any, that might (on their private Adventures) bring in Proviſions of Victuals, or other neceſſaries, towards our ſubſiſtence, and finally, no viſible means by Sea or Land of being able to preſerve for you this your Kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter deſtruction, to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left here.*

We find that your Majeſties late Juſtices and this Board, have often and fully by very many Letters, adverti ſed the Parliament in England, *of the extremities of Affairs here, and beſought relief with all poſſible importunity, which alſo have been fully repreſented to your Majeſty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and to Mr. Secretary* Nicholas, *to be made known to your Majeſty: And although the Winds have of late for many days (and often formerly) ſtood very fair, for acceſſions of ſupply forth of* England *hither, and that we have ſtill with longing expectations, hope to find Proviſions arrive here, in ſome degree anſwerable to the neceſſities of your Affairs: yet now (to our unexpreſſible grief) after full* 6 *months waiting, and much longer patience and long-ſuffering, we find all our great expectations anſwered in a mean and inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, (viz.)* 75 *Barrels of Butter, and* 14 *Tun of Cheeſe, being but the fourth part of a ſmall Veſſels Lading, which was ſent from* London, *and arriv'd here on the* 5*th. of this Month, which is not above* 7 *or* 8 *days Proviſion for that part of the Army which lies in* Dublin, *and the out-Garriſons thereof,*

no

no Money or Victuals (other then that inconſiderable proportion of Victual) having arriv'd in this Place, as ſent from the Parliament of England, *or any other forth of* England *for the uſe of the Army, ſince the beginning of* November *laſt.* 1643.

We have (by the bleſſing of God) been hitherto proſperous and ſucceſsful in your Majeſties Affairs here, and ſhould be ſtill hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the Royal Directions of your Sacred Majeſty, to vindicate your Majeſties Honour, and recover your Rights here, and take due vengeance on theſe Traitors, for the innocent blood they have ſpilt, if we might be ſtrengthned or ſupported therein by needful ſupplies out of England: *But theſe ſupplies having hitherto been expected to come from the Parliament of* England, *(on which if your Majeſty had not relyed, we are aſſured, you would in your high Wiſdom have found out ſome other means to preſerve this your Kingdom) and ſo great and apparent a failer having hapned therein, and all the former and late long continuing Eaſterly winds, bringing us no other Proviſions then thoſe few, Cheeſe and Butter; And no advertiſement being brought us of any future ſupplies to be ſo much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood, that conſiderable means of ſupport for your Majeſties Army, might arrive here in any reaſonable time, before that we be totally ſwallowed up by the Rebels, and your Kingdom by them wreſted from you; we find our ſelves ſo diſappointed of our hopes from the Parliament, as muſt needs trench to the utter loſs of the Kingdom, if your Majeſty in your high Wiſdom ordain not ſome preſent means of preſervation for us.*

And conſidering, that if now by occaſion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of ſupport from thence, we ſhall be leſs ſucceſsful in your Services here againſt the Rebels, then hitherto (whilſt we were enabled with ſome means to ſerve you) we have been, the ſhame and diſhonour may, in common conſtruction of thoſe who know not the inwards of the Cauſe, be imputed to us, and not to the failing that diſabled us: And conſidering principally and above all things, the high and eminent truſt of your Affairs here, depoſited with us by your Sacred Majeſty, we may not forbear in diſcharge of our Duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehenſions, to the end your Majeſty thus truly underſtanding the terribleneſs of our Condition, may find out ſome ſuch means of ſupport, to preſerve to your Majeſty and your Royal Poſterity, this your ancient and rightful Crown and Kingdom, and derive deliverance and ſafety to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left here, as in your excellent Judgment you ſhall find to be moſt to your Honour and Advantage.

And ſo praying to the King of Kings to guide and direct you for the beſt, in this high and important Cauſe, and in all other your Councels and Actions, we humbly remain,

Your Majeſties moſt Loyal and moſt Faithful Subjects and Servants.

From your Majeſties Caſtle at Dublin, *the* 11th. *of* May, 1643.

The 12*th.* of *May*, the Lord *Taaffe*, *Roch*, and *Fitzwilliams* arrived out of *England*, and that morning Major *Warren*, and Sir *Francis Butler* came to the Council, the Lords ſitting, and preſented a Petition to the Lords Juſtices, accuſing the Lord *Parſons* of high Miſdemeanors, and other Treaſonable Matters; requeſting that his Perſon and Goods might be ſecur'd, though (in concluſion) nothing was ever filed againſt him: an Evidence to moſt, that there was more of a Deſign, then Crime, in the Accuſation.

1643. And having (as before) preſented you with the Lords Juſtices Letter to his Majeſty, we ſhould now give you *the Declaration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament the* 16th. *of* June, 1643. *concerning the preſent lamentable eſtate and miſerable condition of* Ireland; In anſwer to what, the Lords Juſtices and Council had faithfully acquainted them withall, that it may appear how ſenſible they were of the information they had receiv'd of the ſtraights and exigencies of the Proteſtant Forces in *Ireland*; which certainly is very Emphatical, reſenting (with a juſt aggravation) the miſerable condition of that Kingdom; but being legible in *Husbands* Collections, * we ſhall refer you thither, not buſing our ſelves how far it prevail'd. Certainly the Exigencies of the Souldiers, and State of *Ireland* were then very conſiderable, in as much as his Majeſty not being able (by any other expedient) to remedy (as he was perſwaded) their complaints, then by a Ceſſation, he (to that end) ſends this Letter to the Lords Juſtices.

* *Fol.* 216.

C. R.

His Majeſties third Letter concerning the Ceſſation.

RIght truſty and well beloved Counſellors, and right truſty and intirely well beloved Couſen and Counſellor, we greet you well: The preſent Diſtractions here have rendred us as unable, as by experience we find the remaining part of the two Houſes, are unwilling to ſupply or relieve our Army in Ireland; *and if the Money we conſented ſhould be rais'd in this our Kingdom for the Relief of* Ireland, *had not been diverted by them, and Rebelliouſly imployed againſt us here in* England, *we ſhould not have been conſtrain'd to have hearkned to a Ceſſation of Arms now on that ſide; But ſince we ſee no other hope, during the unhappy diſtempers here, to ſettle the Peace of that our Kingdom, but by a Ceſſation of Arms between us and the* Iriſh, *now in Arms there, and doubt very much, how our Forces now in that our Kingdom will be there maintain'd, if we ſhall admit of a Ceſſation: We have thought it expedient by theſe our Letters, to recommend it to your care and induſtry to conſider ſeriouſly how our Forces on that ſide, may be enabled to ſubſiſt during a Ceſſation: and if there may be means found for that, we do then hereby Authoriſe, and require you, to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms there for a year, and in our Names to aſſure the ſaid* Iriſh, *that we are graciouſly inclin'd to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and call a new one between this and the* 10th. *of* November *next, and to take a courſe, to put all thoſe that ſhall be choſen Members of the ſaid Parliament, into ſuch a condition, as they ſhall not be prejudiced*

of

1643.

of their Liberty of Aſſiſting, Sitting, and Voting in the ſaid Parliament; for better effecting whereof, we do hereby further authoriſe and require you, to give Licenſe to ſuch Commiſſioners, as the ſaid Iriſh *ſhall appoint to come over hither to us, to treat of that Buſineſs, and ſuch other Particulars (to be propoſed by way of Petition) as ſhall neceſſarily conduce, not onely to the ſatisfying of the ſaid Ceſſation, but to a preparation of what ſhall be requiſite, for the ſetling of a juſt, honourable, and perfect Peace in that our Kingdom: And we further require, in caſe the ſaid* Iriſh *now in Arms, ſhall agree to ſuch a Ceſſation and Treaty, to advertiſe us of ſome ſuch able and fitting Miniſters, or Servants of ours on that ſide, as you conceive fit to be ſent over hither to aſſiſt in the Treaty here, when Commiſſioners ſhall come over from the ſaid* Iriſh. *In which Buſineſs we require you to uſe all convenient expedition, and to give us a ſpeedy Account, for which theſe our Letters ſhall be your Warrant.*

Given under our Signet at our Court at *Oxford*, the ſecond day of *July*, in the 19*th.* year of Our Reign, 1643.

To our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellors, Sir *John Borlaſe*, and Sir *Henry Tichborn*, Kts. Lords Juſtices of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to our right truſty and intirely beloved Coſen and Counſellor, *James*, Marquiſs of *Ormond*, Lieutenant-General of our Army there.

The Treaty towards a Ceſſation.

But before this Letter came to the Lords Juſtices, the means to a Ceſſation were thought of: Yet the day before the Marquiſs of *Ormond* proceeded to the Treaty, which was the 22. of *June*, the chief Proteſtants of the City of *Dublin* were called before the Council, to know if they would give 10000 *l.* or have a Ceſſation; the latter they were very unwilling to, and the former they could not advance; indeed it was well known, though it ſerv'd (as an Argument) to evidence the neceſſity the State was put to: And the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, the 23. of *June*, preſented themſelves unto the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, in his *Tent* near Caſtle *Martin*, in the County of *Kildare*, in the preſence of divers Colonels, Captains, and Officers in his Majeſties Army, his Lordſhip ſitting in his Chair covered, and the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners ſtanding bare: after ſeveral paſſages

The *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, the 23. of *June*, 1643. firſt preſented themſelves to the Lieutenant-General.

1643. paſſages betwixt them, (all tendred in writing) the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners gave his Lordſhip a Copy, of the Authority they had receiv'd from *the ſupream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland *at* Kilkenny, *in theſe words.*

Their Commiſſion from the Supream Council.

WHereas his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, *were inforced to take Arms, for the preſervation of their Religion, for the defence of his Majeſty's juſt Prerogatives and Rights, and the maintenance of the Rights and Liberties of their Countrey, labour'd to be deſtroyed by the Malignant Party. And whereas his Majeſty in his high Wiſdom, and Princely Care of his ſaid Subjects Welfare and Safety, and at their humble Suit, That his Majeſty might be graciouſly pleas'd to hear their Grievances, and vouchſafe Redreſs therein, did direct, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms, and thereupon did Authorize the Right Honourable the Lord Marqueſs of* Ormond, *to treat and conclude the ſaid Ceſſation, with the ſaid Confederate Catholicks. Know ye, that the ſaid Council, by the expreſs Order and Authority of the ſaid Catholicks, by them conceiv'd, and granted in their General Aſſembly at* Kilkenny, *on the 20th. day of the laſt Month of* May, *and in purſuance of the ſaid Order and Authority, repoſing ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in the Wiſdom, Circumſpection, and provident Care, Honour and Sincerity, of our very good Lords,* Nicholas *Lord Viſcount* Gormanſton, Donnogh *Lord Viſcount* Muskery, *and our well-beloved Sir* Lucas Dillon *Knight, Sir* Robert Talbot *Baronet,* Tirlagh O Neal *Eſq;* Geoffry Brown *Eſq;* Ever Mac-Gennis *Eſq; and* John Walſh *Eſq; have conſtituted, appointed and ordain'd, and by theſe preſents do conſtitute, appoint and ordain, the ſaid* Nicholas *Lord Viſcount* Gormanſton, *&c. our Commiſſioners, and do by theſe preſents give and grant unto our ſaid Commiſſioners, or any five, or more of them, full Power and Authority to treat with the ſaid Lord Marqueſs of* Ormond, *of a Ceſſation of Arms, for one whole year, or ſhorter, and to conclude the ſame for the time aforeſaid, upon ſuch Terms, Conditions, and Articles, as to the ſaid Commiſſioners, in their Judgements, Conſcience and Diſcretion; ſhall be thought fit and expedient; by theſe preſents ratifying and confirming, whatſoever Act or Acts our ſaid Commiſſioners as aforeſaid, ſhall do or execute, concerning the ſaid Ceſſation.*

Given at Kilkenny, *the 20th. of* June, 1643.

Montgarret, Caſtlehaven Audley, Malachias Arp. Tuamen, Fr. Thom. Fleming, *Arch. of* Dublin, *Primate of* Ireland, Maurice de Rupe & Fermoy, Nettervile, Nich. Plunket, Edm. Fitz-Maurice, Patrick Darcy, Rob. Linch, R. Bealing.

Upon which both ſides proceeded, the Marqueſs not admitting *the Title or Name*, attributed by the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners unto them, in behalf of thoſe for whom they treated; as likewiſe not admitting *the Cauſe* for which they took up Arms, as in the Proteſtation is expreſſed: Whereas the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, on the other ſide, ſtill propos'd all in the behalf of the Catholicks of *Ireland*, with proteſtation, that the ſaid Catholicks took Arms in defence of their Religion, his Majeſty's Rights and Prero-

Prerogatives, and the Liberties of *Ireland*, and no ways to oppoſe his Majeſty's Authority; ſo as (ſay they) neither the Title, or Proteſtation, (being juſtly due to them) were to be excepted againſt, being the ſame they always uſed in their immediate applications to his Majeſty. Againſt which, though there were exceptions, the Treaty ſtill proceeded, they owning the premiſſes: And at *Sigginſtown* the Treaty went on, not without Debates of great concern, and much difficulty, and then was deferr'd from the 1ſt. of *July*, to the Thurſday next come ſeven-night; at which time the Marqueſs of *Ormond* could not meet, in reſpect, *That the neceſſity of his attendance otherwiſe upon the publick Service of his Majeſty would not permit*; which the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners ſeem'd much to reſent, writing to his Lordſhip from *Kilkenny*, the 19th. of *July*, 1643. That *although we conceive this Treaty to be of the greateſt conſequence of any Service, to be effected for his Majeſty within this Kingdom, yet we are not apt to give an ill conſtruction to the laying of it by for the preſent, until we do know of that Service that taketh place of it, which (being for the advantage of his Majeſty's Intereſts) we heartily wiſh may have good ſucceſs: Yet your Lordſhip will give us leave to take notice, that we meet in theſe, as in all other Proceedings, (whereby we may have any expectation to enjoy the benefit of his Majeſty's Grace and Favour) ſome interruption and ſlackneſs, in conveying any part of his good Intentions, to his* faithful Subjects the Catholicks of Ireland, *which we add to our other Grievances, and will endeavour (in diſcharge of the many harms which may enſue by reaſon of this Protraction) to have it rightly preſented to his Majeſty.* In Anſwer to which, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* replyed, the 21ſt. of *July*, That *whereas they had no pretence of unaptneſs, to give an ill conſtruction to the laying by of the Treaty, until they could know of what Service took place*, he acquainted them, *That he was not accountable to them, with the knowledge of his Majeſty's Services, wherewith he had the Honour to be intruſted, or to any but to his Majeſty, and to thoſe to whom he had intruſted the government of the Kingdom.* And for what they ſaid, *They would endeavour to have rightly preſented to his Majeſty, he doubted not but to acquit himſelf as became him, as in other Commands, ſo in this Particular; and that they ſhould find, when the other Occaſions of his Majeſty were over, the deferring of the Treaty at preſent, was not ſuch a laying aſide of the Matter, as their Letters inferr'd.*

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The Treaty deferred, againſt which the Commiſſioners excepted.

Thus at preſent, (more than by Letters, and the private Actings of ſome Men) there was nothing further attempted in the Treaty, till the 26th. of *Auguſt* following: In the interim, we muſt take notice of the Inſolence of theſe Men, then expecting his Majeſty's Favour.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

Jo. Borlaſe. *Henry Tichborn.*

WE the Lords Juſtices and Council do declare, That if Captain John Farrer *be forthwith releaſed by the Rebels, and ſafely ſent hither, that forthwith upon his coming, ſo releaſed, we will give Order for the releaſing*

1643. *leaſing* Synnot, *lately imployed as Captain amongſt the Rebels, out of Priſon, the Jaylor's juſt Dues being firſt paid, and will then permit him freely to depart without interruption.*

Given at his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, July 8. 1643.

La. Dublin, Ormond, Roſcommon, Bramſton, Ant. Midenſis, Tho. Rotheram, Jo. Temple, Fra. Willoughby, Ja. Ware.

The Inſolencies of the *Iriſh*, in Reply to a Warrant of the State.

We do not know to whom this Certificate is directed, and we will avow our ſelves in all our Actions, to be his Majeſty's loyal Subjects; neither ſhall it be ſafe henceforth for any Meſſenger, to bring any Paper to us containing other Language, than ſuch as ſuits with our Duty, and the Affections we bear to his Majeſty's Service, wherein ſome may pretend, but none ſhall have more real deſires to further his Majeſty's Intereſt, than his Majeſty's loyal and obedient Subjects.

Montgarret, Muskery, Fr. Tho. Dublin, Malachias Tuamen, Caſtlehaven Audley, R. Bealing, Torlo O Neile, Patr. Darcy.

Who reads this, may well think their Confidence built on other Grounds than appear'd. What! Shall ſuch as fought in oppoſition to his Majeſty's Proclamation, be thought *loyal Subjects*, whilſt the State (owning his Majeſty's Intereſt, Honour and Service) are ſaid *to pretend to what they really were?* Surely ſo impudent a Reply, never before (without chaſtizement) eſcaped the Pen of ſuppliant Rebels; nor indeed (could *ſome* then have had the freedom of their juſt ſcorn and indignation) ſhould ſuch expreſſions have been ſwallowed.

During the reſpite of the Treaty for the Ceſſation, (*viz.* the 29th. of *July*) 7 or 800 of the Rebels gave us at mid-night, (by whoſe neglect I know not) an Alarm, even in the ſtreets of *Dublin*, who were gallantly repulſed by Colonel *Crafford*'s Men, killing 20 of them, the Rebels by that means doing no more hurt, than plundering and firing ſome few thatcht Houſes.

All things tending to a Ceſſation, the State held it their beſt policy not to retain their Forces wholly in their Garriſons; and therefore (though they had ſlender Proviſions, and leſs Treaſure to encourage the Souldiers abroad) the 27th. of *June*, 1643. Colonel *Monk*, with 1300 Foot, and 140 Horſe, was ſent againſt *Preſton*, ſtrengthned by *Owen O Neal*, whom he encountred near *Caſtle Jordan*, at a Paſs upon the River *Boine*, being 5 or 600 Horſe, and 6000 Foot, putting his Foot to rout, and killing many of his Men: Yet for want of Proviſion, he was forced to leave *Clancurry*, and turn to *Wickloe*, where he got ſtore of Cattel. But thence he was ſoon recalled, to face the Rebels in *Meath*; and hearing of *Owen O Neal*'s Forces about *Port Leiceſter Mill*, (a great and ſecure Faſtneſs) near 5 miles Weſtward from *Trim*, he, with the Lord *Moor*, vigilantly attended their motion: But ſo it fell out, that the Lord *Moor* obſerving *O Neal*'s encamping there, had ſome notice of his levelling a Piece of Cannon towards his Army; yet was ſo little concern'd at the advice, (danger in that Cauſe being never apprehended) as after that the Bullet had once

Colonel *Monk* againſt *Preſton*.

(if

(if not twice) grazed, he, with other Gentlemen, (who were not without of what might enſue, and intimated their ſuſpicions) ſtill travers'd the Ground, till moſt unfortunately the Bullet forc'd its paſſage through his Armour into his Body, but was not of ſtrength ſufficient to go through, however it there ſlew him; upon whoſe Fall, one readier to ſhew ſome ſallies of Wit, than Skill, obtrudes this Diſtich: 1643.

The Lord *Moor* killed.

Contra Romanos Mores res mira Dynaſta,
Morus ab Eugenio canonizatus erat.

In Anſwer to which one readily writes this:

Olim Roma pios truculenta morte beavit,
Antiquos mores jam nova Roma tenet.

This Noble Gentleman was the firſt that adventur'd in this Cauſe, and the laſt Victime under his Majeſty's Commiſſion; a Gentleman of clear Spirit, and Integrity. He fell not many days before the Ceſſation, which by ſeveral (even of the Privy Council themſelves) was much diſliked; nor indeed (till ſome of thoſe were remov'd from the Council Board, the Reaſons they gave in being un-anſwerable) could the Ceſſation be brought on without oppoſition; and then not ſo eaſily as ſome thought, many difficulties, and thoſe not eaſie to reconcile, (in reference to his Majeſty's Exigencies, and the Intereſt of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants) preſſing in on every Diſpute. Now the Parliament in *England* (conceiving themſelves much intereſs'd in the Affairs of *Ireland*, (as already hath been ſaid) *to adviſe, order, and diſpoſe of all things concerning the Government and Defence of that Kingdom*) made, the 30th. of *September*, 1643. (not knowing that the Ceſſation had been then 15 days before concluded) *a Declaration againſt any Ceſſation, or a Treaty of Peace with the Rebels in* Ireland, *for that* (*amongſt many other Reaſons*) *the Ceſſation would be for the preſervation of the Rebels and Papiſts only, who under pretexts of civil Contracts, would continue their Antichriſtian Idolatry. Beſides, ſeveral Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament, who by the Broad Seal,* (the publick Faith of the State) *were intruſted with the* Iriſh *Affairs, would by the Ceſſation be further diſ-enabled to Act; and the Adventurers* (*who had ſo many Acts for their Security*) *would by a Ceſſation be diſappointed, as the exiled Proteſtants* (*turn'd out of their Habitations*) *be thereby continued in miſery and want.* Read *Husband's* Collect. *fo.* 340.

Whilſt theſe things were thought on in *England*, the People of *Ireland* (who took a liberty at the uncertainty of Affairs) were ſtrangely divided, whether the Ceſſation ſhould be concluded or no. Some (who were ſenſibly touch'd with the Injuries and Cruelties of the Rebels) could not brook it; others (hoping for their advantage by the Change) daily expected it, whilſt the City (in general) being burthen'd with Taxes, quartering of Souldiers, &c. having no hopes of Relief from abroad, willingly hearkned to their Freedom: ſo as now the ſtrong Affections which had been commonly born againſt the Rebels, began to wither into an indifferency, and the courſe which had been then took to weather out the reſolute, either for deſpair or terrour humbled many, and as Intereſt lay, ſeveral reſolv'd what Party to take in *England*, upon the concluſion of the Ceſſation. And that the Ceſſation might be put forward, his Majeſty

1643. writ to the Lords Justices, and the Marquis of *Ormond* from his Court at *Matson*, the 25*th*. of *August*, the 19*th*. year of his Reign, which came not to them till the 26*th*. of *September*, eleven days after the Cessation was concluded; *Authorizing them, or any two of them, to treat and conclude for him, and in his name, with his Subjects then in Arms in that his Kingdom, for a Cessation of Arms for one whole year*. But before this Letter arriv'd, the Treaty at *Sigginstown* began with the Confederates Commissioners, by vertue of the Letter the Marquis had formerly received from his Majesty, dated at *Oxford* the 31. of *July*, 1643. who to that purpose order'd a Commission, dated at *Dublin* under the Broad Seal, the last of *August*, 1643, in the 19*th*. year of his Majesties Reign, to conclude the Cessation with the *Irish* Commissioners; who, the 26*th*. of *August*, 1643. having met the Marquis of *Ormond* (Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army) there, where insisting upon the Name, Title, and Protestation which at first they had assum'd (not permitted of by the Marquis of *Ormond*) they proceeded: The Enemy, in the interim, besieging *Tully*, and afterwards taking it, even whilst his Majesties Commission of Grace was not far thence in execution; and in all places they shewed themselves most active, endeavouring either to surprize, force, or gain by allurements what they could, exceedingly animated with hopes of a Cessation, that upon its conclusion, what was in their power might be peaceably possess'd. During which Treaty, many difficulties arose; one (whether in this or the former Treaty, I am not certain) was much insisted on, (*viz.*) How the several Indictments and Outlawries against the *Irish* might be repealed? After some dispute, at length *Plunket* (one of the *Irish* Agents) told them, He had found a Remedy; the Judges before whom they were Indicted might be summon'd to the *Star-Chamber*, and there be Fined. And there replied one (who is seldom found to sign any Act of State till the Cessation was concluded) all that are concern'd may be confident to find reparation. This the Lord Chief Justice *Shurley* thought reflected upon him, who thereupon expres's'd much courage and integrity. And the Dispute fell: And the 15*th*. of *September*, 1643. the Cessation was concluded by the Marquis of *Ormond*, who for his Courage, Affection, and Loyalty, his Majesty had made his Lieutenant General of his Army in *Ireland*, and who (having gotten so many notable Victories over the Rebels) was very well approv'd of by the two Houses of Parliament in *England*. The publication of which, with the Articles, and his Majesties Motives thereunto, you may read in his Majesties Works, from *fol*. 353. to 365. In confirmation of which, the Lords Justices and Council issued out a Warrant to the Lord Chancellor, to draw Letters of Confirmation under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, which accordingly bore date the 26*th*. day of *Septemb*. in the 19*th*. year of his Majesties Reign: And to express the necessity thereof, many Persons of Quality sign'd, the said 15*th*. of *Septemb*. 1643. a Writing, *therein concluding it necessary for his Majesties Honour and Service, that the Lord Marquis of Ormond should assent to a Cessation of Arms*; though *some* of these afterwards (joyning with the Parliaments Forces) resolved to die a thousand deaths, rather than to descend to any Peace with the perfidious Rebels; but stuck not at length to that *Protestation*, altering as the Scene chang'd.

The Rebels very audacious and active upon the very point of the conclusion of the Cessation.

The Cessation concluded.

His Majesties Motives to the Cessation, *fol*. 355. *Octob*. 19. 1643.

Whilst

Whilſt the Ceſſation was in agitation at *Sigginſtown*, the Conſequences of diſſolving the Parliament were not the leaſt in conſideration at the Council-board, nor was there any thing more deſired by the Rebels, who thereby hoped to be re-ſeated in a new Parliament, which they queſtion'd not to manage to their own ends and advantage. Wherefore that the State might ſtill ſteer by the ſame Compaſs they had hitherto done, they committed the Caſe to the Judges; who unanimouſly agreed upon the following Reaſons for its continuance. 1643.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

Reaſons given in by the Judges for the continuance of this Parliament, againſt a free one ſought by the Rebels, *Sept.* 13. 1643.

According to your Lordſhips Order of the xi. of September, 1643. *we have conſidered of ſuch inconveniencies, as we conceive may ariſe to his Majeſty, and his Service, as Affairs now ſtand, if this preſent Parliament ſhould be determin'd, and have reduc'd the ſame to writing, which we humbly preſent to your Lordſhips further conſideration.*

The greateſt part of the Free-holders of this Kingdom are now in actual Rebellion, whereby his Majeſty ought to be juſtly entituled to all their Eſtates, both Real and Perſonal; this cannot be done but by their Conviction and Attainder, either by courſe of Common Law, or by Act of Parliament. By courſe of Common Law it will be very difficult to be effected, for theſe Reaſons following.

Firſt, Thoſe who are indicted in moſt of the Counties of this Kingdom cannot be Attainted by Outlawry, by reaſon that the Sheriffs of thoſe Counties, by occaſion of the preſent Rebellion, cannot keep their County-Courts, to Proclaim, and make due Return of the Exigence: Nor can they be Attainted by Verdict for want of Jurors, moſt of all the Free-holders in the Kingdom being now in Rebellion.

Secondly, Thoſe that are not Indicted, or thoſe that are already Indicted, and in Priſon, or upon Bonds, cannot be proceeded againſt Legally at the Common Law for want of Jurors; becauſe, as aforeſaid, moſt of the Free-holders are in Rebellion.

Therefore of neceſſity, thoſe Perſons muſt either not be Attainted at all, or onely by Act of Parliament, which is ſcarce poſſible to be effected, if this preſent Parliament be Diſſolved, or Diſcontinued; for that upon a new Parliament to be Summon'd, the Knights and Burgeſſes muſt be Elected by the Free-holders and Inhabitants reſpectively, moſt whereof are in Rebellion. And yet the preſent Parliament will be diſcontinued, unleſs a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of England *to the now Lords Juſtices, or other the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, be here before the* 13th. *of* November *next, being the day of Prorogation, for the beginning of the next Seſſion of Parliament, to enable them to continue this preſent Parliament; the laſt Commiſſion for the continuance thereof being onely to the Lords Juſtices, one whereof is ſince remov'd.*

Unleſs the Parties now in Rebellion, being Legally Attainted, which cannot be here, as is aforeſaid, as the caſe now ſtands, but by Act of Parliament, his Majeſty cannot have power to diſpoſe of their Eſtates, as in his wiſdom he ſhall think fit, either for the increaſing of his Revenues, or for the

1643. *peaceable eſtabliſhment of this Common-wealth, and indifferent Adminiſtration of Juſtice therein.*

Rich. Bolton *Cancell.* Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, Ja. Donnalon, Sa. Mayard.

The Ceſſation as yet not being known to his Majeſty, the Lords Juſtices and Council received a Letter from him at the Camp at *Matſon* near *Glouceſter*, of the 4*th.* of *Septemb.* paſſionately reſenting the ſufferings and complaints of the Officers, who (upon all occaſions) had a tender affection in his breaſt. And to the end they might not be fruſtrated of their Arrears, he commands their Debentors ſhould be reſpectively ſign'd, that they might take an effectual courſe to be paid the ſame by the Two Houſes of Parliament that engaged them.

And leſt there ſhould be any defect in acknowledging of their Merits, who had ſo faithfully ventur'd their lives for his Majeſties Service, he is yet further pleaſed to provide for their Encouragement and Entertainment, who, upon the Ceſſation, were now free to ſerve him, though as yet he knew not of its concluſion, but (by the Contents of the following Letter) ſeem'd to expect it, giving particular Orders for the management of Affairs upon that occaſion.

C. R.

His Majeſties fourth Letter touching the Ceſſation, and his care of his Army.

RIght Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellors, and right Truſty and intirely Beloved Couſin and Counſellor, We greet you well. Whereas not onely the great neglect of the Affairs of that Our Kingdom, by the remaining part of our Houſes of Parliament, who pretended ſo great care of it, but their impious preventing all Supplies deſtin'd to their Relief by Our Authority, (which did ever moſt readily concur to any Levy of Men, Money, or any other Work, in order to the Aſſiſtance of Our Proteſtant Subjects there) and employing the ſame in an unnatural War againſt Us their Liege Lord and Sovereign, hath reduc'd our Army in that our Kingdom into ſo heavy ſtraits, that out of Our Care of the preſervation of them, who ſo faithfully ventur'd their Lives for Our Service, We were brought to condeſcend to a Treaty for a Ceſſation of Arms: Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do hereby Charge and Command you, that in caſe, according unto the Authority given unto you by Us, you have agreed upon a Ceſſation, or as ſoon as you ſhall agree thereupon, you, or any two of you do immediately conſider of, and put in execution theſe Our following Commands.

1. *That*

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1. *That you agree upon what number of Our Army will be neceſſary to be kept in Garriſon there, for the maintenance of the ſame during the time of the Ceſſation, and what Soldiers they ſhall be, and what Perſons ſhall command the ſame; and that you ſettle them accordingly in that Command, as ſhall appear to your diſcretion to be moſt conducing to our Service.*

2. *That you do conſider and adviſe of the beſt means of Tranſporting the reſt of Our Army in that Our Province of* Leimſter, *(excepting ſuch as are to be kept in Garriſon in Our Kingdom of* Ireland*) and to that end We do hereby give you, or any one of you, full Power and Authority, to hire all Ships, Barques, or Veſſels whatſoever, and to treat with any Perſons whatſoever for the Loan, Hire, or Sale of any Ships, Barques, or Veſſels, upon ſuch Conditions as you, or any one of you, ſhall agree upon with them.*

3. *That in ſuch time and manner as to you ſhall ſeem meet, you communicate to the Officers and Soldiers of that Our Army this Our intention, to make uſe of their known Courage and Fidelity in the defence of Our Perſon and Crown, againſt the unnatural Rebellion rais'd againſt us in this Our Kingdom, and againſt the like labour'd by the Rebels here, to be rais'd againſt Us out of Our Kingdom of* Scotland.

4. *That you ſignifie unto them, that We are the more mov'd and neceſſitated unto this courſe, for as much as it is reſolv'd by ſome ill affected Perſons in that Our Kingdom of* Scotland, *to call over the Army of Our* Britiſh *Subjects out of Our Kingdom of* Ireland, *to the end to make uſe of them for the Invaſion of Us, and of Our Good Subjects of* England. *And for as much as this Rebellion againſt Us, under colour of the humility of Our two Houſes of Parliament, hath exhauſted the Means appointed, by the concurrence of Our Royal Authority, for the ſuſtentation of that Our Army there, and by force hath ſtai'd and taken from Us all thoſe Our Revenues, which might have enabled Us to have ſupplied them in that Our Kingdom, ſo that we ought in reaſon (beſides the Bond of their Allegiance) to expect their ready concurrence againſt thoſe Perſons, who are as well the Cauſers of all the Miſeries they have endured, as of all the Injuries We have ſuffered.*

5. *That you aſſure them, both Officers and Soldiers, that upon their Landing here, they ſhall immediately receive Our Pay, in the ſame proportion and manner with the reſt of our Army here.*

1643. *here. And you are to assure the Soldiers, that all care shall be taken, that Cloathes, Shoes, and other Necessaries be forthwith provided for them, after they are Landed here; and that care shall be taken for the Provision of such as shall happen to be maim'd here in Our Service; and for the payment of all their Arrears that shall be due to any of them that shall happen to be kill'd in the same, to their Wives, Children, or neareſt Friends. And you are to assure both Officers and Soldiers, that we will take special care to reward all such according to their Merit and Quality, that shall do us any eminent Service in this Our War, against this odious and most unnatural Rebellion.*

6. We will and require you, and do hereby authorize you, to use your utmost Interest and Industry, for the speedy Transportation of this forementioned part of Our Army, with their Arms, Horses, and such Ammunition, and the like, as you shall think fit, into Our Kingdom of England; *and particularly, if it may be, to our Fort of the City of* Chester, *or to the most commodious Haven in* North-Wales. *And for Our obedience in this, and every other of these Our Commands, this shall be to you, and every of you, sufficient Warrant.*

Given at Our Court at *Eudely-Castle*, 7th *Sept.* in the 19th year of Our Reign.

Superscrib'd as before,
For the Lords Justices, and the Lieutenant General of the *English* Army.

To what Party the Cessation was happy, will be hard to determine; that thereby the Rebels had an opportunity (which they improv'd) to provide themselves of Arms and Ammunition, may easily be conceiv'd; in as much as the Parliament of *England* concluded, the Cessation in *Ireland* was of advantage to none, but to the bloody Rebels of that Kingdom: Agreeable to what *Camd.** well observs, for as much as in that (space wherein a Cessation is allowed to the Rebels) the Rebels enjoy free liberty to digest all their secret Plots and Machinations, to strengthen their Sides by new Confederacies abroad, and to encrease them at home with new Forces; whilst all this while the *English* lay at a costly idleness, feeding on the fruits of their Friends, and faithful Well-willers; when by reason of the Cessation they might not prey upon the Enemy. Certain it is the Parliament improv'd the Cessation to a very specious pretence, in as much as *no estate* (say they) *of the Rebels was to be disposed of* (*consequently no Cessation or Peace to be made*) *till the Lords and Commons of the Realm of* England *should*

* *Annals Eliz. Anno* 1595.

The Cessation begat great heats betwixt the King and his Parliament.

1643.

ſhould, in Parliament, by order, declare, that the ſaid Rebels were ſubdued, and this preſent Rebellion appeas'd and ended. But on the contrary, his Majeſty ſhew'd the neceſſity of his good Proteſtant Subjects, and the Army (being not longer able to ſubſiſt for want of Supplies) enforced that Ceſſation; though he is told again, That many (ſince the Ceſſation) have, and do ſubſiſt: And that one end for which the Ceſſation was made, was, that the Forces might be brought out of *Ireland* into *England*, and employ'd againſt the two Houſes: Which, in Anſwer, his Majeſty ſhews the reaſon of, when the *Scots* Army before was made uſe of againſt him. The whole Scene is excellently ſtated in his Majeſties Anſwer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*, at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*: How paſſionately ſoever the Parliaments Commiſſioners conclude, *That whatſoever becomes of us*, (ſay they) *if we muſt periſh, yet let us go to our graves with that comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Chriſt, yea, even Enemies of Mankind, declared and unreconciled Enemies to our Religion and Nation.* And (indeed, to give the Parliament their due) when they had reduc'd the Affairs of *England* to their own Module, the Rebels of *Ireland* were frequently chaſtiſed, and ſo affectionately purſued, that neither Men, Money, or Courage was wanting to that ſervice. Of the firſt part of which Paragraph, his Majeſty ſeems moſt ſenſible, expreſſing (in his Anſwer before-mention'd) *That he would be glad, that either a Peace in* England, *or any other Expedient, might furniſh him with Means and Power to do Juſtice upon them; if this cannot be, we muſt not deſperately expoſe our good Subjects there to Butchery, without means or poſſibility of Protection: God will, in his due time, avenge his own quarrel. In the mean time, his Goſpel gives us leave, in caſe of War, to ſit down and caſt up the coſt, and eſtimate our power to go through with it; and in ſuch caſe, where Prudence adviſeth, it is lawful to propoſe Conditions of Peace, though the War otherwiſe might juſtly be purſued.* This wrought much on many. But the Parliament (who perſiſted reſolutely to have his Majeſty diſclaim the Ceſſation) would not allow any neceſſity for it, alledging, that though ſome of great eſtimation with the Parliament (whom his Majeſties Commiſſioners produc'd as principally intereſſed in the managing of Affairs in *Ireland*, and the War there) had preſt for Supplies, as in all likelihood to periſh ſpeedily without them; yet they were aſſur'd (even by ſome who were at the Council at that time when thoſe Letters were written) that the ſame was done onely to preſs for Supplies out of *England*, without the leaſt intention in them of inducing a Ceſſation; which is granted. But as the neceſſities were there laid open, ſo they were conſidered by his Majeſty, and no other Expedient remaining for the Proteſtants ſafety, ſave a Ceſſation, thereupon it was concluded*; though to this day ſome will have it, that his Majeſties expectation to be ſupplied thence, and the preſervation of the *Iriſh*, almoſt ſwallowed up by his Forces, were the principal Motives to that Ceſſation. And it muſt be acknowledged, from the ſeries of Affairs ſince, that the *Iriſh* (in concluding the Ceſſation) had a reſpect to their greater ſecurity and deſigns, *thoſe* being thereby withdrawn to his Majeſties ſervice in *England*, which otherwiſe would certainly have oppos'd them.

* His Majeſties Anſwer to the Commiſſioners laſt Paper at *Uxbridge*, *fol.* 557.

And here I cannot but obſerve, that the *Iriſh* afterwards acquired much confidence, by a Bull of *Pope Urban*'s the 8*th.* dated at *Rome* the 25*th.* of *May*, 1643. commending their forwardneſs againſt the Proteſtant Hereticks, which they publiſh'd even after the Ceſſation of Arms was agreed on;

1643. on; to what intent may be easily conceiv'd, considering their subsequent frequent violation of Compacts and Agreements with the State. Though the bleeding *Iphigenia* (who, in pleading their Cause, grosly betrays it) would not have it thought, that this charitable Bull cherish'd the Catholicks in Rebellion, but was onely an Indulgence to so good and just a Quarrel, not any dis-respect to the King, to whom (saith he) his Holiness advised them, by their Agents, to be Loyal; as if that, and the breach of his Majesties Commands to lay down Arms, could rationally agree. Before which Bull, an Indulgence had been sent, *Dilecto filio Eugenio Onelle*, the 8*th*. of *October*, 1642, in the 20*th*. year of his Papacy.

The Cessation now concluded, Obedience was expected from all parts; but instead of an absolute compliance from the *Scots* in *Ulster*, their Officer in Chief return'd this Letter.

Right Honourable,

Monro's Letter to the Lords Justices in dislike of the Cessation.

YOur Lordships of the 21. *I received at* Ardmagh *the* 29, *together with the Printed Cessation, which was very displeasing unto this Army, who being sent Auxiliary for supply of the* British *Forces in distress, were promis'd by his Majesty, and the Parliament of* England, *Pay and Entertainment from three months to three months; nevertheless, in eighteen months time, they have endured (both Officers and Soldiers) unparallel'd miseries: And now a great part of the Service being done, they are rewarded with the conclusion of a Cessation, without assurance of entertainment for the time, or any certainty of the payment of their Arrears, and they must conform to the Treaty. This kind of usage and contempt would constrain good Servants, though his* Majesties Loyal Subjects, *to think upon some course which may be satisfactory to them, being driven almost to despair, and threaten'd to be persecuted by the* Roman Catholick Subjects, as they are now called. *Nevertheless, of the foresaid Contempt (for obedience to his Majesties Command) I have mov'd the Army for the time to cease any hostile Act against our Enemies, till such time as your Lordships will be pleased to consider better of our present condition, and grant us time to acquaint the General, who has onely Commission over the Army, to advise us how to behave our selves in this Exigency; since I (as Governour of* Carigfergus) *can give your Lordships no positive Answer to this Cessation in the name of our Army, having not absolute Power over them: And immediately after receiving the General's resolution, your Lordships shall be acquainted therewith; which is the least favour your Lordships can vouchsafe upon us, in recompence of our* Bygan Service. *And so I remain,*

Ardmagh, 29 Sept. 1643. Your Lordships humble and obedient Servitor, *Robert Monro.*

Receiv'd the 2d. *of* Octob.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Justices and Council.

Upon this Answer of *Monro*'s, the Supreme Council at *Kilkenny*, maintaining their Umpire in the Empire, visits the Lords Justices and Council with this Letter. Our

1643.

Our very good Lords.

The Supream Council's Letter from *Kilkenny*, to the Lords Juſtices, touching the *Scots* breach of the Ceſſation.

WE whom his Majeſties Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, did intruſt in the management of their Affairs, have by their publick Act, ratified and confirmed the Articles of Ceſſation, concluded upon by our Commiſſioners, willingly and cheerfully, hoping in the quiet of that time aſſign'd for it, by the benefit of the acceſs which his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd to afford us, to free our ſelves from thoſe odious Calumnies, wherewith we have been branded, and to render our ſelves worthy of Favour, by ſome acceptable ſervice, ſuiting the expreſſion we have often made, and the real affections and zeal we have to ſerve his Majeſty; and in as much as we are given to underſtand, that the Scots *(who not long ſince in great numbers came over into this Kingdom, and by the ſlaughter of many Innocents without diſtinction of Age or Sex) have poſſeſſed themſelves of very large Territories in the North, and ſince the notice given them of the Ceſſation, have not onely continued their former cruelties upon the Perſons of weak and unarmed Multitudes, but have added thereunto the burning of the Corn, belonging to the Natives within that Province of* Ulſter. *Notwithſtanding which outrages, we hear that they have (although but faintly) and with relation unto the conſent of their General, after ſome days conſultation, whether it were convenient for their Affairs, deſired to partake in the Ceſſation, intending, as is evident by their proceedings, ſo far onely to admit thereof, as it may be beneficial for their Patrons, the Malignant Party, now in Arms againſt his Majeſty in* England, *by diverting us from aſſiſting his Majeſty, or of advantage to their deſire, of eating further into the bowels of our Countrey: We who can accuſe our ſelves of no one hollow thought, and deteſt all ſubtile Practices, cannot think of ſerving two Maſters, or ſtanding Neuters, where our King is Party: And we deſirous, none ſhould reſide in this Kingdom, but his Majeſties good Subjects, we beſeech your Lordſhips therefore, that theſe who have other ends then his Majeſties Service and Intereſt, and are ſo far from permitting the Natives, to enjoy three parts of what they have ſown, as they may with no ſecurity look upon their former habitations, and do abſolutely deny to reſtore their Priſoners, contrary to the Articles of Ceſſation, may by the joynt power of all his Majeſties good Subjects, within this Kingdom, of what Nation ſoever, be proſecuted, and that while theſe Succours are in preparation, our Proceedings againſt them, may no way be imputed unto us, a deſire any way to violate this Ceſſation: And we do further pray your Lordſhips, that for our juſtification therein, you will be pleas'd to tranſmit unto his Majeſty theſe our Letters, and to ſend unto us the Copy of thoſe directed unto your Lordſhips, from Serjeant Major* Monro, *concerning this Matter. Thus with the remembrance of our heartieſt wiſhes unto your Lordſhips, we reſt,*

Kilkenny, 15. Octob. 1643.
Received 25.

Your Lordſhips loving Friends,

To the Right Honourable the Lords Juſtices and Council.

Mountgarret, Caſtlehaven Audley, H. Armach, Jo. Clonfert, Th. Fr. Dublin, R. Beling, N. Plunket, Gerrard Fennell.

1643. And now many of those Officers who had served his Majesty most signally in *Ireland*, were treated with, to recruit his Forces in and about *Chester*; to which end all the encouragement (that his Majesty had given in his Letters of the 4*th*. and 7*th*. of *September*) were faithfully imparted to them, and what could possibly be rais'd for their Transportation, was effectually done: Whereupon several Regiments, as Sir *Mich. Earnely's*, Sir *Rich. Fleetwoods*, Colonel *Gibson*, Colonel *Monk*, Colonel *Warren*, and others hasted over, but with such Reluctancy of the Common Souldiers, as the sharpest Proclamations (of which there were several) hardly restrain'd them from flying their Colours, both before and after their arrival in *England*: To prevent which, and that the Souldiers might be secur'd in their Loyalty to his Majesty, the Lieutenant General compos'd this Oath.

Several Regiments transported into *England*.

The Oath imposed upon the Souldiers going for *England*.

I Resting fully assured of his Majesties most Princely Truth and Goodness, do freely and from my heart promise, vow, and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will to the utmost of my Power, and with the hazard of my Life, maintain and defend the true Protestant Religion, establish'd in the Church of England, *his Majesties sacred Person, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, and his Majesties just Powers and Prerogatives, against the Forces now under the Conduct of the Earl of* Essex, *and against all other Forces whatsoever, that are or shall be rais'd, contrary to his Majesties Commands and Authority.*

And I will do my best endeavour to procure and re-establish the Peace and Quietness of the Kingdom of England.

And I will neither directly or indirectly divulge or communicate any thing to the said Earl of Essex, *his Officers, or any other, to hinder or prejudice the Designs of his Majesty, in the Conduct or Imployment of his Army.*

Which that it may be taken by every Souldier, follows the Precept.

By the Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army.

WHereas his Majesty hath been pleas'd to command the present transportation of a part of his Army here into England, *I do think fit, and hereby Order, that every Officer and Souldier, to be transported hence, do take the Oath, above-written, before they depart this Harbour.*

Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin, 13. *of* Octob. 1643.

Ormond.

And in respect, that upon their going, many Souldiers listed themselves under other Officers, the Lord Lieutenant (besides other Courses) publisht, the 13. of *November*, an Edict, that no Souldiers, under penalty of death, should depart from their former Commanders and Officers; and that no Commanders and Officers, on pain of displeasure, should dare to entertain any Souldiers so offending: And the 4*th*. of *Feb*. 1643. the Lord General publisht a Proclamation, That if any Souldier should stay behind, that was commanded to go over, or should, after he was transported over

over into *England*, run away from his Colours, he being afterwards apprehended, ſhould preſently ſuffer death without mercy. 1643.

Upon which (as you ſee) many came over into *England*, and at *Hawerden* Caſtle, *Beeſton* Caſtle, *Bartomley* Church, *Dedington* Houſe, *Acton* Church, and *Durtwich*, improved their time; but the main body, the 25. of *January*, 1643. was utterly defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, raiſing the Siege of *Namptwich*, 1500 common Souldiers beſides Officers being there taken Priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlain; ſo that what advantage accrewed to the Regal Army by their coming over, many believ'd was not very conſiderable, unleſs thoſe, who came out of *Munſter*, were more ſucceſsful. The general (if not all thoſe who came to his Majeſties aſſiſtance out of *Ireland*) were his own Forces, which he* had ſent againſt the Rebels, from whom I cannot yet learn (after all their profeſſions of having no one hollow thought, or ſubtile practice to ſerve two Maſters, or ſtanding Neuters, whilſt their King was Party*) that any formed Regiment, or conſiderable, Party reach'd *England*, no! it will hereafter appear, how ſhamefully they deſerted his Majeſties Affairs, even in *Ireland* it ſelf, when their Intereſt might have united them in Loyalty and Obedience.

* See his Majeſties Meſſage from *Oxford*, the 24. of *Jan.* 1645. *Fol.* 227.
* View their Letter again of the 15*th.* of *Octob.* 1643.

Some months after the arrival of theſe and other Forces out of *Ireland*, the Parliament of *England* made an Ordinance*, againſt the giving of any Quarter to any *Iriſh* man, or to any Papiſt born in *Ireland*, taken in Hoſtility againſt the Parliament, by Sea or Land, which his Majeſty thought very ſevere, they being called to the ſervice of their Natural Prince.

* *Octob.* 24. 1644.

The coming over of the *Engliſh* made ſeveral (that were not ſo forward) ſuſpected in their Loyalty; though (in truth) never any Prince had an Army more intirely affecting his Perſon, then the generality of his Militia of *Ireland*; who being ſent thither, or rais'd there, were not yet wean'd from the Juſtice of that Cauſe, hardly matchable in any example, the War being (ſaid, long ſince, a great Inſtrument of State) not an ambitious War of Foraigns, but a recovery of Subjects (and that after Lenity of Conditions often tried) not onely to obedience, but to Humanity and Policy, from more then *Indian* Barbariſm: whereas the Affairs of *England* imbrued Relations in one anothers blood, and the Concerns of *Ireland* were as much his Majeſties as the other; and the Cauſe undoubtedly Gods.

The Lords Juſtices and Council (this while) had a great task, and not ſo much as ſtraw to the Work, the Confederates paying in the Money, (*viz.* 30800 *l.* they promiſed the 16*th.* of *September*, towards the maintenance of his Majeſties Army, this Ceſſation) very uncertain, as their Cows and Cattle of the worſt, taking within three days after the Ceſſation, near 369 head of choice *Engliſh* Cattle from the ſuburbs of *Dublin*, acting beſides many other violencies on divers Caſtles, Forts, and Houſes; ſo as this agreement with the Rebels ſeemed rather a Protection, then a Ceſſation, of Acts of Hoſtility: That in this extremity the Lords Juſtices Providence and Care (how great ſoever) could remedy little, being their buſineſs now was to proceed in another courſe then formerly they had: the Election of which grew hourly the heavier upon them, by reaſon of the diſcontents which conſtantly aroſe from the Inhabitants, and the Proteſtants (now, more then ever, ſenſible of their Condition, the *Iriſh* Agents making all the ſpeed they could to repair

The *Iriſh* break the Ceſſation.

1643. (with their Propoſitions) to his Majeſty then at *Oxford*, according to an Article in the Ceſſation, and his Majeſties Proclamation thereupon, by which they were allowed to ſend Agents to his Majeſty; of which, the Proteſtants in and about *Dublin* being very apprehenſive, leſt his Majeſty ſhould be pre-poſſeſſed of the Rebels ſence, they thought it moſt convenient to diſpatch Agents preſently to his Majeſty; and to that end about the *6th.* of *October*, 1643. they meeting at the Earl of *Kildare*'s houſe, fram'd a Petition to the Lords Juſtices and Council, humbly beſeeching their Lordſhips for their Licenſe unto ſuch, as they ſhould appoint to attend his Majeſty in their behalf, whereunto the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 12. of the ſame month, expreſſed their forwardneſs, declaring how his Majeſty, had been graciouſly pleas'd to put them in mind, *that thence* they ſhould ſend ſome of his Majeſties Miniſters to aſſiſt in the Treaty, when the *Iriſh* ſhould repair to him; and when they had acquainted his Majeſty with the Petitioners requeſt, they ſhould be certified of his Pleaſure with convenient ſpeed: But the Petitioners (not conceiving this a ſatisfactory anſwer) again Petitioned the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 14. of the ſame month, ſending them therewithall a Copy of their Petition they had agreed on to his Majeſty; whereunto the Lord Juſtices and Council, the *19th.* of *October*, returned an Anſwer; *That* ſuch was their care of the Petitioners, that the ſame day they had given them an Anſwer to their former Petition; they incloſed in their Letters to Secretary *Nicholas* their firſt Petition to them, requeſting his Majeſties gracious Pleaſure thereupon, and further they could not now proceed, though if they would repair to his Majeſty, they would not hinder them, but could not accompany them with their recommendation, till they knew his Majeſties Pleaſure to have them come over; much artifice there was uſed, to have had ſome proteſted againſt the Petition they had framed to his Majeſty, but none of thoſe who had ſigned it (ſave Major *Morris*) was wrought upon; and the 17. of *Febr.* 1643. the Petition was ſo well approved of in the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, as it had their concurrence: And about the beginning of *January*, a Letter of his Majeſties to the Lords Juſtices, and Lieutenant-General of the Army (dated the *6th.* of *November*, 1643.) arrived at *Dublin*, Licencing the Proteſtant Agents to repair to *Oxford*; of whoſe further Proceedings with the management of that buſineſs, you ſhall have ſpeedily.

Agents being to go from the Rebels to *Oxford*, the Proteſtants Petition the State, that they might have ſome to attend (at the ſame time) his Majeſties Pleaſure.

Not long after the Ceſſation, one mov'd at the Council Board by way of Petition, *That ſuch of the* Iriſh (*as would conſtantly pay contribution to the Army*) *might have freedom to return to their Caſtles:* and the motion took with ſome, but was ſtrongly oppos'd by others, conſidering how many gallant men (as Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and others) had been loſt in the regaining of thoſe Caſtles; and that (it being uncertain on what terms there might be Peace,) it might be taken ill by the King, that thoſe Caſtles (the price of ſo much blood) ſhould be ſurrendred without his Privity, upon which the motion was laid aſide; I will not ſay, all Reflections afterwards on them that oppos'd it: Nor indeed was the event of this motion ſo ſuppreſt, but that in a ſhort time after, ſome (through the Importunity of the *Iriſh* Agents) were reſtored to their Eſtates, who had from the beginning been in Rebellion; notwithſtanding their Eſtates had been given in Cuſtodium, and thoſe who had them (not accepting of mean and ſiniſter proffers) had little elſe to ſubſiſt by, or pay the Arrears of their Service.

Motions made upon the Ceſſation, that ſome of the Confederates ſhould be admitted unto their dwellings.

So

1644.

So as Affairs of different natures hourly encreaſing, ſubject to conſtructions, beyond the management of the Prudenteſt and moſt Loyal thoughts, it could not but be a great eaſe to be free'd of that Government, which an Illuſtrious Perſon (whoſe Intereſt was Principally involv'd in the preſent Intrigues) had a Regal Call thereunto; whereupon theſe Lords Juſtices were remov'd, not without conſiderable Repoſe, difficulties daily flowing in upon them, remedileſs by any but his Excellency *James* Marquiſs of *Ormond*, who the 21. of *January*, 1643. was ſolemnly, in *Chriſtchurch*, *Dublin*, ſworn Lord Lieutenant with general acceptance: At which time *Robert Sibthorp*, Biſhop of *Limerick*, choſe for his Text the 77. *Pſalm*, and the laſt verſe, *Thou leadeſt thy People like a Flock by the hand of* Moſes *and* Aaron; upon which he paraphras'd exceeding elegantly; But, (as Sir *James Ware* obſerves in his Life) never receiv'd a Farthing of his Biſhoprick.

The Marquiſs of *Ormond* made Lord Lieutenant the 21. of *Jan.* 1643.

The Marquiſs of *Ormond* being now ſeated in the Government, one of the firſt things he began to regulate (after he had ſent the deſigned Army into *England*) was the ſtanding Army, at that time much ſtraightned through want of Pay and other Extremities; he therefore reduced the Troops about *Dublin* to Five and twenty apiece, beſides Officers, all but his own, which was continued 40. and Sir *Thomas Lucas*'s and *Armeſtrong*'s 30. beſides Officers, and to pay theſe (which made up 150 Horſe beſides 2000 Foot) he rais'd money by an * Exciſe, Taxes on the Town, and 3*d.* an Acre inhabited within the *Engliſh Pale*, beſides enquiry what was owing (by Debts) unto the *Londoners*; ſo as thence with what Tabacco they had, a conſiderable ſum was weekly rais'd, and accordingly diſburſed for the Relief of the Souldiers, and other neceſſaries, which he having retrench't (according to the Exigence) he kept to due Muſters and obſervance: And by reaſon of divers Robberies and Murthers daily committed by the Souldiers, on ſuch as brought Proviſion for the Relief of the City, the Lord-General the 16*th.* of *March*, 1643. ſtrictly prohibited all ſuch outrages, under the utmoſt Peril of the Martial Laws. And the Parliament there meeting at *Dublin* the 17*th.* of *April*, the Speakers of both Houſes, the 18*th.* of the ſame, 1644. by a Letter, prohibited the Commanders, & Officers of his Majeſties Armies, and others, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to take the Solemn League and Covenant, according to a Proclamation by the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 18*th.* of *December*, 1643. ſet out with great Wiſdom and Reaſon, highly commending their deep Judgment therein; which his Excellency then alſo commanded to be re-Printed, at the requeſt of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, 1644*. In purſuance of which, an Oath afterwards was hammer'd; but ſome of the Judges diſ-agreeing, it was never form'd. Great were his Excellency's Affairs indeed, the contrary Parties (he was neceſſarily obliged to deal with) would in any (but one ſo reſolute and intire) have betrayed to Effeminacy and Diſorder. The *Iriſh* on one hand, confident in their Addreſs to his Majeſty, and the Proteſtants oppreſs'd with their ſufferings and ſtraights, both he quitted to his Majeſties Juſtice, after that he had had his Majeſties Licence for their Repair to him. The Confederate Catholicks thereupon, ſent their Agents*, authoriſed by them to attend his Majeſty at *Oxford*, but indeed with ſuch Deſires and Propoſitions as (weighed but in an indifferent Ballance) make too lively a Repreſentation, how in-competent Conſiderers they were of the way to their own Repoſe and Happineſs, and how unlikely they were to prevent the

The Lord Lieutenant regulating of the Army.

*The Eſtabliſhment of which, with the rates ſet on each Commodity, (according to an Act of Council made at the Council Board the 4*th.* of *December*) was by Proclamation at the Caſtle of *Dublin*, publiſhed the 9*th.* of *December*, 1644. As the 12*th.* of Oct. preceding, there had paſſed one of the ſame nature, though this more large. * Appendix 10, 11.

*The Lord Viſcount *Muskery*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Dermot Mac Trag O Bryan*, &c. The Confederates ſent their Agents to *Oxford*.

1644.

the destroying Calamities which hung over their heads, and so closely pursued them.

At the same time, and so long as the Treaty lasted, the King was likewise attended by a Committee* from the Council Board of *Ireland*, in pursuance of his Commands, to inform his Majesty of all matters of Fact which had passed, and of all the Laws and Customs there necessary to be weighed, upon what the Catholicks should demand or propose.

And by the Parliament then sitting in *Dublin*, *several** were authorized to present to his Majesty the Grievances, of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, that nothing might be granted in that Treaty, to the prejudice of their Interest and security.

Each Party arrived at *Oxford* near the midst of *April*; the Confederate Agents got thither soonest, having less Remora's in their dispatch.

The Confederates, as men who thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and Power of the Kingdom, and the Kings condition in *England* so weak, as he would buy their assistance at any rates, demanded upon the Matter, the total alteration of Government, both in Church and State, the very form of making and enacting Laws, which is the foundation of Government, and which had been practis'd, ever since the Reign of King *H.* 7. must be abolished; and instead of Liberty or Toleration for the exercise of the *Romish* Religion, they insisted on such Priviledges, Immunities, and Power, as would have amounted at best, but to a Toleration of the Protestant Religion, and that no longer then they should think fit to consent to it.

On the other hand, the Committee of Parliament (as men who too much felt the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, undervalued and condemned the *Irish*, as inferior to them in Courage and Conduct, and as possessed of much greater Power by the Cessation, then they could retain in War,) very earnestly prest the execution of the Laws in force, Reparation for the dammages they had sustain'd, disarming the *Irish* in such manner, and to such a degree, as it might not be hereafter in their Power to do more mischief, and such other Conditions, as People (who are able to contend) are not usually perswaded to submit unto, which the Committee* at *Oxford* for *Irish* Affairs, insisted on with powerful Reasons and Arguments.

In these so different and distant Applications, they who were sent as moderate Men from the Council, knew not how to behave themselves, but enough discovered, that they had not the confidence in the *Irish*, as to be willing that they should be so far trusted, that the performance of their Duty should depend onely on their Affection and Allegiance; But that there should be a greater Restraint upon them, then they were inclin'd to submit to; otherwise that the Protestant Religion, and *English* Interest, would be sooner rooted out by the Peace they proposed, then it could be by the War.

It is very true, that the *Irish* Agents demean'd themselves to his Majesty, with great shew of Modesty and Duty, (they were Men that lack'd neither Art nor Behaviour) and confessed, that they believ'd that the Demands they were enjoyn'd to insist upon, were such as his Majesty could not consent unto; and that the present condition of his Affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those who sent them, before their coming out of *Ireland*, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident

The Lord Lieutenant from the Council Board sent others.

* Sir *William Stewart*, Sr *Gerard Lowther*, Sir *Philip Percival*, Justice *Donnelon*, to whom were added, being resident at Oxford, Sir *George Radcliffe*, Sir *William Sambach*.

* Captain *William Ridgeway* Esquire, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir *Charles Coote*, Captain *William Parsons*, the Insolencers of the Confederates.

Appendix 12. The Protestant Committee of the *Irish* Parliament, prest the execution of the Laws against the Rebels, &c.

* The Lord *Cottington*, Earl of *Bristol*, *Portland*, Lord *George Digby*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *John Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Hide*, &c.

These of the Council much troubled betwixt the contests of the Rebels and Protestants.

The *Irish* Agents seemingly mov'd, at what they were from the Confederates inforced to stand upon.

confident they ſhould have had ſuch Inſtructions, as would better have complied with their own Deſires, and his Majeſty's Occaſions; and therefore frankly offer'd to return and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, to incline the Confederate Council, (whoſe Deputies they were, and who then exerciſed the ſupream Power over the Confederate Catholicks of that Kingdom) to more Moderation, and to return their full ſubmiſſion and obedience to his Majeſty, upon ſuch Conditions as his Goodneſs would conſent unto for their ſecurity. But how little of this was perform'd, you ſhall find in the ſequel of the Story; however, the King ſent his Command the 16th. of *Feb.* 164⅔. to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, to continue and renew their Ceſſation for another year; and likewiſe a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to make a full Peace with his Catholick Subjects, upon ſuch Conditions he found agreeable to the publick Good and Welfare, and might produce ſuch a Peace and Union in that Kingdom, as might vindicate his Regal Power and Authority, and ſuppreſs the Rebels in *England* and *Scotland*. And ſo his Majeſty diſmiſſed the Catholick Agents, with demonſtration of much Grace and Confidence with this good Council, which he moſt pathetically poured out to them at their departure. *That they ſhould not forget, the preſervation of the Nation, and Religion which they profeſſed, and were ſo zealous for in* Ireland, *depended upon the preſervation of his juſt Rights and Authority in* England: *That they ſaw his Subjects of* Scotland, *contrary to all Obligations, had invaded* England, *and joyned with thoſe Rebels againſt him, who without that aſſiſtance would have been ſpeedily reduced to their obedience. And therefore if his Catholick Subjects of* Ireland *made haſte, upon ſuch Conditions as he might then grant without prejudice to himſelf, and which ſhould be amply ſufficient for the ſecurity of their Fortunes, Lives, and Exerciſe of their Religion, to aſſiſt him, whereby he might be enabled by God's Bleſſing to ſuppreſs that Rebellion, they might confidently believe, he would never forget to whoſe Merit he owed his Preſervation and Reſtauration, and it would then be in his abſolute Power to vouchſafe Graces to them, to compleat their happineſs, and which (he gave them his Royal Word) he would then diſpence in ſuch manner, as ſhould not leave them diſappointed of any of their juſt and full Expectations. But if (by inſiſting on ſuch Particulars, as he could not in Conſcience conſent to, and their Conſciences obliged them not to ask, or on ſuch, as though he could himſelf be content to yield to, yet in that Juncture of Time, would bring ſuch great damage to him, that all the Supplies they could give or ſend to him, could not countervail, and might be as beneficially granted to them hereafter, when he might better do it) they ſhould delay their joyning with him, and ſo look on, till the Rebel's Power prevail'd againſt him in* England *and* Scotland, *and ſuppreſs'd his Party in thoſe Kingdoms, it would then be too late for them to give him help, and they would quickly find their Strength in* Ireland, *but an imaginary Support for his or their own Intereſt, and that they who with much difficulty had deſtroyed him, would without any conſiderable Oppoſition, ruine their Intereſt, and root out their Religion with their Nation, from all the Dominions which ſhould be ſubject to their exorbitant Juriſdiction.* How much of this prov'd a Propheſie, their ſad Experience knows, and the World cannot but take notice of.

1644.

The King's Admonition to the *Iriſh* Agents at their departure.

Soon after the Confederate's Agents were diſmiſſed, the Proteſtant's Committee of Parliament (who had managed their Scene with much Courage and Integrity) drew off, with the King's Favour and Promiſe *to do the utmoſt he could for them.* In

1644. In the managing of which Affairs, if they had not been very reſolute, arm'd with much Truth, they would certainly have fall'n under many Inconveniencies: For, beſides what they met with at *Oxford*, they had ſtill Correſpondence, and accordingly acted, as they were animated by a Party of the Proteſtant Committee of the Parliament of *Ireland*, then reſident in *Dublin*, who (that they might decline the height of what thoſe at *Oxford* propoſed) were tempted by an Order of the Council-Board to certifie, Whether the 24 Propoſitions * of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Agents of *Ireland*, (preſented to his Majeſty the 18th. of *April*, 1644.) *did agree with their ſence, in order to the preſent condition of the Kingdom:* Whereby it's thought, that if it had been ſaid, that the 24 Propoſitions had been agreed to by *the Proteſtants in general*, there would have been an Endeavour, to have got *ſome* to have ſigned an Inſtrument againſt the Agent's Proceedings; and therefore their Proceeding was acknowledged to be according to their Inſtructions, and their Correſpondent's Advice in Town: As in the Anſwer.

* Appendix 13.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips.

IN Obedience to your Lordſhip's Commands, ſignified in your Order of the 5th. of June, 1644. *directed to us the Perſons under-named, requiring us to certifie your Lordſhips,* Whether the 24 Propoſitions of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Agents of *Ireland*, preſented to his Majeſty, do agree with our ſence, in order to the preſent condition of this Kingdom. *We the ſaid Perſons do humbly certifie, That we have peruſed the Propoſitions in the ſaid Order mention'd, and do humbly conceive them, to be in ſubſtance purſuant to the humble Petition of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, as well Commanders of his Majeſty's Army here, as others, (a Copy of which Petition hath been formerly preſented to your Lordſhips, and from that Honourable Board tranſmitted to his Sacred Majeſty, and by him graciouſly receiv'd, as may appear by his Majeſty's Letters of the 6th. of* November *laſt, whereof your Lordſhips were pleas'd to grant the Petitioners a Copy.) And that the ſaid Propoſitions are, as we humbly conceive, in ſubſtance purſuant unto certain Inſtructions, entituled,* Inſtructions for the Agents, who are to attend his moſt Sacred Majeſty, on the behalf of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland: Which Inſtructions were alſo preſented at that Honourable Board, and there (upon ſerious Debate, according to the Pleaſure of your Lordſhips in ſome things) altered, and ſo a Copy thereof was delivered to your Lordſhips. And we humbly conceive, that the ſaid Propoſitions, are ſuch in ſubſtance, as if way may be found, (whereby his Majeſty may bring to paſs the Particulars therein conceiv'd)* they *would conduce to* the Eſtabliſhment of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Advantage of his Majeſty, and the future Security of his Highneſs, his Royal Poſterity, this his Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Subjects therein. *But how* theſe Propoſitions *ſtand, in order to the preſent condition of this Kingdom, is a thing far above us to reſolve: All which we humbly leave to your Lordſhip's Grave Conſiderations. Signed,*

Will. Cooley, Will. Uſher, Hen. Jones, Anth. Dopping, Will. Plunket, Theod. Schoute, Peter Wybrants.

When

1644.

When the *Iriſh* Confederates Agents return'd into *Ireland*, moſt of them (as far as acted in view) perform'd their Promiſe and Engagements to the King, ſo as many of the Nobility and Gentry, and moſt of the Perſons of conſiderable Fortune, together with the moderate Clergy, (who are eaſie to be number'd) were convinc'd of the neceſſity of ſubmitting themſelves entirely to the King, till he was able to grant them more, that they might not be glad to accept of leſs. But the evil Genius of that People, (condemn'd to wilful ruine and misfortune) ſoon evidenc'd how unripe they were for mercy, and that it was not ſo eaſie to allay the Spirits they had conjur'd up, as to foment and irritate them. The Nobility, and Men of known Fortune, (whom ſelf-Intereſt (by this time) had taught Loyalty) found that they had loſt their Power, and the Reverence they had parted with to the Clergy, had much Influence on the common People, who, devoting themſelves ſolely to their Clergy's Dictate, oppos'd all Concluſions, which (according to Wiſdom and true Policy) were to be the Ingredients of a happy and laſting Peace. And ſo above 2 years were ſpent, (after theſe Agent's departure from the King) in fruitleſs and in-effectual Treaties, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, in the interim, treating in that wilde order with the Rebels, as under a pretended ſufficient Authority from the King, (utterly diſown'd) he blew them up to ſuch a pernicious Expectation, by the feigned Articles he ſign'd to them, the 25th. of *Auguſt*, 1645. ſo deſtructive both to Church and State, and ſo repugnant to his Majeſty's publick Profeſſions, and known Reſolutions, as the Treaty of Peace (proceeding on more agreeable Terms by the Lord Lieutenant) found many rubbs and impediments. Whilſt the Strength and Power of the Parliament's Forces in *England* exceedingly increaſed, and his Majeſty's Forces were defeated, and himſelf (for want of Succours promis'd out of *Ireland*) was compelled to deliver up himſelf to his *Scottiſh* Subjects, and was ſhortly after by them given into the hands of the Parliament of *England*, who being (at laſt) ſplit into ſeveral Factions, ſo varied Councils, as (in concluſion) he was betrayed, and ſuffer'd, to the aſtoniſhment of the World.

The *Iriſh* Agents Behaviour on their Return into *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Glamorgan*'s unjuſt Management of the King's Affairs in *Ireland*. Legible in his Meſſage, dated at *Oxford*, 29. *Jan.* 1645

But that I may not o're-ſlip the Series of this Story, which, through a conflux of Matter, will ſometimes unavoidably be diſturbed, I muſt take notice, that the firſt Ceſſation being near determin'd, the 5th. of *Sept.* 1644. there was a new Ceſſation agreed on by the Lord Lieutenant, and the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, to begin on the 15th. of *September*, and continue till the 1ſt. of *December* following. And in reſpect that the Treaty of Peace had ſeveral Matters of weight and conſequence, which neceſſarily required further time to be prepared, and drawn into writing, it was agreed on at the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 2d. of *Octob. anno prædict.* that the Treaty ſhould be adjourn'd to the 4th. of *November* enſuing, the *Iriſh* Agents, in the interim, to have liberty to continue in, or come to *Dublin*, as often as they ſhould think fit; which time they improved, and Affairs were ſo managed, as there was never any other Ceſſation till the Peace.

About which time, the Earls of *Thomond*, *Clanrickard*, and St. *Albans*, the Lord *Rannelagh*, *Fitz-williams*, *Taaff*, and *Dillon*, who had never receded from his Majeſty's Commands, writ to him, That betwixt two Parties, one, if they were diſpoſed to make Invaſion upon them, and the other, who ſticking to the Covenant, diſ-obey'd the Ceſſation, they were like to be ruin'd; and therefore implor'd his Majeſty, to reconcile

1644. the Difference betwixt thoſe, who were too high, either of the Confederates or Proteſtants, in their Demands, and declare againſt the *Scots*, who would make little diſtinction (were it in their power) between them, and thoſe whom they now aſſaulted.

In treating of Peace, we muſt not forget, that the Lord *Inchequin* (having been eaſily wrought on to agree to the Ceſſation) carried over many of his *Munſter* Forces to the King, who in memory of his ſervice, beſtowed on him a noble Wardſhip, and would have made him an Earl: But the Preſidency of *Munſter* (pre-diſpos'd of to the Earl of *Portland*) being his aim, he returns again into *Ireland*, and from *Cork*, the 17th. of *July*, 1644. he and other Officers there writes to his Majeſty, *That no Peace could be concluded with the* Iriſh *Rebels, which would not bring unto his Majeſty, and the* Engliſh *in general, a far greater prejudice, than the ſhew of a Peace there would bring them an advantage*, &c. *And thereupon beſought him, that he would not ſo much regard ſo inconſiderable a handful of People as they were, as to purchaſe but a ſeeming ſecurity, by leaving thereby the Proteſtant Religion in all likelihood to be extirpated, and his Majeſty obnoxious to the loſs of that Kingdom: Further beſeeching his Majeſty, that he would be pleas'd* to Proclaim again the *Iriſh* to be Rebels, *and not to pardon thoſe who have committed ſo many barbarous Crimes that they are as far above deſcription, as they are ſhort of honeſty, profeſſing they had his Majeſties Commiſſion for what they did; the true ſenſe of which deviliſh aſperſion caſt upon his Majeſty, with other reaſons, made them reſolve to die a thouſand deaths, rather than condeſcend to any Peace; referring themſelves in other things to their Declaration.*

* *July* 18. 1644
* The Lord *Inchequin*, The Lord *Broghil*, Sir *Wil. Fenton*, Sir *Percy Smith*, Lieut. Col. *Wil. Brocket*, Lieut. Col. *Tho. Serle*, Serjeant Major *Muſchamp*.

And from the ſame place, the day* following, *theſe* * write to both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, (much to the ſame effect) importuning their Agreement with his Majeſty, without which, the War could not be proſecuted as it ought; offering (for the ſecuring of their Garriſon to their Service) whom they pleas'd: Concluding, That they hoped *ſuch a wiſe Aſſembly* would diſtinguiſh betwixt the effects of Neceſſity (the Ceſſation) and Diſhoneſty: Including, in their Letter to both Houſes, their Declaration, which I had thought to have abbreviated, but it is ſo ſignificant, that we ſhall find it unravels *many Secrets* then to come, and declares *ſuch Truths*, as without injury to their Merits we could not ſmother.

The unanimous Declaration of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of the Province of *Munſter*.

IF in the undertaking of a juſt Deſign it were onely requiſite, that the Hearts and Conſciences of the Undertakers were ſatisfi'd, we ſhould not need to publiſh this Declaration; but leſt our Enemies ſhould traduce the candour of our Actions and Intentions, we have made this manifeſtation of them, which will acquaint the World with their Malice, and our Innocence.

We are confident, that all Chriſtendom hath heard of the bloody Rebellion in Ireland; *and we are as confident, the Rebels and Popiſh Clergy have ſo palliated*

palliated and diſguiſed it; that many are fully perſwaded, they had reaſon for what they did: But we believe, all men of Judgment will change that opinion, when they ſhall know, That though they were a Conquer'd People, *yet the Laws were adminiſtred unto them with as much equity, as to the* Engliſh; *That they enjoyed their Religion, though not by Tolleration, yet by Connivance; That their Lords (though Papiſts) ſate in Parliament; And that the Election of the Knights of the Shire, and Burgeſſes, was free, and though of a contrary Religion, were admitted into the Houſe of Commons. yet for all theſe, and many other vaſt Favours and Priviledges, when every one was ſitting under his Vine and Fig-tree, without any provocation, they reſolve upon a general extirpation, both of the Proteſtants and their Religion, which, without doubt, they had effected, had not God been more merciful than they were wicked, and by a Miracle diſcovered this devilliſh Deſign; whereof, though we had notice juſt time enough to ſecure our main Magazine at* Dublin, *yet we could not prevent the butchery of multitudes of innocent Souls, which ſuffered at the firſt in the Province of* Ulſter; *and ſince they have continued this Rebellion with ſuch perfidiouſneſs and bloodineſs, that though we had been as guilty as we are innocent, yet the proſecuting of the War with that barbarouſneſs, had rather been a ſin than juſtice. But by Gods great providence, when the Rebellion brake out firſt, the Parliament of* England *was ſitting, unto whom his Majeſty communicated ſo much of his Power over this Kingdom, as we ſhall hereafter mention, and gave them great encouragement to proſecute the War againſt the Rebels, by granting Lands unto ſuch as ſhould adventure Money for the maintenance of the War. Whereupon the Parliament (who were moſt willing to advance ſo good a Cauſe) ſent us at firſt large Supplies, which had ſo good ſucceſs, that the Divine, as well as Humane Juſtice did proclaim them Rebels; for indeed God Almighty (ſince the deliverance of the Children of* Iſrael *from the* Egyptians) *never appeared ſo viſibly as in this War. But the unhappy miſunderſtanding between the King and Parliament did ſo hinder the continuance of thoſe Supplies for this Kingdom, that all we received in nineteen months, amounted not to five weeks entertainment; ſo that the Army which was ſent to relieve us, lived upon us. And truly we may with Juſtice profeſs, that the Forces of this Province did feed as miraculouſly as fight, being never able to preſcribe any certain way of ſubſiſtance for one month together; but when the poor Inhabitants were almoſt beggar'd, and no means for the Forces to ſubſiſt on left, a Ceſſation of Arms was made for a twelvemonth with the Rebels, which our neceſſity (not inclination) compelled us to bear with; and the rather out of a firm hope, that the Almighty, out of his infinite goodneſs, would, within that year, ſettle a right underſtanding between the King and Parliament, that then they would unanimouſly revenge the crying blood of ſo many thouſands of innocent Souls; and until God bleſſed us with the ſight of that happy Union, we might keep our Garriſons (which otherwiſe we could not) the better to enable them to proſecute ſo juſt and honourable a deſign. But this Ceſſation was as fatal to us, during the time of Treaty, as afterwards it was ill obſerved; for they (knowing what agreement they would enforce us to condeſcend unto) did privately ſend one or two perſons to every Caſtle that we had demoliſhed, which under pretence of being by that means in their poſſeſſion, they ever ſince detain, though it be contrary to the Articles. And which is more injurious, they have at all times ſince entred upon what Lands they have thought fit, and detained them alſo; and their devilliſh malice having no bounds, they did place Guards upon the High-ways*

1644.

1644. *to interrupt our Markets, and puniſhed divers of their own Party for coming with Proviſions to us, thereby to deter all from bringing any relief to our Garriſons, that ſo they might ſtarve us out of thoſe Places, that neither their fraud or force could get from us; which that they might the better accompliſh, they murthered divers of the poor* Engliſh, *that preſuming on the Article of free Commerce, went abroad to buy Victuals; which certainly would have cauſed them to have declined that courſe of ſeeking Food, if hunger, threatning them with more certain death, had not forced them thereunto. And whereas we truſted, that theſe notorious infidelities in them, and infinite ſufferings in us, would have been ſo viſible to his Majeſty, that nothing could have induc'd him to make a Peace with ſo perfidious a People, who through their fawning and inſinuating with his Majeſty, and by* the counſel of ſome, *who repreſent, that there is no way left for the ſecuring the remainder of* Engliſh, *but by a Peace. We find his Majeſty (being deluded by the firſt, and believing the laſt to be conducing to the preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects) is concluding of a Peace, which will again admit thoſe* Iriſh *Rebels to be Members of Parliament; ſo that that Court which ſhould afford relief for our Grievances, will, by their over-ſwaying Votes, be our greateſt Grievance.*

Moreover, we are too truly informed by divers of their own Party, (whoſe names if we ſhould publiſh, would be as great an ingratitude as folly; the firſt, in betraying thoſe that obliged us; the laſt, in depriving our ſelves of all future Intelligence by them) that they have vowed never to ſubmit to an Engliſh *or Proteſtant Government, except they have liberty to exerciſe their Religion in Churches; That the Forces of the Kingdom may be Train'd-Bands of their Men; and that likewiſe thoſe of their own Religion may be admitted to Places of Truſt in the Common-wealth, which they call modeſt and moderate demands; though we hope they cannot ſeem ſo to any but themſelves, and their Clergy, who, we find, do not think them enough, being they may not have all their Church-Livings. For we have certain intelligence, that they have made a ſtrong Faction, as well among my Lord of* Caſtlehaven's *Soldiers, as in all other parts of the Kingdom, ſo that they are five parts of ſix who will fly out into a new action, when they ſee a convenient time to execute their deſign, which as yet they determine to forbear, until they ſee a Peace concluded; ſuppoſing, that then the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland *will intermix* Iriſh *and* Engliſh *without diſtinction, to oppoſe the* Scots, *and that by that means there will be a ſufficient number of their Party in our Garriſons to maſter them, which, when they find an opportunity for, they will certainly ſeize into their own hands; upon notice whereof, the Faction abroad will, with all expedition, apprehend the* Engliſh *in all parts; and having accompliſhed this part of their deſign, they will manifeſt that they are weary of the King of* England's *Government, and that they will truſt none of his Proteſtant Subjects among them; for we are certainly informed, that they will invite a Forreign Prince to take them into his protection, unto whom they will deliver poſſeſſion of what he pleaſes, and will become his Subjects.*

And leſt that Princes Treaſure ſhould be exhauſted by Wars in other places, the Clergy have, with the Pope's aſſiſtance, raiſed amongſt thoſe of their own Calling, and divers of the Gentry in Italy, *one hundred thouſand pounds in money, and a quantity of Arms and Ammunition, that are now ready to be ſent hither; and they have employed one Doctor* Duyer *to go forthwith thither for it; as alſo to get his Holineſs to ſettle a courſe for the*

the raiſing of more Money, to be employed for the advancement of that which they call the Catholick Cauſe. 1644.

Therefore out of a true ſenſe of our injuries already ſuffered, and un-redreſſed, with a right apprehenſion of inevitable ruine, not onely to our Lives and Eſtates, but likewiſe to the Engliſh *Nation and Proteſtant Religion, we have re-aſſum'd our Arms, according to our Duty to God, our King and Countrey, with inviolable reſolution to die, or fruſtrate this devilliſh deſign.*

And ſince thoſe that die acting for the Goſpel, are as perfect Martyrs, as thoſe that die ſuffering for it; we cannot but with joy embrace any effect, that proceeds from ſo glorious a Cauſe.

Neither can this act be eſteemed a crime in us, ſince his Majeſty, upon the Rebels firſt Inſurrection, his Treaſure being exhauſted, gave his Royal aſſent for the paſſing of an Act of Parliament, wherein he granted (to all his Subjects that would adventure money towards reducing of the Rebels) Lands proportionable to the ſum adventured, which would fall to the Crown, when the Conqueſt ſhould be finiſhed. And the better to ſecure the Adventurers, his Majeſty obliged himſelf to make no Peace with the Rebels, but with the advice and approbation of the Parliament of England; *and by that Act, communicated to the Parliament that Power, which before was ſolely in himſelf. So that they not condeſcending to this Peace, our imploying of their Aids, and re-aſſuming of thoſe Arms put into our hands by King and Parliament joyntly, cannot be eſteemed contradictory to his Majeſty, in regard that their joynt Act is ſo abſolutely binding, that neither of them ſeverally can annull it, as is evident in the Laws of the Realm.*

Therefore if this War were onely Offenſive, yet even ſlander it ſelf muſt acknowledge us innocent, having ſo juſt a Cauſe, ſo pious an Intention, and ſo lawful an Authority; much more it being Defenſive, and the Law both of God and Nature allowing every one to defend himſelf from violence and wrong.

Moreover, the King muſt never expect any obedience from the Iriſh, *but what proceeds either from their Intereſt, or Fear. Through the firſt of theſe, neither his Majeſty or we can hope for aſſurance; for not granting them all their deſires, their Intereſt (which is more powerful with them than their Loyalty) will make them throw off their ſubjection, and to become abſolute, not ſcruple to deſtroy us: Then to expect any ſecurity by their fears, were frivolous; for though* we have found their Hearts as ill as their Cauſe, *yet they cannot be apprehenſive of 2 or 3000 ill armed and unprovided men, having all things neceſſary, and ſo numerous a People at their devotion.*

And leſt our Enemies ſhould ſcandalize us with breach of Faith, in violating the pretended Ceſſation; or with Cruelty, in expelling the Iriſh *Papiſts from our Garriſons, who hitherto ſeemed adhering to us.*

Concerning the firſt, we declare, That although our neceſſities did induce us to ſubmit, ſuppoſing the Ceſſation would have produced other effects, as is before mentioned; yet we had no power (without Authority from King and Parliament joyntly) to treat or yield to it; or if it had been in our powers, yet by the Rebels daily breaches of it, we are diſengaged from it.

Concerning the ſecond, we declare, That our Garriſon cannot be ſecured, whilſt ſo powerful and perfidious Enemies are in our boſomes; Powerful, being four to one in number more than the Engliſh; *Perfidious, in their conſtant deſigns to betray us, ſome whereof we will inſtance, to convince their own Conſciences, and ſatisfie the World of our juſt proceedings.*

One

1644. *One* Francis Matthews, *a* Franciſcan Frier, (*being wonderfully diſcovered in an Enigmatical Letter, and as juſtly executed*) *before his death confeſſed, that he had agreed to betray the City of* Cork *to the Lord of* Muskery; *which muſt neceſſarily infer, that the chiefeſt and greateſt part of that City were engaged in this Conſpiracy, for otherwiſe he could not ſo much as hope the accompliſhment: And if this had taken effect, it had conſequently ruin'd all the Proteſtants in the Province of* Munſter, *that being our chief Magazine, and greateſt Garriſon. Beſides, upon this occaſion, other Friers being examin'd upon Oath, confeſſed, that in their daily Maſſes within that Town, and all other of our Garriſons, (where Papiſts did inhabit) they prayed for the advancement of the Catholick Cauſe, which they believed the Rebels fought for.*

And laſtly, we have lately diſcovered, that the now Major and Corporation had combined with the Rebels to betray the Town to them; and for that purpoſe an Army was drawn to all the parts adjoyning to our Garriſons; in the three chiefeſt whereof, we are confident, the Rebels had their Party; but by Divine Providence, before the Plot could be executed, the Major preſuming on his ſpeedy ſucceſs, contemned the Lord of Inchequin's *Authority, by oppoſing the levying of the Moneys granted by the* Engliſh, *for the maintenance of the Soldiers, juſt about the nick of time that the Treachery was to be effected.*

And he being committed upon this occaſion, the Rebels apprehending their deſign to be diſcovered, with-drew their Forces. And leſt this ſhould be judged as an act of the Major onely, as a private perſon, we deſire the World to take notice, that as ſoon as our Army, which forced their obedience, was removed into England, *the Papiſts generally reſiſted what ever could be propounded for our ſecurity, and would have diſ-enabled us to continue our Garriſons, had not the poor ſtript* Engliſh *taken all that burthen upon themſelves.*

Nay, they were ſo inſolent, that they laboured to get Arms into their hands, and to cauſe us to disband our Soldiers, which they affirmed to be kept as an unneceſſary charge upon the King, that ſo they might with more facility receive the Iriſh, *and ruine us.*

In a word, ſince they pretend the ground of this War to be for Religion, and that this is confeſſed by thoſe who ſeem'd to adhere to us; what faith can be expected from ſuch a People, whoſe Religion permits them to hold none with us?

By this preceding Relation, it is evidently ſeen, that unleſs we re-aſſume our Arms, we betray the truſt committed to us by God, the King and Parliament, and become ſlaves both of bodies and ſouls. And therefore we have reſolv'd to perform our duty, though with apparent hazard of our lives; and likewiſe maintain that, which is a thouſand times more dear unto us, our Religion, and alſo defend our Garriſons for the Kings juſt uſe.

Theſe, we take God to witneſs, are our intentions, and we beſeech him to puniſh us as ſtrangely, as hitherto he hath preſerv'd us, if we decline at all from theſe Loyal and Religious reſolutions; and we firmly hope, that the World will, by this Declaration, be as fully ſatisfi'd of the juſtneſs of our proceedings, as we our ſelves are; then though we all loſe our lives in this Cauſe, we ſhall give our Friends occaſion to rejoyce, and our Enemies to envy at ſo bleſſed an end.

This

This return of the *Munſter* Forces to the Parliament, was not ſo welcome to them, as it was ſtrange to the Lord Lieutenant, who thereupon expoſtulated the buſineſs with the Lord *Inchequin*, who the 2*d.* of *Auguſt* writ to his Excellency, That on ſuſpitions of another intended ſurpriſal by the *Iriſh*, and out of a care to protect the *Engliſh*, he had clear'd *Cork*, *Toughall*, and *Kinſale*, of the *Iriſh*, and put himſelf into a poſture of ſafety, which, with his return from *England*, was the worſe reſented, *for that he was the firſt man who mov'd the King to ſend for the Forces of* Ireland *into* England. Upon his revolt to the Parliament, he dream'd of ſudden Supplies, but they were at that time ſo imbroil'd in buſineſs, as they had little leiſure to conſider of *Ireland*, and leſs means to help them, ſo as little was ſent to him for eight or ten months after; but they made him Lord Preſident of *Munſter*. Nor had the *Scots* much more relief in the North; however, the new and old *Scots* (under *Monro*) joyning themſelves together unanimouſly, made a ſhift to preſerve themſelves againſt the incurſions of the Rebels; and about *Midſummer*, 1644. they gathered an Army of 10000 Horſe and Foot, and came into the County of *Cavan*, and ſent a Party into *Longford*, and ſpoil'd much of that Countrey, and march'd to *Owen Roe* and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, who lay with their Army about *Tonrages*, where they encompaſs'd them, and (had they been ſufficiently vigilant) might certainly have defeated the Rebels; who, through the favour of a cloſe night, eſcaped, though purſued, and at *Finagh*-Bridge met with a ſevere ſlaughter; *Nugents* houſe of *Carleſtown* they burnt, and hanged him. In the interim, *Duncannon* (one of the ſtrongeſt Forts in *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Eſmond*) ſubmitted not to the Ceſſation, but, being ſtrongly beſieged by *Preſton*, was ſurrendred about *March*, 1644. before Sir *Arthur Loftus* (who was to have been Governour of the Fort under his Lordſhip) arrived there with a competent Supply, who (finding himſelf diſappointed thereof) carried his Proviſions into *Munſter*, and the Lord *Eſmond* ſoon after died. What difference ſoever there was between ſome Towns and the Lord Lieutenant, yet for the encouragement of any that ſhould bring Commodities to *Dublin*, *Tredagh*, *Dundalk*, *Carlingford*, *Cork*, *Kinſale*, or *Toughal*, for the relief of his Majeſties Army and good Subjects there; a Proclamation paſs'd at *Dublin* the 20*th.* of *May*, 1644. to free them for ſix months from all Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, in purſuance of a Proclamation from his Majeſty at *Oxford*, the 17*th.* of *March*, 1643. In *April* after, the Committee of both Kingdoms in *England* (to whom the affairs of *Ireland* were, from the Parliament, committed, finding the buſineſs of *Ireland* grow very heavy upon them) got themſelves quit thereof; and the Houſes inſtituted another to ſit at the *Star-chamber*, of 13 Lords, and 28 Commoners; but few in it that underſtood the buſineſs of *Ireland*, beſides two Gentlemen, whoſe Intereſt leading them to ſeveral Provinces, much injur'd the equal management of the whole; and he (to whom the Proviſions were entruſted) order'd them at that rate, as the complaint was great. About *May*, 1645. there were appointed Commiſſioners for *Ulſter*, *Arthur Anneſly* Eſq; Sir *Robert King*, and Colonel *Beale*, a Citizen of *London*, who were to carry with them 20000 *l.* in Money, beſides Proviſions and Ammunition; but the diſpatch was ſo ſlow, as they Landed not there till *October*; beſides, ſome Commiſſioners ſhould have joyned with them from *Scotland*, who never came upon the Place: ſo nothing could be orderly done, in that the *Scots* by a late

1644.

The Lord *Inchequin*'s revolt to the Parliament after the Ceſſation.

The *Scots* preſerve themſelves againſt the incurſions of the Rebels.

1645.

1645. late Treaty pretended a Right in the Government of *Ireland*, which his Majeſty in his Papers took juſt Exceptions againſt, they long certainly having it in their Deſign, to make themſelves Maſters of the North of *Ireland*, ſince they fail'd of retaining any Intereſt in the Government in *England*. But Troubles increaſing in *Scotland*, through *Montroſs* and Colonel *Kittoe*'s joyning together, who had certainly taken *Edinburgh*, but that the Plague was violent there: ſeveral of the late *Scotch* Regiments were drawn from *Ulſter*, that more than what garriſon'd *Carickfergus*, *Belfaſt*, *Colrain*, and ſome other Places near the Sea-Coaſt, where they committed the moſt notorious Extortions and Oppreſſions ever laid upon a People, were not there left; and the Commiſſioners for the Parliament before-mention'd acted in their own Place. Not long after whoſe ſettlement in *Ireland*, the *Iriſh* growing inſolent in *Connaght*, taking their Garriſons, and turning out many *Engliſh*, and others, who, by the Articles of Ceſſation, ſhould have been better uſed, there came to them (by one Mr. *Galbreth*) Offers, tending to compoſe the Differencies betwixt *the Greateſt* then in Power, and them: But the Offer being found a Deſign, to draw the *Britiſh* Army under another Command, the fruit of that Expectation ſoon wither'd, and *Galbreth* by Bonds was ſecured.

And that Affairs (more probably) might ſucceed, a general Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks, (which conſiſted of all the Peers of that Party, and of all the Gentlemen and Burgeſſes of Corporation Towns, which was as lively a Repreſentation of the whole Nation, as they could make) towards the end of the year, *viz.* the 6th. of *March*, 1645. appointed and authorized a ſelect number of that Body, (of the Perſons of eminent Quality, and moſt eminent Ability, and ſuch, as through all the Troubles had been imployed and intruſted by them, in Places and Offices of higheſt Truſt and Concernment) to treat and conclude with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, his Majeſty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a firm and full Peace. For the expediting of which, his Excellency had had many and ſerious Invitations from his Majeſty, as the moſt viſible means then left to revive the Hopes he was reduced to: To which end, in *June*, before he had ſent Mr. *Daniel O Neal* (Groom of his Bed-Chamber) into *Ireland*, a Perſon by reaſon of his Relations there much confided in; who, amongſt other things intruſted to his charge, had it in his Inſtructions, the 27th. of *June*, to acquaint the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, *That his Majeſty would be glad he could frame ſuch a Body there to ſend over, as might be worthy of his own coming to command it.* And in a Letter from an Honourable Perſon then at *Denbigh*, the 26th. of *September*, 1645. his Excellency was again acquainted, *That his Majeſty perſiſts in his earneſt deſire to have him in* England, *for that, without flattery, they were likely to be in more want of ſuch a General, than of an Army*; ſo as nothing was wanting to value his Fidelity and Courage. And yet the Impatiency of ſome Men were ſuch, (not conſidering how that would be a ſcandalous Peace, that would be unavoidable) that they writ to their Friends, That if the Peace were not concluded, that it was not like that ever it would be by thoſe that managed it then; ſo as they would have had the Queen Regent of *France*, to have concluded it with ſuch as the Catholicks from *Ireland* ſhould appoint. In ſuch ſort was his Excellency cenſured, who having diſcharged his Truſt, could not (at thoſe Men's time) reduce the *Iriſh* to a credible compliance, the fault of their ſeveral Rup-

Ruptures amongſt themſelves, not his remiſsneſs. Inaſmuch as * one (better vers'd in the Subtilties of the *Iriſh*, than moſt of that Age, having, through the Eminency of his Imployment, the knowledge of their Councils and Intrigues) writes to an Honourable * Perſon, *That the truth of it was, that the* Iriſh *had proceeded thitherto, as if they had had no good intention, having not been contented with the effects of more than their Agents did profeſs to expect, but in effect, capitulated for the Proteſtant Churches through* Ireland: A Conceſſion ſo deteſtable, as the King * taking notice (to Secretary *Nicholas*) of the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Agreement with the Rebels, declares, *That were the condition of his Affairs much more deſperate than it is, he would never redeem them by a Conceſſion of ſo much wrong, both to his Honour and Conſcience: It is* (writes he, in that clear diſcovery of his Soul) *for the defence of his Religion, that he had undergone the Extremities of War here, and he will never redeem his Crown by ſacrificing it there:* Lines ſo auguſt and pious, that methinks none ſhould dare read them, who ſhould preſume to offer Incenſe, otherwiſe than he hath paid his: The Treaty for the Peace however went on, though by many cautious and un-eaſie ſteps. You have ſeen what Doubts ſome rais'd of his Excellency's Proceedings herein, and by * one (imploy'd with much credit in that Buſineſs) it is manifeſt, *That the Marqueſs was reſolv'd never to condeſcend to the Demands of the* Iriſh, *who* (writes he) *reſolv'd to have them, or periſh*; ſuch their Inſolency! And we find through the whole Scene, they wrought upon the Neceſſities of the King, their Demands, as his Straights, ever increaſing; however, he aſſured the Queen, the *Iriſh* ſhould not cheat him, though it was poſſible they might cozen themſelves.

1645.

* The Lord *D.* principal Secretary.

* The Lord *I.* from *Aſcot*, 27. *Aug.* 1645.

* In a Letter printed at *Oxford*, pag. 3.

* Col. *Fitz-Williams*'s Letter to Lord *D.* 16. *July*, 1645.

In his Letter from *Caerdiff*, 3. *Auguſt*, 1645

But before we proceed, it will be neceſſary to take notice of an un-uſual Gueſt, the Pope's Nuncio, *John Baptiſt Rinuccini*, Archbiſhop and Prince of *Fermo*, introduced by the firſt Legat, from the Confederates to *Rome*, to Pope *Urban* the 8th. and other Princes of *Italy*, *Rich. Bealing* Eſq; a leading Member of, and chief Secretary to their ſupream Council, by whoſe means only he was ſent into *Ireland*, even whilſt the Treaty of Peace (the utmoſt Grace his Majeſty could vouchſafe his People) was ſet on foot; an acceptable and loyal ſervice! as you will hear in the ſequel of this Story. He arrived at the River of *Kilmare*, in a Frigat of 21 Pieces, and 26 *Italians*, of his Retinue, beſides divers regular and ſecular Prieſts, the 22. of *October*, 1645. And amongſt the Accounts of thoſe Times, there is a Liſt given in of ſome Arms, Ammunition, and *Spaniſh* Gold; but not hearing as yet of the *Bleſſing* they produced, we ſhall (as to thoſe Particulars) confine our Pen, yet give you here the ſupream Council's Addreſs to his Holineſs, in acknowledgement of the Nuncio's Arrival.

1645.

Per supremum Consilium Confederatorum Catholicorum, in Regno Hiberniæ, *ad beatum Patrem nostrum* Innocentium + *Papam.*

Beatissime Pater,

QVod in ipso limine sui Pontificatus rebus nostris consulere voluerit, & Illustrissimum Virum Archiepiscopum Fermanum, *Prælatum vestræ sanctitatis Domesticum, & assistentem sedis Apostolicæ extraordinarium Nuncium ad nos miserit, gratias quas possumus humillimè reddimus; illum si non quâ decuit magni scientiâ, certè insuperabili amore, & gaudio recipimus, illum etiam de vestræ sanctitatis in nos nostramq; causam animi effectu & sollicitudine discurrentem avidè audivimus, speramusq; nos Apostolica benedictione, quam nobis vestræ sanctitatis nomine impertivit suffultos, & subsidiis ulterioribus, quæ tanto bello necessaria duxerit paterna sanctitatis cura, tanti etiam & tam prudentis viri adhortationibus & consiliis, eo res nostras promovere posse, ut de stabilita in* Hiberniam *Catholica Religione triumphare posset* Innocentius *Christissimus, quam & vestræ sanctitati & nobis victoriam à Deo exercituum humili & confidenti corde implorant demisse benedictionem obsecrantes,*

Kilkenniæ, 7. Jan. 1645.

Vestræ Sanctitatis ad Pedum Oscula.

But to proceed to the Peace, in which all the Particulars, which might concern the Interest and Security of either Party, being maturely weighed and considered, and then every Article being first read, debated, and approved, in the general Assembly, without one dissenting voice, *the whole* was concluded, and the Confederate Catholicks obliged to transport (within a very short time) an Army of 10000 Men into *England*, for the Service and Relief of the King; as by the succeeding Propositions with Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, is fuller evident.

Fitz-Williams's Propositions about the Treaty with the Queen, to bring *Irish* into *England.*

Col. *Fitz-Williams* humbly prays and propounds as followeth,

THat your Sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his Majesty, to condescend to the just Demands of his Irish *Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks in* Ireland, *at least in private. That upon the consideration thereof,*

thereof, Colonel Fitz-Williams *humbly propounds and undertakes, with approbation of Mr.** Hertogen, *now imployed Agent for the ſaid Confederate Catholicks in* Ireland, *to bring an Army of* 10000 *Men, or more, of the King's Subjects, in his Kingdom of* Ireland, *for the King's Service, into* England. 1645.

That Colonel Fitz-Williams *undertakes, for the ſum of* 10000 l. *ſterling, to levy Ships, and arm the* 10000 *Men, and ſo proportionably for more or leſs; and that the ſaid Moneys may be paid into ſuch hands, as may be ſafe for your Majeſty, as well as ready for the ſaid Colonel, when it ſhall appear the ſaid Army ſhall be in readineſs to be tranſported into* England.

That upon the Landing of the ſaid Men, there ſhall be advanced to the Colonel one months Pay for all the Army, according to the Muſter, for the preſent ſupport of the Army. That Colonel Fitz-Williams *may be Commander in Chief thereof, and diſpoſe of all the Officers, and only be commanded by the King, Prince, and*——*and qualified with ſuch Benefits, as have been formerly granted unto your Majeſty's Generals, that have commanded Bodies apart from the King's own Army, as the Earl of* Kingſton, *and others, whereby the better to enable him in the Levies, as well as in the general Conduct of the Buſineſs. And in reſpect the Order gives no Power to the* Iriſh, *therefore that the ſaid Forces ſhall not by any Order whatſoever be divided, at leaſt that the Colonel may be ſupplied with a Body of*——2000. *to be ready at the Place of Landing. That the Colonel may be provided with Arms and Ammunition, or with Money requiſite for himſelf, to provide neceſſary Proportions for to bring with him. That the Army ſhall be paid as other Armies of the King.*

*To whom, and the *Iriſh* Agents, the King in his Letter to the Queen, *Jan.* 30. 1644. adviſes not to give much Countenance.

Having taken theſe Propoſitions into Conſideration, We have thought fit to teſtifie our Approbation and Agreement thereunto, under our Sign Manual, aſſuring, what hath been deſired of us therein, ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavour'd, and not doubting, to the ſatisfaction of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, and of the ſaid Colonel; ſo that we may juſtly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly from all Parties, in their ſeveral Concernments.

Henriette Marie.

All things thus ſtated and ſetled, the Commiſſioners (who had treated in the Peace) were ſent by and in the Name of the Aſſembly, to *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant reſided, to ſign the ſaid Articles, and to receive his Lordſhip's Confirmation of them: And accordingly the Articles were, the 30th. of *July*, 1646. interchangeably ſigned and perfected, with all formality requiſite, (notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Letter from *Newcaſtle*, the 11th. of *June*, 1646. to treat no farther with the Rebels;) and ſhortly after, they were (with great Solemnity and Ceremony) publiſhed and proclaimed by the King at Arms at *Dublin*, and at *Kilkenny*, 1646. The firſt Peace concluded.

1646. where the Supream Council and the Aſſemblies of all the Confederate Catholicks were held, and then Printed by their Authority: The Arch-Biſhop of *Firmo*, manifeſting his approbation of all that had been done, giving his bleſſing to the Commiſſioners, when they were ſent to *Dublin* to conclude the Treaty, and other Miniſters from Foraign Princes being preſent, conſenting to, and witneſſing the Concluſion.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

Ormond.

WHereas Articles of Peace are made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between Us, James *Lord Marquiſs of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of his Majeſties Kingdom of* Ireland, *his Majeſties Commiſſioner, to Treat and Conclude a Peace with his Majeſties* Roman Catholick *Subjects of the ſaid Kingdom, by vertue of his Majeſties Commiſſion under the Great Seal of* England, *bearing Date at* Buckingham *on the* 24th. *day of* June, *in the Twentieth year of his Reign, for and on the behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty of the one part; and* Donogh *Lord Viſcount* Muskery, *and others, appointed and Authorized by his Majeſties ſaid* Roman Catholck *Subjects, by vertue of an Authority of the ſaid* Roman Catholick *Subjects, bearing Date the ſixth day of* March, 1645. *and in the* 21. *year of his Majeſties Reign, of the other part, a true Copy of which Articles of Peace is hereunto annexed, We the Lord Lieutenant and Council do by this Proclamation, in his Majeſties Name, Publiſh the ſame, And do, in his Majeſties Name, ſtrictly charge and command all his Majeſties Subjects, and all others Inhabiting or Reſiding within his Majeſties ſaid Kingdom of* Ireland, *to take notice thereof, and to render due Obedience to the ſame in all the parts thereof.*

And as his Majeſty hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep ſenſe of the Miſeries and Calamities brought upon this his Kingdom and People, and out of a hope conceived by his Majeſty, that it may prevent the further effuſion of his Subjects blood, redeem them out of all the miſeries and calamities, under which they now ſuffer, reſtore them to all quietneſs and happineſs, under his Majeſties moſt gracious Government, deliver the Kingdom in general from thoſe ſlaughters, deprecations, rapines and ſpoils, which always accompany a War, encourage the Subjects and others with comfort to betake themſelves to Trade, Traffick, Commerce, Manufacture, and all other things, which un-interrupted, may increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of the Kingdom, beget in all his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, a perfect Unity amongſt themſelves, after the too long continued Diviſion amongſt them: So his Majeſty aſſures himſelf, that all his Subjects of this his Kingdom (duly conſidering the great and ineſtimable benefits, which they may find in this Peace) will with all duty render due obedience thereunto. And We, in his Majeſties Name, do hereby Declare, That all Perſons, ſo rendring due Obedience to the ſaid Peace, ſhall be protected, cheriſhed, countenanced,

countenanced, and ſupported by his Majeſty and his Royal Authority, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid Articles of Peace. 16. 6.

Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Thirtieth day of *July*, 1646.

Ri. Bolton, Canc.
Roſcomon. Dillon.
Cha. Lambart.
Gerrard Lowther.
Fr. Willoughby.
Robert Forth.
La. Dublin.
Geo. Cloyne.
Arthur Chicheſter.
Hen. Tichborn.
Tho. Lucas.
Ja. Ware.

God ſave the King.

An Abreviate of the Articles of Peace concluded by the Marquiſs of Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *Commiſſioner for the King; and the Lord* Mountgarret, *Preſident of the Supream Council, the Lord* Muskery, *Sir* Robert Talbot, Dermot O Brian, Patrick Darcy, Jeffery Brown, *and* John Dillon, *Eſquires, Commiſſioners for the* Iriſh.

1. THat the Profeſſors of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy, expreſſed in the ſecond of Queen *Eliſ.* commonly called, the *Oath of Supremacy.*

2. That a Parliament may be held on or before the laſt day of *November* next; and that theſe Articles agreed on, may be tranſmitted into *England*, according to the uſual Form, and paſſed, provided that nothing may be paſſed to the Prejudice of either Proteſtant or Catholick Party, other then ſuch things as upon this Treaty ſhall be concluded.

3. That all Acts made by both or either Houſes of Parliament, to the Blemiſh or Prejudice of his Majeſties *Roman Catholick* Subjects, ſince the 7*th.* of *Auguſt*, (1641.) ſhall be vacated by Acts of Parliament.

4. That no Actions of Law ſhall be removed before the ſaid Parliament, in caſe it be ſooner called then the laſt of *November*; And that all Impediments which may hinder the *Roman Catholicks* to ſit in the next Parliament, ſhall be remov'd before the Parliament ſit.

5. That all Debts do Stand in ſtate, as they were in the beginning of theſe Troubles.

6. That the Plantation in *Connaght, Kilkenny, Clare, Thomond, Tipperary,*

1646. *perary*, *Limrick*, and *Wickloe*, may be revoked by Act of Parliament, and their Eſtates ſecur'd in the next Seſſions.

7. That the Natives may erect one or more Inns of Court, in or near the City of *Dublin*, they taking an Oath; as alſo one or more Univerſities to be Govern'd, as his Majeſty ſhall appoint; as alſo to have Schools for Education of Youth, in the Kingdom.

8. That Places of Command, of Forts, Caſtles, Garriſons, Towns, and other Places of Importance, and all Places of Honour, Profit, and Truſt, ſhall be conferr'd with equal Indifferency upon the Catholicks, as his Majeſties other Subjects, according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities.

9. That 12000 *l.* Sterling, be paid the King yearly, for the Court of *Wards*.

10. That no Peer may be capable of more Proxies then two. And that no Lords Vote in Parliament, unleſs in 5 years, a Lord Baron purchaſe in *Ireland* 200 *l. peranum*, a Viſcount 400 *l.* and an Earl 600 *l.* or loſe their Votes till they purchaſe.

11. That the Independency of the Parliament of *Ireland*, on the Kingdom of *England*, ſhall be decided by Declaration of both Houſes, agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

12. That the Council Table, ſhall contain it ſelf within its bounds, in handling Matters of State, as Patents of Plantations, Offices, &c. and not meddle with matter, betwixt Party and Party.

13. That all Acts concerning Staple or Native Commodities of this Kingdom, ſhall be repeal'd, except Wooll, and Woollfels; and that the Commiſſioners, the Lord *Mountgarret*, and others named in the 26 Article, ſhall be Authoriz'd under the Great Seal, to moderate and aſcertain the rates of Merchandize, to be exported and imported.

14. That no Governor be longer Reſident, then his Majeſty ſhall find for the good of his People, and that they make no purchaſe, other then by Leaſe for the Proviſion of their Houſes.

15. That an Act of Oblivion may be paſſed, without extending to any who will not accept of this Peace.

16. That no Governor, or any other Prime Miniſter of State in *Ireland*, ſhall be Farmers of his Majeſties Cuſtoms.

17. That a Repeal of all Monopolies, be paſſed.

18. That Commiſſioners be appointed, to regulate the Court of *Caſtle-Chamber*.

19. That Acts, Prohibiting Plowing by Horſe-tails, and burning of Oats in the Straw, be repealed.

20. That Courſe be taken againſt the Diſobedience of the Ceſſation and Peace.

21. That ſuch Graces as were promiſed by his Majeſty in the Fourth year of his Reign, and ſued for by a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament, and not expreſs'd in theſe Articles, may in the next enſuing Parliament be deſir'd of his Majeſty.

22. That Maritine Cauſes be determin'd here, without Appeal into *England*.

23. That the increaſe of Rents lately rais'd upon the Commiſſion of defective Titles, be repeal'd.

24. That all Intereſts of Money due by way of Debt, Mortgage, or other-

otherwiſe, and not yet ſatisfi'd ſince the 23. of *Octob.* 1641. to pay no more than 5*l. per Cent.* 1646.

25. That the Commiſſioners have power to determine all Caſes within their Quarters, until the perfection of theſe Articles by Parliament, and raiſe 10000 Men for his Majeſty.

26. That the Lord *Mountgarret*, *Muskery*, Sir *Dan. O Bryan*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, *Nich. Plunket*, *Rich. Bealing*, *Philip Mac-Hugh O Relie*, *Terlogh O Neal*, *Thomas Flemming*, *Patrick Darcy*, *Gerald Fennel*, and *Jeffery Brown*, or any five of them, be for the preſent Commiſſioners of the Peace, *Oyer and Terminer*, and Gaol-Delivery, in the preſent Quarters of the Confederate Catholicks; with power of Juſtice of Peace, *Oyer and Terminer*, and Gaol-Delivery, as in former times of Peace they have uſually had.

27. That none of the *Roman Catholick* Party, before there be a Settlement by Parliament, Sue, Implead, or Arreſt, or be Sued, Impleaded, or Arreſted, in any Court, other than before the Commiſſioners, or in the ſeveral Corporations, or other Judicatures within their Quarters.

28. That the Confederate Catholicks continue in their Poſſeſſions until Settlement by Parliament, and to be Commanded by his Majeſties Chief Governour, with the advice and conſent of the Commiſſioners, or any Five of them.

29. That all Cuſtoms, from the perfection of theſe Articles, are to be paid into his Majeſties Receipt, and to his uſe; as alſo all Rent due at *Eaſter* next, till a full Settlement of Parliament.

30. That the Commiſſioners of *Oyer and Terminer*, and Gaol-Delivery, ſhall have power to hear and determine all Offences committed or done, or to be committed or done, from the 15*th.* day of *September*, 1643. until the firſt day of the next Parliament.

Thus the Marqueſs having perform'd all on his part, that could be expected from him, and was in his power to do, and having receiv'd from other Parts all the aſſurance he could require, there being no other way of engaging the publick Faith of the Nation, than that to which they had ſo formally engaged themſelves to him in, he intended nothing then, but how his Majeſty might ſpeedily receive ſome fruit of that Peace and Accommodation he thence expected, by ſending aſſiſtance to him: And to that purpoſe, with advice, and upon invitation of ſeveral Perſons, who had great Authority and Power amongſt the Confederate Catholicks, the Lord Lieutenant took a Journey himſelf to *Kilkenny*, where he was receiv'd with that Reſpect and Reverence, as was due to his Perſon, and to the Place he held, and with ſuch expreſſions of Triumph and Joy, as gave him cauſe to believe, the People were glad to be again receiv'd into his Majeſty's Protection.

The LordLieutenant, upon Agreements on all ſides, repair'd to *Kilkenny*, expecting there to receive Advance for his Majeſty's Service.

A Protection his Majeſty evidences, (to his Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge**) That it was as inevitably neceſſary, that they ſhould not conſent to hinder him therein, as he had ſtrong Reaſons for the Ceſſation before, unleſs they could ſhew, how his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, may probably at leaſt defend themſelves, and that he ſhould have no more need to defend his Conſcience and Crown, from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

* In his Works, *fol.* 326.

At this Peace the *Iriſh* ſeem'd exceedingly enliven'd; but the ſhew thereof quickly vaniſh'd, and a cloud of Jealouſie began again to cover the Land. The Pope's Nuncio, and the titular Biſhops, who depended on

1646. on him, envi'd that Nation the happineſs and glory they foreſaw it would be poſſeſs'd of by the execution of that Agreement, and ſo without any colour of Authority, either by the old eſtabliſh'd Laws of that Kingdom, or thoſe Rules they had preſcrib'd to themſelves ſince the Rebellion they conven'd a Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*, a Town moſt at their devotion, where the Titular Biſhop of *Ferns* was in the Chair, and reſided: And therefore it will not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of their proceedings, that the unhappy, oppreſſed, and miſerable *Ireland* may clearly diſcern to whom it owes thoſe Preſſures and Grievances it is now overwhelm'd with, and whether that Biſhop be to be reckon'd in the number of thoſe, who ſuffer at preſent for his Zeal to Religion, his Allegiance to the King, and his Affection to his Countrey; or whether his name be to be inſerted in that Catalogue, which muſt derive to Poſterity the Authors and Fomentors of ſo odious and cauſleſs a Rebellion, in which ſuch a Sea of Blood hath been let out, and the Betrayers of the Honour and Faith of that Countrey and Nation, and who are no leſs guilty of extirpation of a Religion (they ſo much glory of) in that Kingdom, than *Ireton*, or *Cromwel*, or that impious Power, under which they have perpetrated all their Acts of Blood, Cruelty, and Deſolation.

A Congregation of Clergy are ſummon'd, contrary to his expectation, to *Waterford*.

At that time, the Parliament of *England* having accommodated the *Spaniard* with 2000 Men; he, in lieu thereof, ſo temper'd the *Iriſh*, (ever devoted to that Nation) that the *Spaniard* having then an Agent in *Ireland*, he took them off from doing any thing effectual in our King's buſineſs.

They inveigh againſt the Peace they had lately conſented to.

And the Congregation of the Clergy was no ſooner aſſembled, then (inſtead of preſcribing Acts of Charity and Repentance to the People, for the ill they had formerly done, and then inflaming their hearts with new Zeal, and infuſing pious Courage into them, to relieve and ſuccour the King from thoſe who oppreſſed him, according to their particular Obligation, by their late Agreement, which had been the proper Office of Prelates, and a Chriſtian Clergy) *they* began to inveigh againſt the Peace, (which themſelves had ſo lately approv'd, and ſo formally conſented unto) as if *it had not carefully enough provided for the advancement of Religion*, and would not ſuffer it to be proclaim'd in *Waterford*; and ſent their Emiſſaries and their Orders to all conſiderable Towns and Cities to incenſe the People againſt it, and againſt thoſe who wiſhed it ſhould take effect; inſomuch that when the King at Arms was Proclaiming the Peace at *Limerick*, (with that ſolemnity and Ceremony, as in ſuch caſes is uſed throughout the World, with his Coat of Arms, the Enſign of his Office, and accompani'd with the Mayor and Aldermen, and the moſt ſubſtantial of the Citizens, in their Robes, and with all the Enſigns of Magiſtracy and Authority) one *Molife*, a ſeditious Frier, ſtirr'd up the multitude againſt him; which being led on by one *Fanning*, a perſon notorious for many outrages and acts of Blood and Inhumanity in the beginning of the Rebellion, violently aſſaulted them, and after many opprobrious ſpeeches, in contempt of the Peace and the Authority of the King, and tearing off the Coat from the Herald, beat and wounded him, and many of the Magiſtrates of the City, and ſome of them almoſt to death: And leaſt all this might be excuſed, and charitably interpreted to be the effect of a Popular and Tumultuous Inſurrection, the Lawful Mayor and other principal Officers who aſſiſted him (in the diſcharge of his

The King of Arms barbarouſly uſed at *Limerick*.

his Duty) were immediately diſplac'd, and *Fanning*, the impious Conductor of that Rabble, was made Mayor in his place; who, *by Letters from the Nuncio, was thanked for what he had done, and encouraged to proceed in the ſame way, and had the Apoſtolical Benediction beſtowed on him, for committing ſuch an outrage upon the Priviledged Perſon of an Herald, who in the name of the King came to proclaim Peace*: As by the Law of Nations muſt have been adjudged barbarous, and unpardonable in any part of the World where Civility is planted, if he had come to have denounced War. And yet all this while, the deſign it ſelf was carried with ſo great ſecreſie, that the Lord Lieutenant (proceeding in his Progreſs for the ſetling and compoſing the humours of the People, which he underſtood to have been in ſome diſorder by the infuſions of the ill-affected Clergy) never heard of any Force of Arms to ſecond and ſupport thoſe mutinous diſorders, till being near to the City of *Caſhell*, he was adverti'd by Letters from the Mayor, that *Owen O Neal*'s Army was marching that way, and had ſent terrible threats to that City if it preſum'd to receive the Lord Lieutenant. And ſhortly after he found, that *Owen O Neal* uſed all poſſible expedition to get between him and *Dublin*, that ſo he might have been able to have ſurpriſed and deſtroyed him; whereupon the Marquis found it neceſſary to loſe no time in returning thither, yet reſolved not onely to contain himſelf from any Acts of Hoſtility, but even from thoſe Treſpaſſes which are hardly avoidable upon Marches, and paid ſo preciſely for whatſoever was taken from the Inhabitants throughout all the Catholick Quarters, preſuming, that thoſe Perſons of Honour, who had tranſacted the Treaty, would have been able to have cauſed the Peace to be obſerved in deſpight of thoſe clamorous undertakers. 1646.

The Confederates treachery to cut off the Lord Lieutenant,

But when the Unchriſtian Congregation of *Waterford* had made this Eſſay of their Power and Juriſdiction, they made all poſſible haſt to propagate their Authority, and *declared the Peace to be void, and inhibited all Perſons to ſubmit thereunto, or to pay any Taxes, Impoſition, or Contribution which had been ſetled by the ſaid Agreement*; and without which, neither a ſtanding Army (which was to be applied to the Reduction of thoſe Towns and Provinces, which had put themſelves under the Protection of the Parliament of *England*, and never ſubmitted to the former Ceſſation, nor could be comprehended in the Peace) could be ſupported, or the 10000 Men rais'd to be tranſported into *England* for the ſuccour of the King, as had been ſo Religiouſly undertaken; which inclination of theirs, the People ſo readily obeyed and ſubmitted unto, *That they committed and delegated the intire and abſolute Power of Governing and Commanding, as well in Secular as Eccleſiaſtical Matters, to the Popes Nuncio*, who began his Empire with committing to Priſon the Commiſſioners who had been Inſtrumental in the Treaty, and making of the Peace by order of the general Aſſembly, and iſſued out an Excommunication againſt all thoſe who had or ſhould ſubmit to the Peace, (which comprehended all the Nobility and almoſt all the Gentry, and ſome of the Clergy) which Excommunication wrought ſo univerſally upon the minds of the People, that albeit all Perſons of Honour and Quality received infinite ſcandal, and well foreſaw the irreparable damage Religion it ſelf would undergo, by that unwarrantable Proceeding, and uſed their utmoſt Power to draw the People to obedience and ſubmiſſion to the ſaid Agreement, and to that purpoſe prevail'd ſo far

The Congregation at *Waterford* declared Peace void.

The *Nuncio*'s exorbitant carriage.

1646. with General *Preſton*, that he gave them reaſon to hope that he would joyn with them, for the vindication of the publick Faith, and the Honour of the Nation, and compel thoſe that oppos'd it to ſubmit to the Peace; Yet all theſe endeavours produced no effect, but concluded in unprofitable Reſentments and Lamentation: In the mean time, *Owen O Neil* (when he found himſelf diſappointed of his Deſign, to have cut off the Lord-Lieutenant before he ſhould reach *Dublin*) enter'd into the *Queens*-County, and committed all Acts of Cruelty and Outrage that could be imagined, took many Caſtles and Forts which belong'd to the King, and put all (who reſiſted) to the Sword, and his Officers in cold blood caus'd others to be murther'd, to whom they had promiſed Quarter, as Major *Pigot* and others of his Family: About the latter end of *June* this year, Major General *Monro* received a ſevere defeat from *Owen Roe O-Neil* at *Benburgh*, alias *Benburge* near *Charlemont* in the County of *Ardmagh*, whereby the whole Province was expoſed to the Rebels fury, in as much as if they had had the Courage or Policy to have proſecuted it, they might have deſtroyed all the *Scotch* Quarters, and endanger'd their Towns: but *Owen Roe* inſtead of proſecuting the Victory, went preſently with the Priſoners and Colours in Triumph to *Kilkenny*, ſo gave our Forces a breathing, whilſt the Parliament ſuſpecting his union with *Preſton*, immediately ordered 50000 *l.* out of the Exciſe, for the raiſing of more men for *Ireland*, and ſome Horſe beſides Foot, were preſently ſent over with Ammunition and other neceſſaries; theſe called at *Dublin*, but the Deſign being not then fit for their Reception, they were otherwiſe diſpoſed of. And ſhortly after the Nuncio prevail'd ſo much, that he united General *Preſton* to his Army, at which time he took this Oath.

The Oath taken by General *Preſton*.

I, A. B. *Swear and Proteſt that I will adhere to the preſent union of the Confederate* Roman Catholicks, *that reject the Peace lately agreed, and proclaimed at* Dublin, *and do nothing by Word, Deed, Writing, Advice, or otherwiſe to the Prejudice of that Union, and will to the uttermoſt of my Power advance, and further the Good and Preſervation of it, and of his Majeſties Rights, and the Priviledges of free-born Subjects, to the Natives of this Kingdom.*

The Nuncio beſieges the Lord Lieutenant in *Dublin*, and the Conſequences thereof.

And then the Nuncio (as Generaliſſimo) lead both Armies towards *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant was ſo ſurprized with their Perfidiouſneſs, that he found himſelf in no leſs ſtraights and diſtreſſes from his Friends within, then from his Enemies without, who totally neglected thoſe Forces, which (being under the obedience of the Parliament of *England*) had always waged a ſharp and bloody War with them, and at preſent made inroads into their Quarters to their great damage, and intirely ingaged themſelves to ſuppreſs the Kings Authority, to which they had ſo lately ſubmitted.

Leſt ſo prodigious an alteration, as is now ſet forth, may ſeem to be wrapt up in too ſhort a diſcourſe, and it may appear almoſt incredible, that an Agreement ſo deliberately and ſolemnly entred into by the whole Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, in a Matter that ſo intirely concern'd their own Intereſt, ſhould in ſuch an inſtant be blaſted and anihilated

anihilated by a Congregation of Clergy, aſſembled onely by their own authority; And therefore, without the vice of curioſity, all men may deſire to be inform'd by what Degrees and Method that Congregation proceeded, and what ſpecious Pretences and Inſinuations they us'd towards the People, for the better perſwading them to depart from that Peace, they were even again reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of: It will not be impertinent therefore to ſet down ſome important particulars of their Proceedings, and the very forms of ſome Inſtruments publiſh'd by them, that the World may ſee the Logick and Rhetorick that was uſed to impoſe upon, and delude that unhappy People, and to intangle them more in that Labyrinth of Confuſion, wherein they were long involved. 1646.

They were not content not to ſuffer the Peace not to be proclaimed in *Waterford*, and to diſſwade the People from ſubmitting to it: But by a Decree dated the 12 day of *Auguſt*, 1646. (which they commanded to be publiſhed in all places, in the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Tongue) they declared by the unanimous conſent and votes of all, even none contradicting (as they ſay) *That all and ſingular the Confederate Catholicks who ſhould adhere or conſent to the Peace, or to the Fautors thereof, or otherwiſe embrace the ſame, ſhould be held* abſolute perjur'd; *eſpecially for this cauſe*, that in thoſe Articles there is no mention made of the Catholick Religion, or the ſecurity thereof, or any care taken for the Conſervation of the Priviledges of the Country, as had been promiſed in an Oath formerly taken by them, *but rather all things referred to the Pleaſure of the moſt renowned King, from whom in his preſent ſtate (they ſaid) nothing of certainty could be had: And in the Interim the Armies, and Arms, and Fortunes (even the Supream Council it ſelf) of the Confederate Catholicks were ſubjected to the Authority and Rule of the Council of State, and Proteſtant Officers of his Majeſty, from whom that they might be ſecured, they had taken that Oath.*

Some of the Supream Council being appointed to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, the Nuncio admoniſhes them not to proceed.

And the next day, being informed, that the Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, and Lord Viſcount *Muskery*, were appointed by the Supream Council at *Kilkenny*, to go to *Dublin*, to conter with the Lord Lieutenant, upon the beſt way to be purſued, for the execution and obſervation of the Peace: they made an Order in Writing, in which were theſe words; *We admoniſh in our Lord, and require the Perſons who are departed to* Dublin, *that they forbear and abſtain from going thither for the ſaid end, or if they be gone, that they return, and this under pain of Excommunication, commanding the Right Honourable the Biſhop of* Oſſory, *and other Biſhops, as well aſſembled as not aſſembled here, and their Vicars General, as alſo Vicars Apoſtolical, and all Prieſts, even Irregulars, that they intimate theſe Preſents, or cauſe to be intimated, even by affixing them in publick places; and that they proceed againſt the diſobedient, in denouncing of Excommunication, as it ſhould ſeem expedient in our Lord.*

When the Supream Council, notwithſtanding theſe new Orders and Injunctions, continued ſtill their deſire to obſerve the Peace; The titular Biſhop of *Oſſory*, publiſht this extraordinary Writing.

WHereas, we have in publick and private meetings at ſeveral times, declared to the Supream Council, and others whom it might concern; That it was, and is unlawful, and againſt conſcience, the implying Perjury (as it hath been defined by the ſpecial Act of the Convocation at Waterford)

1646. *to both Common-Wealths, Spiritual and Temporal, to do or concur to any Act, tending to the approbation or countenancing the Publication of this unlawful and miſchievous Peace, ſo dangerous (as it is now Articled) to both Common-Wealths, Spiritual and Temporal; And whereas, notwithſtanding our Declaration, yea the Declaration of the whole Clergy of the Kingdom to the contrary, the Supream Council and the Commiſſioners, have actually proceeded to the Publication, yea, and forcing it upon the City, by terror and threats, rather then by any free conſent or deſire of the People: We having duly conſidered and taken it to heart (as it becometh us) how enormous this Fact is, and appears in Catholicks, even againſt God himſelf, and what a Publick Contempt of the Holy Church it appeareth, beſide the evil it is like to draw upon this poor Kingdom, after a mature Deliberation and Conſent of our Clergy, in Deteſtation of this hainous and ſcandalous Diſobedience of the Supream Council, and others who adhered to them, in matter of conſcience to the Holy Church, and in hatred of ſo ſinful and abominable an Act, do by theſe Preſents, according to the Preſcription of the Sacred Cannons, pronounce and command henceforth a general Ceſſation of Divine Offices, throughout all the City and Suburbs of* Kilkenny, *in all Churches, Monaſteries, and houſes in them whatſoever.*

Given at our Palace of *Nova Curia*, the 18*th*. of *Auguſt*, 1646. *Signed*,

David Oſſorienſis.

That nothing yet might be ill reſented of by the Lord Lieutenant, the Supream Council wins on his Patience.

This extravagant Proceeding, did not yet terrifie thoſe of the Confederate Catholicks, who underſtood, (as they pretended) how neceſſary the obſervation of the Peace was, for the preſervation of the Nation; But as they deſired the Lord Lieutenant, to forbear all acts of Hoſtility, upon how unreaſonable a Provocation ſoever; So they ſent two Perſons of the Supream Council, (Sir *Lucas Dillon*, and Dr. *Fennel*) to the Congregation at *Waterford*, to diſpoſe them to a better temper, and to find out ſome Expedient, which might compoſe the minds of the People, and prevent thoſe Calamities, that would unavoidably fall upon the Nation, upon their declining and renouncing the Peace, (which you muſt underſtand in them, to be very real;) But after they had attended ſeveral days, and offered many Reaſons and Conſiderations to them; The Congregation put a Period to all the Hopes and Conſultations of that nature, by iſſuing out a Decree of Excommunication, which they cauſed to be Printed in this Form, and in theſe Words, and with theſe Marginal Notes.

By

1646.

By John Baptiſt Rinuccini, *Archbiſhop and Prince of* Firmo, *and by the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of both Clergies of the Kingdom of* Ireland.

A Decree of Excommunication againſt ſuch as adhere to the late Peace, and do bear Arms for the Hereticks of *Ireland*, and do aid or aſſiſt them.

The Nuncio's Excommunication.

NOt without Cauſe (*ſaith the Oracles of Truth*) *doth the Miniſter of God carry the Sword, for he is to puniſh him that doth Evil, and remunerate him that doth Good; hence it is that we have by our former Decrees, declared to the World our ſence, and juſt Indignation againſt the late Peace, Concluded and Publiſhed at* Dublin, *not onely in its nature, bringing prejudice, and deſtruction of Religion and Kingdom, but alſo contrary to the Oath of Aſſociation, and withall againſt the Contrivers of, and Adherers to the ſaid Peace: In purſuance of which Decrees, being forced to unſheath the Spiritual Sword, We (to whom God hath given power to bind and looſe on Earth) aſſembled together in the Holy Ghoſt, tracing herein, and imitating the Examples of many Venerable, and holy Prelates, who have gone before us, and taking for our Authority, the Sacred Canons of Holy Church, grounded on Holy Writ,* Ut tollantur èmedio noſtrum qui hoc opus faciunt Domini noſtri Jeſu *deliver over ſuch Perſons to Satan, (that is to ſay,) We Excommunicate, Execrate, Anathematize, all ſuch as, after the Publication of this our Decree, and notice either Privately or Publickly given to them hereof, ſhall defend, adhere to, or approve the Juſtice of the ſaid Peace: and chiefly thoſe, who bear Arms, or make, or joyn in War with, for, or in behalf of the Puritans, or other Hereticks of* Dublin, Cork, Youghall, *of other places within this Kingdom, or ſhall either (by themſelves, or by their appointment) bring, ſend, or give any Aid, Succour, or Relief, Victuals, Ammunition, or other Proviſion to them; or by advice, or otherwiſe, advance the ſaid Peace, or the War, made againſt us; Thoſe, and every of them, by this preſent Decree, We do declare, and pronounce Excommunicated,* ipſo facto, ut non circumveniamini à Satana, non enim ignoramus Cogitationes ejus.

Matth. 16. 18, 19. John 20. 23.

2 Cor. 2. 11.

Dated at Kilkenny, *in our Palace of Reſidence, the* 5th. *day of* October, 1646.

Signed.

Johannes Baptiſta, Archiepiſcopus *Firmanus*, Nuncius Apoſtolicus, de Mandato Illuſtriſſimi Domini Nuncij & Congregationis Eccleſiaſticæ utriuſque, Cleri Regni *Hiberniæ*, *Nicholas Firmence* Congregationis Cancellarius.

The

1646. The Nuncio having thus fortifi'd himself, made great preparations to march with two Armies to *Dublin*, which (consisting of 16000 Foot, and as many hundred Horse) he believ'd, or seem'd to believe, would take the Town by Assault as soon as he should appear before it; and in this confidence (that we may not interrupt the series of this Discourse by any intervening action) when the Armies were within a days march of the City, the two Generals sent this Letter, with the Propositions annexed, to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Excellency,

The two Generals, *Preston* and *O Neil*, being with the Nuncio, engaged to sit down before *Dublin*, sends a Letter with Propositions.

BY the Command of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, who offer the inclosed Propositions, we have under our Leading two Armies; our thoughts are best to our Religion, King and Countrey; our ends to establish the first, and make the two following secure and happy: It is the great part of our care and desires to purchase your Excellency to the effecting of so blessed a work. We do not desire the effusion of blood; and to that purpose, the inclosed Propositions are sent from us; we pray to God your consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your Excellency to render an Answer to them by two of the Clock in the afternoon on Thursday *next, be it War or Peace. We shall endeavour in our Ways to exercise Faith and Honour; and upon this thought we rest.*

From the Camp,
2. March, 1646.

Your Excellencies most humble Servants,
J. Preston, Owen O Neile.

1. That the exercise of the *Romish* Religion be in *Dublin*, *Tredagh*, and in all the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as free and as publick, as it is now in *Paris* in *France*, or *Bruxels* in the *Low-Countreys*.

2. That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council-Table, be of Members true and faithful to his Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspition of going to the Parliament Party.

3. That *Dublin*, *Tredagh*, *Trim*, *Newry*, *Catherlagh*, *Carlingford*, and all Garrisons within the Protestant Quarters, be Garrison'd by Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the said Cities and Places for the use of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, and his Lawful Successors, for the defence of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

4. That the present Council of the Confederates shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain, for the use of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, and for the defence of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, the above Cities of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, and all other Forts, Places, and Castles, as above.

5. That the said Council, and all General Officers and Soldiers whatsoever, do swear and Protest to fight by Sea and Land against the Parliamentarians, and all the Kings Enemies: And that they will never come to any Convention, Agreement or Article with the said Parliamentarians, or any the Kings Enemies, to the prejudice of his Majesties Rights, or of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

6. That

6. That according to our Oath of Aſſociation, we will, to the beſt of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Kings Rights, the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects. 1646.

His Excellency is prayed to make Anſwer to the above Propoſitions, at furtheſt by two of the Clock in the afternoon on *Thurſday* next.

J. Preſton, Owen O Neile.

The Lord Lieutenant in great ſtraits at the approach of the *Nuncio* to *Dublin.*

Let all dis-paſſionate men now conſider what could the Marquis do, his Quarters were ſo ſtrait and narrow, that they could yield no ſupport to the few Forces he had left; all his Garriſons beſieg'd; without, an Enemy; being deſtitute of all Proviſions within: all the Army he had for the Field and Garriſons amounted not to 5000 Foot and 1100 Horſe; without Cloathes, Money, or Fixed Arms; and with ſo inconſiderable a Store of Ammunition, that when the *Nuncio* was upon his march towards *Dublin*, he had not in that moſt important City (the Metropolis of the Kingdom) more than 14 Barrels of Powder: So that not onely the Inhabitants, but the Soldiers themſelves, grew impatient of the diſtreſſes they were in, and which inevitably they ſaw muſt fall upon them; and they who had before preſum'd in corners and whiſpers, *to tax the Marquis of not being zealous enough of the* Engliſh *Intereſt, and too credulous of what was promiſed and undertaken by the* Iriſh, had now the boldneſs to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combined with the *Iriſh* to put all into their hands: They who from the beginning of the Troubles had been firm and unſhaken in their Duty and Loyalty to the King, and chearfully ſuffered great loſſes, and undergone great hazards for being ſo, and been of the moſt conſtant affection to, and confidence in, the Marquis, and reſolved to obey him in whatſoever he ſhould order for the King's Service, for the conducting whereof, he was ſolely and entirely truſted by his Majeſty, could not yet endure to think of being put into, or falling under the power of the *Iriſh*, who, by this new breach of Faith, had made themſelves utterly uncapable of any future Truſt; for what ſecurity could they publickly give for performance of the Contract, which they had not lately given for the obſervation of that, which ſo infamouſly they had receded from? Whereupon he found it abſolutely neceſſary to make a ſhew of inclining to the *Engliſh*; and ſent to the Ships then riding in the Bay of *Dublin*, that they would tranſport ſome Commiſſioners from him to the Parliament, to treat about the ſurrender of the City, and the other Garriſons under his Command. Which Propoſition was embrac'd by them, and the Perſons deputed * accordingly conveyed into *England*: By this means the Marquis was forthwith ſupplied with 20 Barrels of Powder, which the Captain of thoſe Ships delivered to him the 10*th.* of *March*, by the permiſſion of the Lord *Liſle*, the Parliaments Lord Lieutenant, without which, he could have made no defence againſt the *Nuncio*: whereby the *Iriſh* had a fair warning to bethink themſelves (in time) of returning to their Duty, ſince they might diſcern, that if they would not ſuffer *Dublin*, &c. to continue in the Kings obedience, it ſhould be delivered to them who would deal leſs graciouſly with them, and had power enough to puniſh thoſe indignities which had been offered. And the Marquis was ſtill without other Engagement, than to do what he ſhould judge moſt conducing to his Majeſties Service.

Upon the *Iriſh* breach of faith, the Lord Lieutenant made a ſhew of delivering all into the Parliaments hands.

* Sir *Gerr. Lowther*, Lord Chief Baron. Sir *Francis Willoughby*, Sir *Paul Davis*, Knights.

However,

1646. However, the Rebels persisted in their intentions against *Dublin*, where for a while we must leave them, and see what course the Parliament took to infest their Quarters: much they were concern'd, that affairs went not on so successfully there as they expected, where that they might have one Governour (answerable to the exigencies of that Kingdom) they Voted *Philip* Viscount *Lisle* Lord Lieutenant, passing thereupon, in *April*, 1646. a Patent to him for one year, allotting him 40000 *l.* with what else was requisite for his dispatch; in raising which, they were so slow, (many of the House being of an opposite Party) as he could not get away from *London* till the 1*st.* of *Febr.* 1646. arriving at *Bristol.* the 6*th.* where he found several of his own Troops, and his Brother Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*'s in readiness to be transported for *Ireland*: But Money being not come, he was forc'd to Quarter them thereabouts till its arrival; and himself with 30000 *l.* 7 Pieces of Battery, 1000 Muskets, 100 Barrels of Powder, embarqu'd the 18*th.* at *Minhead*, and landed near *Cork* the 20*th.* and came thither the day following, where he was altogether unexpected, (especially by the Lord *Inchequin*) he found things in great disorder, the Army filled with Officers disaffected to him, the Custodiums and Contributions no way manag'd to the publick advantage; thereupon reform'd the defects, and marching the 15*th.* of *March* to visit *Talloe*, *Lismore*, *Toughall*, *Fermoy*, and other Places, found the Countrey protected even to the Walls of the Protestant Garrisons, so as no mischief could be done by them to the Rebels; and about the 20*th.* of *March*, *Knockmohun* was delivered to him. He order'd all things for the best advantage of the Interest he was put upon; and finding his Commission was near expir'd, the General Officers petition'd, that in case his Lordship were not continued, the Command of the Army might rest in them: which the Lord President with others oppos'd. The Lord Lieutenant's Commission determin'd the 15*th.* of *April*, 1647. And shortly after such animosities arose betwixt the Parliaments Commissioners and the Lord *Inchequin*, as doubtless (if some Privy Counsellors had not interpos'd) great inconveniencies would certainly thence have risen. The Lord *Lisle* (accompani'd with the Lord *Broghil* and Colonel *Sidney*) went presently for *England*, and arriv'd at *London* about the beginning of *May* following, taking the first occasion to give the House an account * of his Journey; which may be looked on as a Dream more than a Truth, (considering the shortness of the Expedition) though none could more prudently have acted, whilst he was upon the Place; nor was there any whom the Soldiers would more readily obey, such was his Courage, so great his Integrity. The Lord *Broghil* and Sir *Arthur Loftus*, at the same time preferr'd Articles against the Lord *Inchequin*: But the Parliament was so imbroil'd about the Disbanding the Independent Army, (then mutinous) and *Inchequin* had so many (to favour themselves) countenanc'd him, as little, if any thing, became of the Impeachment.

The Parliament of *England* Voted *Philip* Lord *Lisle* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland.*

He arrives in *Ireland.*

Knockmohun, a strong Garrison, Sir *Rich. Osborn* Governour.

His Expedition with his Commission soon determin'd, being oppos'd by those who afterwards were accus'd.

* 7*th.* of *May.*

But to return to the Confederates, who (when they saw the Ships return'd from *England* with Supplies of Soldiers, Money, and great store of Provisions, and the Commissioners to treat with the Marquis for putting all into the Parliaments hands) rais'd the Siege, seeming less united amongst themselves, and desirous to make Conditions with the Lord Lieutenant; whilst General *Preston* and his Officers frankly entred into a Treaty with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, whom the Lord Lieutenant authoriz'd to that end, and with deep and solemn Oaths undertook and promised

The Confederates (upon Recruits out of *England*) piece again with the Lord Lieutenant.

miſed to ſtand to the Peace, and from thenceforth to be obedient to his Majeſties Authority, and to joyn with the Marquis of *Ormond* againſt all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit unto them. On the other ſide, the Commiſſioners from the two Houſes of Parliament *, who were admitted into *Dublin* to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, obſerving the very ill condition the Town was in, beſieged by two ſtrong Armies, by whom they within expected every hour to be aſſaulted, concluded, that the want of Food, and all neceſſaries for defence, would compel the Marquis, with the importunity and clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supplies of Men, Money, and Victuals, which they had brought upon any terms; and therefore ſtifly inſiſted on their Propoſitions, refuſing to conſent, that the Marquis ſhould ſend any Meſſenger to the King, that, upon information how the caſe ſtood, he might receive his Majeſties direction what to do. And how the Parliament in *Ireland*, then in being, might be continued, which, by the delivering of the Sword, without his Majeſties pleaſure imparted, could not be ſecured from being diſſolved; and without which, he then reſolved not to proceed to any conjunction with them, and ſo had privately diſpatched ſeveral Expreſſes to the King (as ſoon as he diſcerned clearly, that the *Iriſh* were ſo terrifi'd by the *Nuncio* and his Excommunication, that there was little hope of good from them) with full information of the ſtate of Affairs, and expected every day a return of ſome of the ſaid Meſſengers, with ſignification of his Majeſties Pleaſure.

1646.

* Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Sir *Rob. King*. Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Rob. Meredith*, Knights, *Rich. Salway* Eſq.

The Lord Lieutenant not being admitted to ſend to the King, the Treaty with the Parliaments Agents broke off.

Thus the Treaty with the Marquis not ſucceeding, the Commiſſioners from the Two Houſes of Parliament return'd again to their Ships, about the end of *November*, and carried all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliaments Garriſons in the Province of *Ulſter*, being much incens'd againſt the Lord Lieutenant for declining an entire union with them, and inclining (as they ſaid he did) to a new confidence in the *Iriſh*: Yet they found but cold entertainment amongſt the *Scots*.

At which time, Dr. *John Maxwel*, formerly Biſhop of *Roſs* in *Scotland*, now Archbiſhop of *Tuam* in *Ireland*, hearing of Commiſſioners from the Parliament of *England*, grew ſo envenom'd thereat, (ſuſpecting the Covenant, which he had ever abhorr'd, ſhould be impoſed) as fiercely imprecating it; and being broken with the calamities of the Times, he di'd the 14*th*. of *Febr*. 1646. and was buried in *Trinity Church*, *Dublin*, at the munificence of the Marquis of *Ormond*.

By this time the Marquis of *Clanrickard* had an entire truſt (anſwerable to what he had begun to treat of with General *Preſton*) from the Lord Lieutenant, as a Perſon ſuperiour to all temptations, which might endeavour to leſſen or divert his Affection and Integrity to the King, or his Zeal to the *Romiſh Catholick* Religion, in which he had been bred, and to which he had moſt conſtantly adher'd; he had taken great pains to render the Peace, which had been ſo long in conſultation, effectual to the Nation, and had both by Diſcourſe and Writing endeavour'd to diſſwade the *Nuncio* from proſecuting thoſe rough ways, which he foreſaw were like to undo the Nation, and diſhonour the Catholick Religion: He found General *Preſton* and the Officers of his Army leſs tranſported with paſſion, and a blind ſubmiſſion to the Authority of the *Nuncio* than the other, and that they profeſſed greater duty and obedience to the King, and that they ſeem'd to be wrought on by two Concluſions, which had been ſpeciouſly infus'd into them: The *firſt* was, that the Lord

The Marquis of *Clanrickard*'s fidelity.

1646. Lieutenant was ſo great an Enemy to their Religion, that though they ſhould obtain any Conditions from the King to their advantage in that particular, he would oppoſe, and not conſent unto the ſame. The *other*, that the King was now in the hand of the *Scots*, who were not like to approve that Peace had been made, all that Nation in *Ulſter* refuſing to ſubmit to it. And if they ſhould be able to procure any Order from his Majeſty to diſavow it, the Lord Lieutenant would undoubtedly obey it. Theſe ſpecious infuſions the Marquis of *Clanrickard* endeavour'd to remove, and undertook upon his Honour to uſe all the Power and Intereſt which he had in the King, Queen, and Prince, on behalf of the *Romiſh Catholicks*, and to *procure* them ſuch Priviledges, and Liberty for the free exerciſe of their Religion, as they could reaſonably expect: *And undertook*, that the Lord Lieutenant would acquieſce with ſuch directions as he ſhould receive therein without contradiction, or endeavour to do ill Offices to the Catholicks. *He* further *promiſed*, that if any Order ſhould be procured from the King during the reſtraint he was then in, to the diſadvantage of the Catholicks, then *He* would *ſuſpend* any obedience thereunto, until ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould be at liberty, and might receive full *information* on their behalf. And upon the Marquis of *Clanrickard's* poſitive undertaking theſe particulars; and the Lord Lieutenant having ratifi'd and confirm'd all that the Marquis had engag'd himſelf for, General *Preſton*, with all the Principal Officers under his Command, ſigned this enſuing Engagement.

Upon the Marquis of *Clanrickard's* free dealing with the Confederates, General *Preſton* and others ſign an Engagement.

WE the Generals, Nobility, and Officers of the Confederate Catholick Forces, do ſolemnly bind and engage our ſelves, by the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the Sacred Proteſtation upon the Faith of Catholicks, in the preſence of Almighty God, both for our ſelves, and, as much as in us lies, for all Perſons that are, or ſhall be under our Command, that we will from the Date hereof forward ſubmit and conform our ſelves entirely and ſincerely to the Peace concluded and proclaimed by his Majeſties Lieutenant, with ſuch additional Conceſſions and Securities, as the Right Honourable, Ulick *Lord Marquis of* Clanrickard *hath undertaken to procure and ſecure to us, in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch terms, as is expreſſed in his Lordſhips Undertakings, and Proteſtation of the ſame date hereunto annexed, and ſigned by himſelf: And we, upon his Lordſhips undertaking, engage our ſelves, by the Bond of Honour and Conſcience aboveſaid, to yield entire obedience to his Majeſties Lieutenant General, and General Governour of this Kingdom, and to all deriving Authority from them by Commiſſion to command us in our ſeveral Degrees: And that according to ſuch Orders as we ſhall receive from them, faithfully to ſerve his Majeſty againſt all his Enemies or Rebels, as well within this Kingdom, as in any other part of his Dominions, and againſt all Perſons that ſhall not joyn with us upon theſe terms, in ſubmiſſion to the Peace of this Kingdom, and to his Majeſties Authority: And we do further engage our ſelves, under the ſaid ſolemn Bonds, that we will never either directly or indirectly, make uſe of any advantage or power wherewith we ſhall be intruſted, to the obliging of his Majeſty or his Miniſters, by any kind of force, to grant unto us any thing beyond the ſaid Marquis of* Clanrickard's *undertaking, but ſhall wholely rely upon his Majeſties own free goodneſs, for what further Graces and Favours he ſhall be graciouſly pleas'd to confer upon his faithful Catholick*

1646.

Catholick Subjects in this Kingdom, according to their Obedience and Merit in his ſervice: And we do further proteſt, that we ſhall never eſteem our ſelves diſoblig'd from this engagement, by any Authority or Power whatſoever; provided on both Parties, that this engagement and undertaking be not underſtood, or extend to debar or hinder his Majeſties Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, from the benefit of any further Graces and Favours which his Majeſty may be graciouſly pleas'd to concede to them, upon the Queen's Majeſties Mediation, or any other Treaties abroad.

Upon this there ſeem'd to be ſome Agreement betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and Confederates, they taking Commiſſions from the Lord Lieutenant.

This was done about the end of *November*, 1646. at Sir *Nicholas White*'s Caſtle of *Leixleap*; the Nuncio, with the other Army under *Owen O Neal*, having been about the ſame time compelled to raiſe their Siege from *Dublin*, and to retire for want of Proviſions. Hereupon the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* was made by the Lord Lieutenant, Lieutenant General of the Army, and was accordingly receiv'd by General *Preſton*'s Army, being drawn in Battalia: And General *Preſton* at the ſame time receiv'd a Commiſſion from the Lord Lieutenant, to command as Serjeant Major General, and immediately under the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*. And ſhortly after, General *Preſton* deſired the Lord Lieutenant, to march with as ſtrong a Body as he could draw out of his Garriſons, towards *Kilkenny*, where he promiſed to meet him with his Army, that ſo being united, they might compel the reſt to ſubmit to the Peace.

And here, that you may have ſome Divertiſement, you ſhall ſee in what condition Hereticks are to be buried; to which end, we ſhall preſent you with a *Copy of a Cenſure, under the Hand of* Nicholas, *Biſhop of* Ferns, *againſt* Francis Talbot, *who died a Proteſtant.*

The Body of Francis Talbot, *who died an obſtinate Heretick, and finally therein impenitent, is to be buried in* Pœnam Hæreſeos, & finalis Impenitentiæ, nec non in terrorem aliorum, *with only one Candle at the Grave, at Nine of the Clock by Night, without a Bell in the Church or Street, without Prieſt, Croſs, Book, or Prayer; the Place of his Burial is to be in the Alley of St.* Mary's *Church-yard, near to the Garden of the Parſonage. All which, concerning the ſaid Burial, we have order'd to be done with the advice of Men learned in Divinity; and who ſhall exceed this Manner of the ſaid* Francis's *Burial, is to incur Church-Cenſures; no Wax Taper, or Candle, or Torch, is to be uſed.*

Given at the Fryers Monaſtery, *the laſt of* Decemb. 1646. Nicholaus *Epiſcopus* Fernenſis.

Yet after all the Officers of General *Preſton* being not Excommunication-proof, the Lord Lieutenant was again diſappointed.

When the Marqueſs was come within leſs than a day's March, of the Place aſſign'd by General *Preſton*, for the meeting and joyning their Forces together, the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, who attended upon the Lord Lieutenant, receiv'd a Letter from *Preſton* to this effect: *That his Officers being not Excommunication-proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's Party, and therefore he wiſhed, that the Lord Lieutenant would proceed no further, but to expect the iſſue of a General Aſſembly, that would be ſhortly*

1646. *conven'd at* Kilkenny, *where he doubted not but that Things would be ſet right by the Conſent of the whole Kingdom, which he ſaid would be much better for his Majeſty's Service, than to attempt forcing the Peace upon thoſe who were averſe to it.*

The Lord Lieutenant returns to *Dublin*, which being not able to ſupply his Soulders, they were forced to be quarter'd on the Countrey, where nothing but Victuals were taken by them.

Upon this new violation of Faith, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was compell'd (after ſome weeks ſtay in his Quarters) to return again to *Dublin*, where the Commiſſioners, who had been lately there from the two Houſes of Parliament, had ſowed ſuch ſeeds of Jealouſie and Diſcontent, as the Inhabitants refuſed to contribute further to the payment and ſupport of the Army, (being in truth ſo far exhauſted by what they had paid, and impoveriſhed by their total want and decay of Traffick and Commerce, as they were not able much longer to contribute) ſo that the Marqueſs was forced in the cold and wet Winter, to draw out his half ſtarved and half naked Troops, only to lye in the Enemy's Quarters, where yet he would ſuffer no Act of Hoſtility to be committed, or any thing elſe to be taken, but Victuals for the ſubſiſtence of his Men. And in this un-eaſie poſture, he reſolv'd to expect the reſult of the next General Aſſembly, which he ſuppos'd could not be ſo conſtituted, but that it would abhor the violation of the former Contracts and Agreements, and the in-excuſable Preſumption and Proceedings of the Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*; and that it would vindicate the Honour and Faith of the Nation, from the Reproaches it lay under, and from the exorbitant and extravagant Juriſdiction which the Nuncio had aſſumed. But he quickly found himſelf again diſappointed; and, to the univerſal wonder of all, the new Aſſembly publiſh'd a Declaration of a very new Nature: For whereas the Nuncio and his Party had committed to Priſon thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had been Commiſſioners in treating and concluding the Peace, and had given out threats and menaces, that they ſhould loſe their Heads for their Tranſgreſſion; the Aſſembly preſently ſet them at liberty, and *declared, That the Commiſſioners and Council had faithfully and ſincerely carried and demean'd themſelves in the ſaid Negotiation, purſuant, and according to the Truſt repoſed in them:* And yet, in the ſame Declaration, *declared, That they might not accept of, or ſubmit unto the ſaid Peace, and did thereby proteſt againſt it, and did declare the ſame invalid, and of no force to all intents and purpoſes.* And did farther *declare, That the Nation would not accept of any Peace, not containing a ſufficient ſatisfactory Security for the Religion, Lives, Eſtates and Liberties of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks.* And what they underſtood to be ſufficient and ſatisfactory for Religion, *&c.* appears by the Propoſitions publiſhed before by the Congregation at *Waterford*, which they had cauſed the People to ſwear that they would inſiſt upon; and which, inſtead of providing a Toleration of the *Romiſh Catholick* Religion, had, *in truth, prov'd for the extirpation of the Proteſtant, when they ſhould think fit to put the ſame in execution.* Nor was the only Argument and Excuſe, which they publiſhed for theſe Proceedings, more reaſonable, than the Proceedings themſelves, which was, *That the Conceſſions and Promiſes made unto them, by the Earl of* Glamorgan, *were much larger, and greater ſecurity for their Religion, than thoſe conſented to by the Marqueſs:* Whereas, in truth, thoſe Conceſſions and Promiſes made by the Earl, (as we have took notice) were diſ-avowed and diſ-own'd by the Lord Lieutenant, before the Peace was concluded, and the Earl committed to Priſon for his Preſumption; which though it produced ſome interruption in the Treaty, yet was the ſame

The Aſſembly at *Kilkenny* juſtifie the Commiſſioners, yet agreed with the Congregation at *Waterford.*

after

after reſumed, and the Peace concluded, and proclaimed upon the Articles formerly mention'd; ſo that the Allegation, of what had been undertaken by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, can be no excuſe, for their violating the Agreement afterwards concluded with the Marqueſs. Whereby it appears, (let the moſt favourable *Fucus* imaginable be put upon it) that though they releaſed the Commiſſioners for the Treaty, as juſtifiable, yet *Herod* and *Pilate* were then made Friends, each Party conſenting to dam the Peace. 1646.

This laſt wonderful Act put a period to all Hopes of the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, which Charity and Compaſſion to the Kingdom and Nation, and his diſcerning Spirit, would fain have cheriſht, in that in-evitable ruine and deſtruction *both* muſt undergo, from that diſtemper of mind that poſſeſſed them, and had ſo long boy'd them up, againſt his experience and judgement. And now thoſe whoſe Natures, Diſpoſitions, and Intereſt, made them moſt averſe to the Parliament of *England*, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the Power of the *Iriſh*; ſo that all Perſons of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his Government, and had diſlikes and jealouſies enough againſt each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions againſt the *Iriſh*. The Council of State beſought the Lord Lieutenant to conſider, whether it were poſſible to have any better ſecurity from them, for the performance of any other Agreement he ſhould make, than he had for the performance of that, which they now receded from, and diſclaimed. And ſince the Spring was now coming on, (whereby the number, power, and ſtrength of their Enemy would be increas'd on all ſides, and their hopes of Succours was deſperate, and ſo it would be only in his election into whoſe power he would put thoſe, (who had deſerved as well from his Majeſty by doing and ſuffering as Subjects could do) whether into the hands of the *Engliſh*, *who* could not deny them protection and juſtice, or of the *Iriſh*, *who* had not only diſpoil'd them of all their Fortunes, and proſecuted them with all animoſity and cruelty, but declared by their late carriage, that they were not capable of ſecurity under them) *they* therefore entreated him to ſend again to the two Houſes of Parliament, and make ſome agreement with *them*, which would probably be for their preſervation; whereas, with the other, what-ever could be done, it was evident it would be for their deſtruction. That which amongſt other things of importance made a deep impreſſion in the Marqueſs, was the knowledge, that there had been from the beginning of theſe Troubles, *a Deſign, in the principal Contrivers of them, entirely to alienate the Kingdom of* Ireland, *from the Crown of* England, *to extirpate not only the Proteſtant, but all the Catholicks, who were deſcended from the* Engliſh, *and who, in truth, are no leſs odious to the old* Iriſh, *than the other, and to put themſelves into the protection of ſome foreign Prince, if they ſhould find it impoſſible to erect ſome of the old Families.* And how impoſſible and extravagant ſoever this Attempt might reaſonably be thought, in regard, not only all the Catholicks of the *Engliſh* Extraction, who were in Quality and Fortune much ſuperiour to the other, but many Noble, and much the beſt and greateſt Families of the ancient *Iriſh*, perfectly abhorred and abominated the ſame, writ ſome. Yet it was apparent, that the violent Part of the Clergy, that now govern'd, had really that intention, and never intended more to ſubmit to the King's Authority, whoſoever ſhould be intruſted with it: And it had been propoſed in the laſt Aſſembly by Mr. *Anthony Martin*,

The *Iriſh* being in all things found treacherous, thoſe who were moſt averſe to the Parliament, yet now wiſhed the Lord Lieutenant might conclude with them.

The Lord Lieutenant's Conviction, that the *Iriſh* intended to renounce the Crown of *England*.

1646. A Motion to call in a forreign Prince.

Martin, and others, *That they ſhould call in ſome forreign Prince for protection*, from whom they had receiv'd Agents; as from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, *Monſieur de Monry*, and *Monſieur de Molin*; from his Catholick Majeſty, *Don Diego de Torres*, his Secretary; from the Duke of *Lorrain*, *Monſieur St. Katherine*; and from *Rome* they had *Petrus Franciſcus Scarampi*; and afterwards *Rinuccini*, Archbiſhop and Prince of *Fermo*, Nuncio Apoſtolick for *Ireland*, whoſe exorbitant Power was Earneſt enough, how little more they meant to have to do with the King, and (as it would be thought) gave no leſs an umbrage, offence and ſcandal, to the Catholicks, of Honour and Diſcretion, than it incenſed thoſe, who bore no kind of Reverence to the Biſhop of *Rome*; to whom (as their publick Miniſters) they ſent their Biſhop of *Ferns*, and Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, as before, Mr. *Richard Bealing*; to *Spain* they ſent Fa. *Hugh Bourk*; to *Paris*, Fa. *Matthew Hartegan*; and to the Duke of *Lorrain*, by general Commiſſion, *Theobald*, Lord Viſcount *Taaff*, Sir *Nich. Plunket*, and Mr. *Geoffry Brown*; ſome of whoſe Inſtructions we ſhall here give you, that the Temper of that Council, and the Affections of thoſe Men, (what pretence ſoever veils their Deſigns) may appear from the Inſtruments themſelves.

Kilkenny, 18. *Jan.* 1647.

By the Supream Council, and others, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, here under-Signing, and the Commons of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland.

Inſtructions to be obſerved, and by the Lord Biſhop of Fernes, *and* Nicholas Plunket *Eſq; Commiſſioners, appointed and authorized by, and in the behalf of the Confederate* Roman Catholicks *of* Ireland, *in the Court of* Rome.

Imprimis. YOu are to repreſent unto his Holineſs, the deplorable Condition wherein the Confederate Catholicks are; and for your better information, to take with you, the Draught of the Repreſentation of the preſent Condition of the Countrey, which you are to enlarge and ſecond by your own Expreſſions, according to your knowledge; and therefore deſire, in regard *Ireland* and Religion in it, is (humanely ſpeaking) like to be loſt, that his Holineſs, in his great Wiſdom and Piety, will be pleaſed to make the Preſervation of a People, ſo conſtantly and unanimouſly Catholick, *his*, and the Conſiſtory of the Cardinals, *their Work*. And you are to pray his Holineſs, to afford ſuch preſent effectual Aids, for the preſervation of the Nation, and the *Roman Catholick* Religion therein, as ſhall be neceſſary.

2. You

1646.

2. You are to let his Holineſs know, That Application is to be made to our Queen and Prince, for a ſettlement of Peace and Tranquillity in the Kingdom of *Ireland:* And that for the effecting thereof, the Confederate Catholicks do crave his Holineſs's Mediation with the Queen and Prince, as alſo with the King and Queen Regent of *France*, and with the King of *Spain*, and all other Chriſtian Princes, in all Matters tending to the Avail of the Nation, either in point of ſettlement to a Peace, or otherwiſe.

3. The Confederate Catholicks, having raiſed Arms for the freedom of the Catholick Religion, do intend in the firſt place, that you let his Holineſs know their reſolution, to inſiſt upon ſuch Conceſſions and Agreements in Matters of Religion, and for the ſecurity thereof, as his Holineſs ſhall approve of, and be ſatisfied with; wherein his Holineſs is to be prayed, to take into his Conſideration, the imminent danger the Kingdom is in, according to the Repreſentations aforeſaid to be made by you, and ſo to proceed in Matters of Religion, as in his great Wiſdom and Piety may tend beſt, and prove neceſſary to the preſervation of it, and the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

4. You are to repreſent to his Holineſs, That the Confederates think fit to inſiſt upon, as ſecurity for ſuch Agreements in Religion, as his Holineſs will determine, that the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours of the Kingdom, from time to time, ſhould be *Roman Catholicks*, unleſs his Holineſs, upon the ſaid Repreſentation of State-Affairs here, or for ſome other Reaſon, ſhall think fit to wave that Propoſition.

5. You are to repreſent to his Holineſs, That the Confederate Catholicks deſire, that all the Conceſſions to be made, and agreed on, for the ſetling of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, be publiſht at the ſame time with the Temporal Articles of the Settlement, if his Holineſs, on repreſentation of the State of Affairs here, or for ſome other Advantages, ſhall not think fit to determine, or ſuſpend the publiſhing of thoſe or ſome of them for a time.

6. You are to repreſent to his Holineſs, That no change or alteration is to be in any part of the preſent Government of the Confederate Catholicks, until the Articles of Peace, or Settlement, purſuant to the preſent Authority and Inſtructions, you, and the Commiſſioners to the *Engliſh* Court in *France*, have been concluded, and expected, and publiſhed in this Kingdom, by thoſe intruſted in Authority over the Confederate Catholicks.

7. You are to take notice, That the reſident Council now named, are the Perſons to ſerve for the interval Government, until the next Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks, and the Aſſembly is at liberty to name others, if they pleaſe; and that no leſs than eight of the ſaid Reſidents concurring, during the ſaid interval, ſhall make any Act or Order, obliging, and according as it is provided in the former Articles for the interval Government, in the late *rejected Peace*, the Forts, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and Power of the Armies of the Confederate Catholicks, to remain and continue in their hands, during the ſaid interval Government.

8. You are to take notice, That the Perſons to be imployed into *France* to the Queen and Prince, are to finiſh their Negotiation with the Queen and Prince, purſuant to their Inſtructions, with all poſſible ſpeed, after they

1646. they ſhall receive his Holineſs's Reſolution from you out of *Rome*, in the Matters referred as aforeſaid to his Holineſs; and you are to uſe all poſſible diligence, in procuring and ſending his Holineſs's ſaid Reſolution unto our ſaid Commiſſioners, imployed to the Queen and Prince.

9. In caſe his Holineſs will not be pleaſed to deſcend to ſuch Conditions, as might be granted in Matters of Religion, then you are to ſolicit for conſiderable Aids, whereby to maintain War, and to aſcertain and ſecure the ſame, that it may be timely applied to the uſe of the Confederate Catholicks. And in caſe a Settlement cannot be had, nor conſiderable Aids, that may ſerve to preſerve the Nation without *a Protector*, you are to make application to his Holineſs, for his being *Protector to this Kingdom*, and by ſpecial inſtance to endeavour his acceptance thereof at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as the Inſtructions ſent by our Agents to *France*, grounded on the Aſſembly, doth import, whereof you are to have a Copy.

10. Though Matters be concluded by his Holineſs's Approbation with the Prince and Queen, yet you are to ſolicit for Aids, conſidering our diſtreſs, and ſetting before him, that notwithſtanding any ſuch Aids, we have a powerful Enemy within the Kingdom, which to expulſe, will require a vaſt charge.

11. You are to take with you for your inſtruction, and the better to enable you to ſatisfie his Holineſs of the full ſtate of Affairs here, the Copies of the Inſtructions at *Waterford*, the Articles of the late rejected Peace, and *Glamorgan*'s Conceſſions, and the Propoſitions from *Kilkenny*, to the Congregation at *Waterford*, in *Auguſt*, 1646.

12. If Moneys be receiv'd in *Rome* by you by way of Gift, Engagement, or otherwiſe, you are to bring, or ſend the ſame hither, to thoſe in Authority, and not to diſpoſe the ſame, or any part thereof, otherwiſe than by Order from the general Aſſembly, or ſupream Council; and for all ſums of Money ſo by you to be receiv'd, you are to give account to the Authority intruſted here over the Confederate Catholicks.

13. You are to manage the circumſtance of your Proceedings upon the Inſtructions, according as upon the Place you ſhall find moſt tending to the Avail of the Confederate Catholicks.

Tho. Dublin. *Tho. Caſhell.*

Thom. Tuamen Electus, *Ewerus Clougherenſis*, *David Oſſorienſ. Joha.* Epiſc. *Roſcotenſis* Fr. *Edmundus Laglenſis*, *Franc. Ardenſis* Epiſc. *Robert. Elect.* Coſes & Cluomer, *Franciſ. Patricius* Ardack. Electus, *Rob. Dromore* Elect. *Henry O Neal*, *Rich. Bealing*, *J. Bryan*, *Robert. Devereux*, *Gerald Fennel*, *Farren.*

By the Command of the General Aſſembly,

N. Plunket.

Theſe having been ſolicited, we ſhall now preſent you with their further Inſtructions, to importune other Princes.

Inſtructions

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Inſtructions for France, Jan. 18. 1647.

YOu are to preſent your Letters of Credence, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the ſeveral Letters you have with you, to the Queen, the Prince and Cardinal *Mazarine*, declaring the ſpecial affection of the Confederate Catholicks, to his Majeſties ſervice, upon all occaſions, wherein they may ſerve him.

You are to deſire his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, their Favourable and Friendly regard of the Affairs of the Confederate Catholicks, and to direct their aſſiſtance in what they may, to further the ſettling of the happy Peace of this Kingdom, with advantagious, and honourable Conditions, Commiſſioners being now ſent, to conclude the ſame, if they may.

You are to let his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Mazarine* know, That there be a conſiderable Enemy, in the heart of the ſeveral Provinces of this Kingdom; that yet we have many Cities and Parts, of the greateſt conſequence in our hands, and have ſufficient ſtock of Men, to defend the Nation, and expel the Enemy, but do want aids of Money and Shipping, without which, we ſhall be in danger, the next Summer-ſervice; and therefore to ſolicite for conſiderable Aids in Moneys, to be ſent timely, the preſervation of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, depending thereon.

If you find upon the place, that a ſettlement of Peace cannot be had, according to the ſeveral Inſtructions, that go with the Commiſſioners to his Holineſs, and Chriſtian Majeſty, and Prince of *Wales*, nor ſuch conſiderable Aids, that may probably prove for the Preſervation of the Nation; then you are to inform your ſelf, by correſpondence with our Commiſſioners imployed to *Rome*, whether his Holineſs will accept of this offer, of being *Protector* to this Nation; and if you find he will not accept thereof, nor otherwiſe ſend ſuch powerful and timely Aids, as may ſerve to preſervation, then you are by advice of other the Commiſſioners imployed to his Majeſty, and Prince of *Wales*, and by correſpondence had with the Commiſſioners imployed to *Rome*, and by correſpondence likewiſe with our Commiſſioners imployed ſince, if it may be timely had, to inform your ſelf, where the moſt conſiderable Aids for preſerving this Nation may be had, by this offer of the Protectorſhip of the Nation, in manner, as by other Inſtructions into *France*, grounded on the ſame of the Aſſembly is contain'd, and ſo to manage the diſpoſal of the Protectorſhip, as you, and the reſt of our ſaid Commiſſioners, ſhall find moſt for the advantage of the Nation.

The like Inſtructions for Spain, *bearing the ſame Date.*

Upon theſe, and other conſiderations, ever in his view, the Marqueſs thought it much more prudent and agreeable to the Truſt repoſed in him, to depoſite the Kings Intereſt, and Right of the Crown of *Ireland*, into the hands of the Lords and Commons of *England*, who ſtill made great profeſſion of Duty and Submiſſion to his Majeſty, from whom it would

1646. probably return to the Crown in a ſhort time, then to truſt it with the *Iriſh*, from whom leſs then a very chargeable War, would never recover it, in what ſtate ſoever the Affairs of *England* ſhould be; and how laſting, and bloody, and coſtly, that War might prove, by the intermedling and pretences of Foraign Princes, was not hard to conclude: *In that ſuch Auxiliaries, many times prove dangerous Aſſiſtance, not being overtender, or much diſtinguiſhing betwixt the Party they come to aſſiſt, and that they come to ſubdue, when they are made Umpires in ſuch Quarrels*; as may be gueſſed by the Accompt in the 14*th.* Appendix: of which the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Ireland*, being very ſenſible, they thus in *March* expreſſed themſelves, and their condition, to the Parliament of *England*.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, aſſembled in *Ireland*, of the preſent Eſtate, and diſtreſſed Condition of the Proteſtants in the ſaid Kingdom, and their Addreſs unto the moſt Honourable, the Parliament of *England*, for Relief.

WE, the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Ireland, *having by the Mercy of God, your Care of us, and the Induſtry of thoſe intruſted by his Majeſty, with the Government here, preſerved unto us, the means of ſitting together, and of delivering freely our thoughts, concerning the condition of this miſerable Kingdom, whereof we are the repreſentative Body, and finding withall the Government, our Selves, and indeed the Proteſtants in the Kingdom, reduced to that final point of Extremity, that if not very ſpeedily ſupported and preſerved, all in theſe Parts muſt become a Prey unto the bloody and inhumane Rebels, and this City of* Dublin, *the chief Seat and Cittadel of this Kingdom, with the other Garriſons depending thereupon, be turn'd into the prime Seats and Strengths of thoſe, who have given* evident proof, that they aim not at leſs, then the extirpation of all Proteſtants, and the ſetting up the abominable Idol of the Maſs, and Superſtition, and at the ſhaking off of all Loyalty and Subjection to the Crown of *England*: *We therefore hold it our duty (as being alſo perhaps the laſt, which we by reaſon of the near approach of a powerful and pernicious Enemy, may have the means to diſcharge in this Capacity) to make the preſent Addreſs, and Repreſentation of our miſerable Condition, to the moſt Honourable the Parliament of* England, *which, as it hath, in all times of common Danger, been the Fountain, from whence the Power and Luſtre of the Crown of* England *in this Kingdom, hath ſprung, ſo it is now the onely Sanctuary, unto which (in behalf of our ſelves, and the diſtreſſed Intereſt thereof) we can fly for Succour and Preſervation. We hold it un-neceſſary to particularize our preſent Wants, and Miſeries, and Impoſibilities of further ſubſiſtance of our*

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our ſelves, ſince they are too well known, even to our Enemies, in ſo much as it may be feared, that the beneſit which we confidently expect, by the great diligence and Wiſdom of the moſt Honourable, the Parliament of England, *may not arrive timely, for our Relief and Preſervation; nor can we ſo miſdoubt the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Piety, of thoſe Honourable Houſes (whereof we have had heretofore, very real and great experience, which we do here with all thankfulneſs acknowledge) as to fear that they will ſuffer the Proteſtant Religion, the Intereſt of the Crown of* England, *and of the Proteſtants in theſe important Garriſons, and Quarters, to be ſacrificed unto the fury of the mercileſs Rebels; But on the contrary, as we do earneſtly deſire, ſo are we moſt confident, that the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of the moſt Honourable, the Parliament of* England, *will ſo ſeaſonably ſend over a ſufficient Power, as well to ſubdue and ſuppreſs theſe mercileſs and bloody Rebels, as to maintain theſe places, accompanied with an aſſurance from the moſt Honourable, the Parliament of* England, *for enjoying thoſe Conditions of Honour, ſubſiſtance and ſafety, which have been lately offered by their Commiſſioners, for, and in the name of the moſt Honourable, the Parliament of* England, *to thoſe who have hitherto govern'd and preſerved them, and to his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, and thoſe who have faithfully and conſtantly adhered unto them, unto which they may be pleaſed to joyn ſuch further additions of Grace and Bounty, as to their Wiſdoms and Goodneſs, ſhall be thought fit, as that they, and all the Proteſtants, and ſuch others, as have faithfully and conſtantly adhered unto them, may find Security and Preſervation therein, whereby we may heartily joyn under thoſe, whom the ſaid moſt Honourable, the Parliament of* England, *ſhall appoint, in proſecuting ſo Pious a War, and being Gods Inſtruments, for the bringing juſt Vengeance upon ſuch Perfidious Rebels, and in reſtoring the Proteſtant Religion, and Intereſt of the Crown of* England, *in this Kingdom, to its due and former Luſtre, which we will ever ſtrive (with the hazard of our Lives and Fortunes) to maintain.*

While the Marqueſs was in this deliberation (being privy to the Parliaments actions) he receiv'd information, that the King was delivered by the *Scots*, to the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes of Parliament, who were then treating with him, for the ſettling of Peace in all his Dominions; and at the ſame time, ſeveral Perſons of Quality, arrived at *Dublin*, having been privately diſpatch'd by his Majeſty, with ſignification of his Majeſties Pleaſure, upon the advertiſement he had receiv'd of the Condition of *Ireland*, to this purpoſe; *That if it were poſſible for the* Marqueſs *to keep* Dublin, *and the other Garriſons, under the ſame intire Obedience to his Majeſty, they were then in, it would be acceptable to his Majeſty; But if there were, or ſhould be, a neceſſity of giving them up to any other Power, he would rather put them into the hands of the* Engliſh, *then of the* Iriſh; which was the Rule, the Marqueſs was to guide himſelf by, who had likewiſe his other very important conſiderations, which, if all the reſt had been away, had been enough to have inclin'd him to that reſolution. The King was now in the Power, and hands of thoſe, who rais'd a War againſt him, principally, upon the credit of thoſe reproaches and ſcandals, that had perſwaded the People to a belief of his inclinations to Popery; and of his contriving, or, at leaſt, countenancing the Rebellion in *Ireland*, in which ſo much

The Kings Anſwer to the Lord Lieutenant, upon his ſignification of his Streights in *Dublin*.

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The Lord Lieutenant delivers *Dublin* to the Parliaments Commiſſioners, though upon his inclination, the *Iriſh* endeavour to delude him.

Hereupon the Marqueſs took a Reſolution, ſince he could not poſſibly keep it himſelf, to deliver it into the hands of the *Engliſh*; and to that purpoſe ſent again to the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, that he would ſurrender *Dublin*, and the other Garriſons to them, upon the ſame condition they had before offered; who quickly diſpatcht their Ships with Commiſſioners, * Men, and Money, and all other Proviſions neceſſary to take the ſame into their poſſeſſion. The Confederate Catholicks were no ſooner inform'd of this, but they ſent again to the Lord Lieutenant an overture of Accommodation (as they call it) yet the Meſſengers intruſted by them, were ſo wary, leſt indeed by accepting what they propoſed, they might be obliged to a Conjunction, that they refuſed to give their Propoſitions in Writing; And when, upon their Diſcourſe, the Lord Lieutenant had writ what they had propounded, and ſhewed it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the ſame, yet they refuſed to Sign it: whereby it was very natural to conclude, that the Overture was made by them, onely to lay ſome imputation upon the Marqueſs, of not being neceſſitated to agree with the two Houſes of Parliament, rather then with any purpoſe of ſubmitting to the Kings Authority. At laſt (being ſo far preſſed, they found it neceſſary to let the Marqueſs know in plain terms what he was to truſt to) they ſent him a Meſſage in Writing, in which they declared, *That they muſt inſiſt upon the Propoſitions of the Clergy, formerly mention'd to be agreed at* Waterford, *and to which they had ſworn; and that if he would have a Ceſſation with them, he muſt promiſe not to receive any Forces from the two Houſes of Parliament in 6 or 7 months:* Not propoſing in the mean time any way how his Majeſties Army ſhould be maintain'd, but by a full ſubmiſſion unto all their unreaſonable Demands: Notwithſtanding all which, the Parliament failing to make that ſpeedy performance of what they had promiſed, and their Commiſſioners not having (as it was agreed on) brought Bills ſufficiently drawn to be accepted of, for 10000 *l.* and the Marqueſs having it thereby in his Power, fairly to comply with the *Iriſh*, if they had yet recovered the temper and diſcretion that might juſtifie him; He ſent again to them, as well an Anſwer to their Overtures of accommodation,

* *Arthur Anneſly*, Eſq. Sir *Robert King*, Sir *Robert Meredith*, Colonel *John Moore*, Colonel *Michael Jones*, who carried over a Regiment of Horſe, and 1000 Foot, and was made Commander in chief of all the Forces, within the Province of *Leinſter*, and Governor of *Dublin*, who upon his entrance, upon the Place, found 11 old Regiments of Foot, which he reduced to 7. *viz.* The Earl of *Kildare*'s, the Lord *Moor*'s Sir *Henry Tichburn*, Sir *John Borlaſe*, Jun. Colonel *Francis Willoughby*, Colonel *Baily*, and *Flowers*, in all about 4000. no Recruit being ſent to any of them.

tion, as an offer not to receive any Forces from the two Houſes, for the ſpace of three weeks, if they would, during that time, conſent to a Ceaſſation, that a full Peace might be treated, and agreed upon. To which Motion, they never vouchſafed to return any Anſwer; about the ſame time *Owen O Neil* (wiſely foreſeeing, that the Nuncio, or the Supream Council, did not enough conſider, or foreſee the evil conſequences, that would undoubtedly attend the Lord Lieutenant's being compelled to leave the Kingdom, and to put *Dublin*, and the other Garriſons into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Rebels) ſent his Nephew *Daniel O Neil*, to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, that if the Marqueſs would accept of a Ceſſation for two months, which he believ'd, the Aſſembly, or Supream Council, would propoſe (with what mind ſoever) he would promiſe, and undertake, to continue it for a Twelvemonth; and in the mean time, he would uſe his utmoſt power, to procure a Peace. *Owen O Neil* was a man of an haughty, and poſitive humour, and rather hard to be inclined to ſubmit to reaſonable Conditions, then eaſie to decline them, or break his word, when he had conſented; therefore the Lord Lieutenant return'd this Anſwer; that if he would give him his word, to continue the Ceſſation for a full year, he would accept it, when propoſed from the Supream Council, for two months; and he would in the mean time, wave any further Treaty with the Parliament; yet ſent him word, he would not hold himſelf by this promiſe, longer then fourteen days engaged, if he did not in that time receive ſuch a poſitive effect of his Overture, as he expected. *Owen O Neil* accepted of the Condition, and with all poſſible ſpeed, diſpatched his Nephew *Daniel*, to the Supream Council at *Clonmel*, with a Letter containing his Advice, and another to the Biſhop of *Clogher*, his chief Confident; to whom he ſent Reaſons at large, which ought to induce the Nation to deſire ſuch a Ceſſation. When the Council receiv'd the Letter, and knew that the Lord Lieutenant expected an Anſwer within 14 days, they reſolved to return no Anſwer, till thoſe days were expired, and during that time, committed *Daniel O Neil* to Priſon, that he might not return to his Unkle; and when the time was paſſed, they releas'd him, on condition that he ſhould come no more into their Quarters. 1646.

In the interim, the Parliament of *Ireland*, then ſitting at *Dublin*, finding into what ſtraights the Kingdom was brought, and how his Excellency had ſtrugled with the greateſt difficulties imaginable, for his Majeſties and their Intereſt; they, the 17*th*. of *March*, ſent this Remonſtrance, in acknowledgment of great Care and Indulgence.

The

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The Remonſtrance of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, declaring the Acknowledgment of their hearty thankfulneſs to the moſt Honourable, *James* Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant General of *Ireland*, his Excellency.

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament in our whole Body, do preſent our ſelves before your Lordſhip, acknowledging with great ſenſe and feeling your Lordſhips ſingular goodneſs to us the Proteſtant Party, and thoſe who have faithfully and conſtantly adhered unto them, who have been preſerved to this day (under God) by your Excellencies providence and pious care, which hath not been done without a vaſt expence out of your own Eſtate, as alſo to the hazarding of your Perſon in great and dangerous difficulties: And when your Lordſhip found your ſelf (with the ſtrength remaining with you) to be too weak to reſiſt an inſolent (and upon all advantages) a perfidious and bloody Enemy, rather than we ſhould periſh, you have in your care transferred us into their hands, that are both able and willing to preſerve us; and that not by a bare caſting us off, but by complying ſo far with us, that you have not denied our deſires of Hoſtages, and amongſt them, of one of your moſt dear Sons: All which being ſuch a free Earneſt of your Excellencies love to our Religion, Nation, and both Houſes, do incite us here to come unto you with Hearts fill'd with your love, and Tongues declaring how much we are oblig'd to your Excellency, profeſſing our reſolutions are with all real ſervice (to the utmoſt of our power) to manifeſt the ſincerity of our acknowledgment and affections unto you, and to perpetuate to poſterity the memory of your Excellencies merits, and our thankfulneſs. We have appointed this Inſtrument to be entred into both Houſes, and under the hands of both Speakers to be preſented to your Lordſhip.

Rich. Bolton, *Canc.*
17 *die Martii*, 1676.
intr. per Val. Savage
Dep. Cler. Parl.

Maurice Euſtace, *Speaker.*
Int. 17. *die Martii*, 1676. *per*
Philip Fernely *Cler. Dom. Com.*

What effect this made upon his Excellency, you will here ſee.

My

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My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHat you have now read and deliver'd hath much ſurpriz'd me, and contains matter of higher obligation laid upon me by you, than thus ſuddenly to be anſwer'd; yet I may not ſuffer you to depart hence, without ſaying ſomewhat to you: And firſt, I aſſure you, that this Acknowledgment of yours is unto me a Jewel of very great value, which I ſhall lay up amongſt my choiceſt Treaſures, it being not onely a full confutation of thoſe Calumnies that have been caſt upon my actions, during the time I have had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty here, but likewiſe an Antidote againſt the virulency and poiſon of thoſe Tongues and Pens, that, I am well aſſur'd, will be buſily ſet on work, to traduce and blaſt the Integrity of my preſent Proceedings for your preſervation. And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, ſince this may perhaps be the laſt time that I ſhall have the Honour to ſpeak to you from this Place; and ſince that next to the words of a dying man (thoſe of one ready to baniſh himſelf from his Country for the good of it) challenge credit, give me leave before God and you here to proteſt, That in all the time I had the Honour to ſerve the King my Maſter, I never receiv'd any Command from him, but ſuch as ſpake him a Wiſe, Pious, Proteſtant Prince, zealous of the Religion he profeſſeth, the welfare of his Subjects, and induſtrious to promote and ſettle Peace and Tranquility in all his Kingdoms; and I ſhall beſeech you to look no otherwiſe upon me, than upon a ready Inſtrument ſet on work by the Kings wiſdom and goodneſs for your preſervation; wherein if I have diſcharg'd my ſelf to his Approbation and Yours, it will be the greateſt ſatisfaction and comfort I ſhall take with me, where-ever it ſhall pleaſe God to direct my ſteps. And now (that I may diſmiſs you) I beſeech God long, long, to preſerve my Gracious Maſter, and to reſtore Peace Reſt to this afflicted Church and Kingdom.

But to return. In concluſion, the Commiſſioners from the two Houſes of Parliament having performed all that on their part was expected, the Marquis of *Ormond* delivered up *Dublin* and the other Garriſons into their hands the 17*th.* ſome write the 18*th.* of *June*, 1647. on condition 1647.
to enjoy his Eſtate, and not to be ſubject to any Debts contracted for the ſupport of his Majeſties Army under his Command, or for any Debts contracted before the Rebellion: That he, and all ſuch Noblemen and Officers as deſir'd to paſs into any part of that Kingdom, ſhould have travelling Arms, and free Paſſes, with Servants for their reſpective Qualities: That he ſhould have 5000 *l.* in hand, and 2000 *l. per Annum* for five years, till he could receive ſo much a year out of his own Eſtate: And that he ſhould have liberty to live in *England* without taking any Oaths for a year; he engaging his Honour to do nothing in the interim to the prejudice of the Parliament. However, he delivered not up the *Regalia* till the 25*th.* of *July*, at which time he was tranſported (with his Family) into *England*; where they admitted him to wait on the King, and to give his Majeſty an account of his Tranſactions: who received him moſt graciouſly, as a Servant who had merited highly from him, and fully approved all that he had done. The ſtraits his Excellency

was

1647. was then put to, were great, and (in consideration into whose hands the Government might fall) his surrender of *Dublin* to the Parliament seem'd extreme hazardous: yet Providence so steer'd his Resolution in that act, as doubtless the ground of his Majesties Sovereignty, and the *English* preservation (how many Channels soever it past through first) proceeded thence. Before *He* came away, the Soldiers had receiv'd such a tincture of Mutiny, as Mr. *Annesly* and Sir *Robert King*, for fear of violence, privately quitted the Kingdom, before which, they (with Sir *Robert Meredith*, Colonel *Michael Jones*, and Colonel *John Moore*) took notice of the insolency of the Soldiers, to exact Contribution and free Quarters at their pleasure, forbidding them so to do, &c. by a Proclamation at *Dublin* the 20*th*. of *June*, 1647.

Soon after the Parliaments Commissioners were warm in the Government (having regulated their Militia) they put their Sickle into the Service of the Church, where they found many * so tenacious to the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, and their Vows to their Ordinaries, as they could not be wean'd from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, in which Ministery they desir'd to finish their Course with joy; and the 9*th*. of *July*, 1647. they unanimously publish'd a Declaration to that end, exactly drawn up with great Reason, Perspicuity, and Eloquence.

* *Edw. Parry, Laonensis, Jac. Margetson nunc temporis Armachanus, Ben. Culme, Ambr. Anngier, Ja. Sybald, Godf. Rhodes, Hen. Hall, (exin. Episc. Acadensis) Jos. War. Jo. Brookbank, Gilbert. Dean, Dud. Boswell, Rob. Parry, Joan. Creighton Can. Edw. Syng, (exin. Arasertensis) Rob. Dickson, Rand. Ince, Hen. Byrch, Rich. Powell.*

The time that the Marquis of *Ormond* agreed with the Parliaments Commissioners, was near the time that the Army had gotten the King into their hands, having taken him from *Holmbey*, out of the custody of the Commissioners, to whom the *Scots* had delivered him: And the Marquis of *Ormond*, at his arrival in *England*, found so many specious pretences and professions publish'd by that Party, which then had the whole Power of the Army, and consequently of the Kingdom, that very many believ'd his Majesties Affairs to be in no ill condition; more seeming respect was paid to his Person, and less restraint upon the resort of his faithful Servants to him, than had been from the time that he first put himself into the *Scots* power. The Army took upon them the Government of the Kingdom, having solemnly declared, *That there could be no reasonable hope of a firm and lasting Peace, if there were not an equal care to preserve the Interest of the King, Queen, and Prince, as of the Liberties of the People, and that both should be with equal care provided for together.* In this time of freedom, and hypocritical compliance, the Marquis had free liberty of repairing to the King, where he gave him an account of all his actions, and of the course he had taken for the reviving and preserving his Majesties Interest in *Ireland*, by setling a Correspondence with many Persons of Honour there, who would keep the two Houses of Parliament (how great an advantage soever he had given them, by the delivery up of *Dublin*, &c. into their power) if they refus'd to return to his Majesties obedience, from obtaining any absolute Dominion in that Countrey; and who were most like to reduce the Nation from the Distemper with which they were transported, and to incline them to that submission that was due from them to the King; with all which, his Majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfied, and gave the Marquis direction, in case the Independent Army should proceed otherwise than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the *Irish*, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his or their own delivery. And when his Majesty discovered (by the double dealing,

The Marquis of *Ormond* having free access to the King, acquaints him of the Impression he had made in many for his Service.

and

and hypocritical demeanour of the Officers of the Army, of whom he had earlier jealouſie than other men, as ſeeing farther into their dark Deſign) the little good they meant him, he found it fit to receive ſome Overtures from the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, who were ſtill admitted to reſide at *London*, and to bear a part in the Managery of the Publick Affairs; and now plainly ſaw, that the Independent Army, which they had ſo much deſpiſed, was grown ſuperiour to them, and meant to perform nothing leſs, than what they had ſo Religiouſly promiſed before the King was delivered up at *Newcaſtle*. The King hereupon commands the Marquis of *Ormond* to confer with the principal Perſons of that Commiſſion, who ſeem'd very ſenſible of the diſhonour their Nation had incurr'd, and reſolved, by uniting the power of that Kingdom for his Majeſties Service, to undo ſome of the miſchief they had wrought: And deſired, that the Marquis of *Ormond* would likewiſe tranſport himſelf into *Ireland*, to try once more if he could compoſe the humours of that People to his Majeſties obedience; that ſo thoſe two Kingdoms, being entirely reduc'd to their duty, might, with that aſſiſtance they were like to find in *England*, perſwade the violent Party to comply with thoſe moderate and juſt Concluſions, which would eſtabliſh the Peace and Tranquility of the whole in a full happineſs to Prince and People. And from hence was that firſt Engagement deſign'd, which was afterwards ſo unfortunately conducted by the elder Duke *Hamilton*, and concluded with the ruine of himſelf, and of many Worthy and Noble Perſons.

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Some of the *Scots* being convinc'd of what they had done amiſs in his Majeſties Service, better reſolve, and encourage the Marquis of *Ormond* to return into *Ireland*.

When the Army had by their civil and ſpecious carriage and profeſſions diſpoſed the Kings Party to wiſh well to them, at leaſt better than to the Presbyterians, (who ſeem'd to have erected a Model of a more formid and inſupportable Tyranny, and were leſs endu'd with the appearances of Humanity and good Nature) and had (by ſhuffling themſelves into new ſhapes of Government, and admitting Perſons of all Conditions to aſſemble, and make Propoſitions to them in order to the publick Peace) given encouragement to moſt men to believe, that *all Intereſts* would, in ſome degree, *be provided for*; and ſo had brought themſelves into an abſolute Power over all Intereſts, they began to leſſen their outward Reſpects and Reverence to the King, to inhibit ſome of his Servants abſolutely to reſort to him; and more to reſtain the frequent acceſs of the People, who out of their innate Duty and Affection, delighted to ſee his Majeſty, they cauſed reports to be raiſed and ſcattered abroad of ſome intentions, in deſperate perſons, of violence upon his Majeſties Perſon; and upon this pretence doubled their Guards, and put Officers of ſtricter vigilance and more ſurly diſpoſition about him; ſo that whatſoever he ſaid or did, or was ſaid unto him, was more punctually obſerved. The Marquis of *Ormond* was look'd upon with a very jealous eye, and was forbid to continue his attendance on him, or to come within 25 miles of *London*; and that Article in the Agreement at the delivery of *Dublin*, (*viz.* That he ſhould engage his Honour not to act any thing to the prejudice of the Parliament in a twelvemonth) there was an intention to put him in mind of, by a Letter from the Committee at *Derby-houſe*; but before the Meſſenger came where he had been near *Briſtol*, he (knowing of the King's being cloſe Priſoner in *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, and that it would be to little purpoſe to conteſt his Articles with the Parliament) privately ſhipt himſelf away for *France*,

The ſubtilty of the Independent Army.

The Marquis now ſuſpected by the Army.

1647. where he arrived safely about the end of the year 1647, having spent in *England* little more than six months.

For a time we must leave the Marquis in *France*, and return to Colonel *Jones* in *Dublin*, who (with those Forces that were left there by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and such as he brought and received out of *England*, amounting in all to 3000) marched against Colonel *Preston*, approaching with his *Leimster* Forces to infest *Dublin*, and met him about 12 miles from *Dublin*; who having gotten great advantage of ground, routed *Jones*, killed many of his men, and took not a few Prisoners, *Jones* himself escaping with much difficulty to *Dublin*.

Gen. *Preston* routs Colonel *Jones*.

Whether upon this accident, or otherwise, I cannot determine; but great divisions then arose betwixt the old *English*, who had *Preston* for their General, and the old *Irish*, who had *Owen Roe O Neal* for theirs: The old *English* had a gallant Army, consisting of near 10000 Foot and Horse, well Arm'd, and well Disciplin'd, who thought, that if they would offer themselves Instruments to destroy the old *Irish*, they might at any time have good Conditions from *England*; therefore under confidence thereof, they went on with great resolution, determining to do what they could to make themselves Masters of *Dublin*, and of all the *English* Quarters thereabouts, the easier afterwards to facilitate their design against *Owen Roe* and his Confidents. *Preston* thus flesh'd with his late Victory, brought up his Army, possess'd himself of most of the Out-Garrisons, even within eight miles of *Dublin*, and thence went with a resolution to take in *Trim*, a Garrison of some strength, under Colonel *Fenwick*, wherein there lay a Regiment of Foot, and some Troops of Horse. Upon which, *Jones* seeing himself in this condition, march'd about the 17*th*. of *July*, with 1000 Foot and 400 Horse, to *Sigginstown*, burning by the way, Castle *Martin*, taking good Prey from Castle *Bawn*, and was over-took by the Enemy near *Johns-town*, who falling on his Rear, cut off many; where Captain *Adam Meredith* gallantly maintaining the Pass, was kill'd: a Gentleman of clear valour, and greater hope.

Preston's advance on a design to *Dublin*.

In the interim, the distractions of the Soldiers (daily mutinous) were very great, the Soldiers threatning to deliver up the Town to the Rebels, if they were not speedily and better supplied with money and other necessaries. However, in this high distemper, Colonel *Jones* drew out, the first of *August*, 3800 Foot, and two Regiments of Horse, besides Artillery, to the relief of *Trim*, besieged by *Preston*; who upon his approach quitted the Siege, intending to follow the advice of a Person* then at *Leixlip* (a Castle 10 miles from *Dublin*) of *great trust and abilities*, that whilst *Jones* reliev'd *Trim*, he might attempt *Dublin*. Whereupon *Jones* follows, being assisted by Sir *Henry Tichburn* from *Tredagh*, Colonel *Moor* from *Dondalk*, with the *Newry*, *Carlingford* Forces, as Colonel *Conway*, with a Party of the Northern old *British*, making up in all 700 Horse, and 1200 Foot; and joyn'd Battel with *Preston*, effectually 7300 Foot, and 1047 Horse strong, besides what the Lord *Costolough* and the two *Nugent*'s brought, at *Dungans-Hill*, the 8*th*. of *August*, 1647. where by plain valour *Jones* gain'd the greatest and most signal Victory the *English* ever had in *Ireland*; there was slain upon the place 5470, besides those afterwards which were gleaned up, which were many; amongst the slain, there were 400 of Colonel *Kitto*'s *Redshanks*: There were taken Prisoners, 5 Colonels, 4 Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Serjeant-Majors,

*The Lord *Digby*.

Dungan-hill Battel, the 8. of *Aug.* 1647. by some term'd *Linch-Knock* Battel.

Majors, 32 Captains, 23 Lieutenants, 27 Enſigns, 2 Cornets, 22 Serjeants, 2 Quarter-Maſters, 2 Gunners, the Clerk of the Store, 13 Troopers, and 228 common Souldiers: *Preſton* hardly eſcaped with the Horſe; he loſt his Carriages and Cannon, being 4 demi-Culverings, each carrying 12 pound Bullet, and 64 fair Oxen, attending the Train, which were of very great uſe. Of ours ſome were wounded, but not above 20 ſlain: Of Note, we loſt only 2 Cornets, and one Captain *Gibbs*, who, over-heated in the Service, died in drinking Ditch-Water. After this Victory the Enemy quit and burnt the *Naas Sigginſtown*, *Harriſtown*, *Collanſtown*, *Caſtlewarding*, and *Moyglare*. Nor had the effect of this Victory ended thus, but that Pay and Proviſion for the Army were ſo ſcant, as neceſſity inforced them to return to *Dublin*, where they were met with the News of 1500 *l.* newly arrived, a Supply incompetent to furniſh them forth immediately, though it ſatisfied them there was ſome care taken for their Relief. And upon the certainty of this great Victory in *England*, conſiderable Supplies were haſtned, and 1000 *l.* ſent Colonel *Jones* for his good Service. A little after which the Lord *Inchiquin* took in *Cahir* Caſtle, the Town and Caſtle of *Caſhel*, and 11 other Caſtles, in the County of *Tipperary*, which was exceeding well taken by the Parliament, no ſmall Cauſes of Defection, having (a little before) been inſinuated to them, of his Fidelity. 1647.

About the beginning of *October* Colonel *Jones* took the Field again, and having joyn'd with the *Ulſter* Forces, under the Command of Colonel *Monk*, they march'd out near 2000 Horſe and 6000 Foot, taking in *Portleiceſter*, *Abboy*, and ſeveral of the Rebels Caſtles and Garriſons; and ſo having got great Prey of Cattle, and other Pillage, they return'd to *Dublin*, and Colonel *Monk* went back into *Ulſter* with that Party he carried thence. *Jones*'s and *Monk*'s good Service.

And in *Munſter* the Lord *Inchiquin* was ſo active, as the Lord *Taaff*, appearing with a conſiderable Force, (as General of the *Iriſh*) advancing towards the *Engliſh* Quarters, he nobly encounter'd him (though with much diſ-advantage both of Men and Ground) at *Knocknones*, the 13th. of *November*; where, after a ſharp diſpute, excellently carried, with much Gallantry and true Souldiery, as to the order of the Battle, he totally routed him and his Forces; amongſt whom fell Sir *Alexander Mac Donel*, alias Colonel *Kilkittoth*, the Rebels Lieutenant General, and his Lieutenant Colonel, beſides ſome 4000 of their Infantry and Horſe were ſlain, 6000 Arms recovered, 38 Colours of Foot, ſome Cornets of Horſe, Ammunition, *Taaff*'s Cabinet, beſides his Tent, and many Concerns of importance, were alſo taken. We loſt Sir *William Bridges*, Colonel of Horſe, Colonel *Gray*, Major *Brown*, Sir *Robert Travers*, the Judge Advocate, and ſome other Officers, upon the routing of our left Wing, who gallantly however ſeal'd the Cauſe with their blood. They were 7464 Foot, and 1076 Horſe, beſides Officers; we not 4000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe. Upon the arrival of this News, the Houſe of Commons voted 10000 *l.* for *Munſter*, and 1000 *l.* with a Letter of thanks, to the Lord *Inchiquin*. The Battle of *Knocknones*, or *Knockneſs*.

Things thus ſucceeding, it might be thought rational, that the Lord *Inchiquin*, who had obtain'd ſo great a Victory over the Rebels, and thereupon was highly careſſed by the Parliament, ſhould now have had no Deſign to have alter'd his Party. But he (having been dealt with by thoſe, who beſt knew how to wean him off) ſets forth a ſpecious Declaration *Inchiquin* meditates the Alteration of his Party.

1647. ration against the Parliament, over-awed by Independents and the Army; and hearing of *Laughorn*'s Insurrection, and the *Scots* Invasion, grew thence more encouraged, that amongst the Presbyterians he went for a Patron; and distributing a little Money amongst the Souldiers, won so upon them, as afterwards he carried his Design (for some time) un-discovered, sending to the Parliament this Declaration.

Mr. Speaker,

IT is not without an un-answerable proportion of Reluctancy, to so heavy an Inconvenience, that we are thus frequently put upon the asserting of our own Fidelities, to the Services of the Honourable Houses; whereunto, as we have by several Evidences (the mention whereof we make without vain-glory) manifested our selves sincerely faithful, so hath it pleased the divine Providence, to prosper our Endeavours with very many improbable Successes; to the attainment whereof, though we have strugled through all the difficulties, and contended with all the sufferances, that a People, un-supply'd with all necessaries and secondary means, could undergo, yet have we encountred nothing of that dis-affection, or dis-couragement, as we find administred unto us, by a constant observation, that it is as well in the power, as it is in the practice, of our malicious and indefatigable Enemies, to place and foment Differences upon us, not only to our extream scandal and disgrace, (which we should the less resent, if their malice could terminate in us) but to the obstructing of the Supplies order'd and design'd for publick Service, and to the irreparable prejudice thereof, which our Enemies can value at so low a rate, as to put it into that bargain, they are in hand to make for our destruction. It being very approvable by us, that several Persons in power there, do interpose their endeavours, to continue us (by the impeding of Supplies) in a desperate, languishing, and perishable condition upon the Place, and in a despicable and doubtful esteem with the Honourable Houses. Whereof there will need no other Instances, than that, after the several promises made by Letters, from the Honourable Committee at Darby-house, *and Votes pass'd for transmitting Supplies unto us, especially in case of Major General* Starling, *his being sent to attend the Pleasure of the Houses, the only Remora then alledged to make stay of* 7000 *Suits of Cloaths, and* 10000 l. *in Money, being before design'd for our relief, there is no more than* 2700 l. *sent unto us in Money, and thereof but* 1500 l. *designed for the feeding of us, and the Souldiers under our Command. And that notwithstanding the signal Testimony given of our real intentions and affections, to that Cause and Service, in a late Engagement against the Rebels at* Knockness, *which we touch at, without any affection of vain-glory, the Votes then renew'd for our Relief, and the Order for our Indempnity, (which was conceived would not have found so much hesitation, with those whose Service we had only profest) are laid aside, and nothing effectual or advantagious done in order thereto, for our avane, save the transmittal of* 2700 l. *but on the contrary, new jealousies and distrust of us are re-embrac'd and fomented.*

It is not therefore so insupportable a dis-comfort to us, to observe our own Lives exposed a sacrifice, to the malice of our now potent publick Enemies, who by the conjunction of three several Armies, are not more encouraged to confront

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confront us in the Field, than we, by the art and practice uſed to with-hold thoſe juſt and neceſſary Supplies from us, diſ-abled to joyn Battle with them, as to obſerve our honourable Reputation and Integrity, (dearer to us than our Lives) brought into ſuch frequent queſtion, and unworthily mangled, depraved and ſlaughtered, by the calumnious aſperſions of our powerful and prevailing Adverſaries, in deſpight of all our zealous and cordial Endeavours, to give indubitable teſtimony and evidence of our Fidelities. What if we be beyond any common meaſure afflicted and diſmayed? We are confident, that all Perſons of Honour will acknowledge, that we have much more than common cauſe.

And now that our Adverſaries have prevailed to deprive us, not only of all hopes of ſubſiſting here in your Service, but have proceeded for to provide, that we may not live hereafter but out of your Favour. So having intercepted and perverted the comfort, we well hoped to have received from other teſtimonies of our ſincerity, they have only left us this Expedient, to teſtifie our mindfulneſs of our duty by, which is, to give humble intimation to that Honourable Houſe, that we are involved in ſo great and extream exigencies of diſtreſs and univerſal want, with the preſſure of three joynt Armies, upon our weak and naked Forces, that there remains no humane means diſcernable amongſt us, to ſubſiſt by any longer in this Service, unleſs it ſhall ſtand with the pleaſure and piety of thoſe, in whoſe Service we have exhauſted both our blood and livelihoods, to ſend us ſome ſeaſonable and conſiderable Supplies, or that we ſhould be inforced to entertain ſuch terms, as the Rebels will give us, which of all things we abominate, as knowing our neceſſities will render them ſuch, as muſt be both obſtructive and diſhonourable, and therefore ſhall reſolve of making that the laſt Expedient, to preſerve our own and many thouſands of poor Proteſtants Lives by, or that it ſhall pleaſe the Honourable Houſes to ſend Shipping to fetch us off. And ſo in diſcharge of our duties both to God and Man, we humbly offer to conſideration, and remain.

Subſcribed by the Officers under
the Lord *Inchiquin*.

This Remonſtrance begat ſome Heats: Upon which many of the Subſcribers were ſent for over, and committed; but upon ſubmiſſion, ſoon releas'd, and an Ordinance for their Indemnity publiſh'd.

But to return to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, whom, not long ſince, we left in *France*; where finding himſelf at liberty, and out of the reach of his Enemy, he then projected again to viſit *Ireland*, having made the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, and the Lord *Taaff*, who (without any pauſe) had preſerv'd their Allegiance entire, privy to what might beſt advance his Majeſty's Intereſt, amongſt thoſe, who, oppoſing the Nuncio, ſeem'd reſolute for his Majeſty. And they (one in *Connaght*, the other in *Munſter*) accordingly diſpoſed the People to a ready complyance, whilſt the Forces under the Nuncio were much weakned, partly by the defeat of General *Preſton*, whoſe Army was routed and deſtroyed by the Parliament's Forces, within leſs than a month after they had compelled the Marqueſs to leave the Kingdom, and partly by the diſlike the great Council of the Confederate Catholicks had, of the demeanour of the Nuncio, and the experience they now had of his ill conduct, and the miſeries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the Peace, which would

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* provides to return into *Ireland*, pre-poſſeſſing the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, and the Lord *Taaff*, with the Deſign.

1648. would have been ſo advantagious to them, and againſt which, the general Aſſembly at *Kilkenny*, the 2d. of *March*, 1647. publiſhed a Proclamation, conformable to what the Congregation of the Clergy before had paſs'd at *Waterford* the 12th. of *Auguſt*, 1646.

The Lord *Inchiquin*, of the ſame Party.

The Lord *Inchiquin* had likewiſe held correſpondence with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, while he was in *England*; and as ſoon as the Marqueſs came into *France*, deſired him to make what haſte he could into *Ireland*, where he ſhould find the Army, and all the important Towns of that Province, under his Command, ready to ſubmit to him, and to be conducted by him in the King's Service, any way he ſhould command. And in the mean time he made an *Agreement* with the *Iriſh*, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, and the Lord *Taaff*, with the Approbation of the ſupream Council of the Confederate Catholicks, from

1648. *May*, 1648. to *November* following, and ſent them 500 Horſe, under the Command of Major *Doily*, to aſſiſt them in an Expedition they were then entred upon againſt the Nuncio, and *Owen Roe O Neal*, in which they prevail'd ſo far, that *Owen O Neal* found it neceſſary to retire to the great Towns, and they drove the Nuncio himſelf into the Town of *Gallway*, where he ſummoned a National Synod the 15th. of *July*, and they beſieged him ſo cloſe, that they compelled the Town (after near two months ſiege) to pay a good ſum of Money, to be diſtributed amongſt the Souldiers, and to diſclaim any further ſubjection or ſubmiſſion to the *Nuncio*'s unlimited Juriſdiction, which, in effect, had put all *Ireland* in confuſion. And when he had (with leſs ſucceſs than formerly) iſſued his Excommunication, the 27th. of *May*, 1648. againſt all thoſe, who complied with the Ceſſation with the Lord *Inchiquin*, he was compelled in the end (after ſo much miſchief done to the Religion he was obliged to protect) in an obſcure manner, to fly out of the Kingdom; and coming to *Rome*, had an ill Reception of the Pope, *Temerariè te geſſiſti*, ſaid he; with which, and the Fate of *Fermo*, in his abſence, he ſoon after died. Nor indeed had any of thoſe Apoſtolick *Nuncios* in *Ireland*, much better Fate: *Nicholas Sanders*, an Engliſh-man, *An.* 1579. was ſent *Nuncio* by *Gregory* the 13th. who wander'd in the Mountains of *Kerry*, and was there ſtarv'd under a Tree. *Owen Mac Egan*, alias *Eugenius O Hegan*, of *Iriſh* Birth, *Vicarius Apoſtolicus* under *Clement* the 8th. was ſlain, leading a Troop of 100 Horſe againſt the Loyaliſts, *An.* 160$\frac{8}{9}$.

The *Nuncio* purſued cloſe, and then quits the Kingdom.

Viz. 23. of *Feb.* 1648.

And becauſe the impudent Injuſtice, and Imprudence of the *Nuncio*, and the lame Subjection of the People, to his immoderate Pride and Haughtineſs, was, in truth, the real Cauſe, or rather Fountain, from whence this torrent of Calamities flowed, which hath ſince over-whelmed that miſerable Nation; and becauſe that exorbitant Power of his, was reſolutely oppoſed by the Catholicks, of the moſt eminent Parts and Intereſts, and in the end (though too late) expelled by them; it will be but Juſtice to the Memories of thoſe noble Perſons, briefly to collect the ſum of that unhappy Perſon's Carriage and Behaviour, from the time that he was firſt deſign'd to that Imployment. And in doing hereof, no other Language ſhall be uſed, than what was part of a Memorial, delivered by an honourable and zealous Catholick, who was intruſted to complain of the in-ſufferable Behaviour of the *Nuncio* to the Pope himſelf, which runs in theſe very words, ſpeaking of the *Nuncio*.

He

1648.

An Expreſs of the *Nuncio's* Behaviour.

He declar'd before he left Rome, *That he would not admit either in his Company or Family, any Perſon of the* Engliſh *Nation. In his Voyage, before he arrived at* Paris, *he writ to his Friends in* Rome, *with great joy, the News, (though it prov'd after falſe) that the* Iriſh *Confederates had treacherouſly ſurprized the City of* Dublin, *while they were in truce with the Royal Party, and treating about an Accommodation and Peace. Arriving at* Paris, *(where he ſhut himſelf up for many months) he never vouchſafed (I will not ſay) to participate with the Queen of* England, *any thing touching Nunciature, or in the leaſt degree to reverence or viſit her Majeſty, ſave only one time upon the ſcore of Courteſie, as if he had been ſent to her Enemies, not Subjects. Being arrived in* Ireland, *he imployed all his Power to diſſolve the Treaty of Peace with the King, which was then almoſt brought to perfection; and his diligence ſucceeded, of which he valued himſelf, rejoyced, and inſulted beyond meaſure. In his Letters he writ to* Paris, *which were after ſhewed to the Queen, and he may truely ſay, that in that Kingdom, he hath rather managed the Royal Scepter, than the Paſtoral Staff, and that he aim'd more to be held the Miniſter of the ſupream Prince of* Ireland, in Temporalibus, *than a* Nuncio *from the Pope,* in Spiritualibus; *making himſelf Preſident of the Council, he hath managed the Affairs of the ſupream Council of State; he hath, by his own Arbitrement, excluded from it thoſe, who did not ſecond him, though by Nobleneſs of Birth, Allegiance, Prudence, and Zeal to Religion, they were the moſt honourable; of theſe he cauſed many to be impriſoned, with great ſcandal, and danger of ſedition; and, in ſhort, he aſſumed a diſtributive Power both in Civil and Military Affairs, giving out Orders, Commiſſions, and Powers, under his own Name, ſubſcribed by his own Hand, and made Authentick with his Seal, for the government of the Armies, and of the State, and Commiſſions for Reprizals at Sea. He ſtroke in preſently after his Arrival in* Ireland, *with that Party of the Natives, who are eſteemed irreconcilable, not only to the* Engliſh, *but to the greateſt and beſt part of the* Iriſh *Nobility, and of the ſame People, to the moſt civil and moſt conſiderable of that Iſland. And the better to ſupport that Party and Faction, he hath procured the Church to be furniſhed with a Clergy and Biſhops of the ſame temper, excluding thoſe Perſons who are recommended by the Queen, who, for Doctrine and Vertue, were above all exceptions, all which is contrary to what your Holineſs was pleas'd to promiſe. The Queen was not yet diſcouraged, but ſo labour'd to renew the Treaty of Peace already once broke, and diſorder'd by Monſieur* Rinuccini, *that by means of her Majeſty, it was not only re-aſſumed, but, in the end, after great diſputes and oppoſitions on his part, the Peace was concluded between the Royal Party and the Confederate Catholicks, and warranted not only by the King's Word, but alſo by the retention of Arms, Caſtles and Forts; and of the Civil Magiſtrates, with the poſſeſſion of Churches, and of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and with the free exerciſe of the Catholick Religion. And all this would have been exhibited by a publick Decree, and authentick Laws, made by the three Eſtates aſſembled in a free Parliament: By this Peace and Confederacy they would have reſcued themſelves, from the damages of a ruinous War, have purchaſed ſecurity to their Conſciences, and of their temporal Eſtates, honoured the Royal Party, and the Catholicks in* England, *with a certain reſtitution and liberty of the King, whereon depended abſolutely the welfare of the Catholicks in all his Kingdoms, the Catholick Chair had quitted it ſelf of all Engagements and Expence, with Honour and Glory. This Treaty of Peace on all ſides ſo deſirable, Monſieur* Rinuccini

1648. cini *broke with ſuch violence, that he forced the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *the Vice-Roy of* Ireland, *to precipitate himſelf (contrary to his inclination and affection) into the arms of the Parliament of* England, *to the unſpeakable damage of the King, and of the Catholicks, not only of* Ireland, *but alſo of* England. *He incenſed the greateſt and beſt part of the Catholick Nobility, and rendred the venerable Name of the holy Apoſtolick Chair, odious to the Hereticks, with ſmall ſatisfaction to the Catholick Princes themſelves of* Europe, *as though it ſought not the ſpiritual good of Souls, but a temporal Intereſt, by making it ſelf Lord over* Ireland. *And when the Lord* Digby *and the Lord* Byron *endeavour'd, on the Marqueſs of* Ormond's *part, to incline him to a new Treaty of Peace, he did not only diſdain to admit them, or to accept the Overture, but underſtanding, that the Lord* Byron, *with great danger and fatigue, came to Town, in the County of* Weſtmeath, *where he was to ſpeak with him, he forced the Earl that was the Lord of it, to ſend him away (contrary to all Laws of Courteſie and Humanity) in the night-time, expoſed to extraordinary inconveniencies and dangers amongſt thoſe diſtractions, proteſting, that otherwiſe he himſelf would immediately depart the Town. By this Proceeding, Monſieur* Rinuccini *hath given the World an occaſion to believe, that he had private and ſecret Commiſſion to change the Government of* Ireland, *and to ſeparate that Iſland from the Crown of* England. *And this Opinion is the more confirmed, ſince that one* Mahony, *a* Jeſuit, *hath printed a Book in* Portugal, *wherein he endeavours to prove, that all the Kings of* England, *have been either Tyrants or Uſurpers of* Ireland, *and ſo fallen from the dominion of it; exhorting all its Natives to get thither, and to uſe all Cruelty againſt the* Engliſh, *(with expreſſions full of Villany and Reproach) and to chuſe a new King of their own Countrey. And this Book, ſo barbarous and bloody, diſperſed through* Ireland, *is yet credited by the Catholick and Apoſtolick Chair: And the Continuation of the Hiſtory of Cardinal* Baronius, *was publiſhed at the ſame time, under the Name of* Olderico Raynaldo, *in which he endeavours to eſtabliſh the ſupream Right and Dominion in the Apoſtolick Chair, even* in Temporalibus, *over* England *and* Ireland. *I leave to every Man to conſider, whether all theſe Actions are not apt enough to beget Jealouſies, and naughty Blood, and whether I ought not, out of great reſpect to the publick Good, to repreſent, with ſome ardency to your Holineſs, the Actions of Monſieur* Rinuccini, *ſo unpleaſant, and directly contrary to thoſe Ends, for which, it was ſuppoſed, he was imployed. And I beſeech your Holineſs, if any King, not only Proteſtant but Catholick, had ſeen an Apoſtolick* Nuncio *to lord it in his Dominions, in ſuch a manner as Monſieur* Rinuccini *hath done in* Ireland, *what Jealouſies, what Complaints, and how many Inconveniencies would thereby follow?* Thus as to the *Nuncio*, from *the Confederates themſelves.*

Though he gives this account of himſelf: For the better underſtanding of this, (ſaith he) Recourſe muſt be had to the firſt riſing of the *Iriſh*, which was upon this occaſion: The Parliament of *England*, having enter'd into an Agreement with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, *called the large Treaty*; in which there was a clauſe to joyn againſt the common Enemy, wherein the Catholicks of *Ireland*, as well as others (if not chiefly) did apprehend themſelves comprehended; to ballance which, or to prevent the miſery that might fall upon them thereby, being ſenſible of the Earl of *Stafford*'s death, which purported ſome to be

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ſent as Governour, that was not like to carry ſo fair to them, as he had done, the ſame being to be approv'd (at leaſt) by the Parliament then ſitting. For better ſecurity, they endeavoured the ſupplanting all Proteſtants within that Kingdom, and though (at that time) without Arms or Ammunition, *got poſſeſſion of moſt part of the Kingdom*; whereupon was eſtabliſhed a Council of 24, part of Civil, and part Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, of which 12 were to reſide in *Kilkenny*, or other place, as occaſion and need called, with this Reſolution, agreed to hold a Parliament every year, by, or in which, the ſaid Council ſhould be chang'd or continu'd. By this it was reſolv'd, and after ſworn by all the Catholicks, *never to lay down Arms, until the* Roman *Church was ſettled, as of old in* Ireland, *and the King ſecur'd in all his Priviledges, that of calling, and putting period to Parliaments at pleaſure, with a Negative voice, being chiefly meant, and then in great hazard to be loſt.* The Earl of *Ormond*, and *Inchequin*, Proteſtants, fearing the iſſue of this League, and fore-ſeeing the in-ability to oppoſe it, treated with the Earl of *Clanrickard*, Lord *Muskery*, and other Lords Catholicks, that poſſeſſed many Church-Benefices; a way erected by Queen *Elizabeth*, thereby to extinguiſh the Catholicks; and advertiſed them, that the Reſtitution of the Catholick Diſcipline, would out them of all the ſaid Profits, gain'd them to the other ſide; though they continued ſtill of the Council, in which they were a prevalent party, taking to them ſuch (when any went out) as were of *Ormond*'s mind and deſign: by which means a Peace was ſuddainly concluded, upon ſuppoſition, *that the Affairs of the Catholicks requir'd it*, although there was no mention of the Intereſt of that Church in the Accord. About that time, the King ſent to this Council, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, with full power to accord to the Catholicks, as they deſired, if they ſhould ſend him 10000 Men, as they had offered, *Ormond* then at *Dublin* (under pretext of Treating) drew *Glamorgan* thither, took from him his Commiſſion, and made him Priſoner, and certified the King, that himſelf could make a far better and more advantagious Peace, with the Catholicks, which he did in 30 Articles. *This breach of Oath*, made by the Council, gave occaſion to the Nuncio, *John Baptiſt Rinuccini*, Archbiſhop and Prince of *Firmo*, who had brought ſome ſuccours of Money and Arms into *Ireland*, to aſſemble the Clergy in *Waterford*, and Excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould adhere to the Peace: Which notwithſtanding, the ſaid Marquiſs advanc'd to *Kilkenny*, to execute the ſame; but *O Neil* returning victorious from the defeat of 20000 *Scots*, in two Battles at *Benburgh*, and *Tirconnel*, *Ormond* goes back without doing of any thing; whereupon were impriſon'd the 7 that ſigned the Peace. *Ormond* ſeeing himſelf out with the Catholicks, both becauſe he had ill treated them, and by the violence exerciſed by his Army, no ſooner return'd to *Dublin*, but he treated with the Parliament of *England*, for the delivery of the Towns he held; which was done accordingly. Coming after to *London*, where he expected to be gratified by the Parliament of *England*, proportionable to the ſervice done them; but finding there no ſuch diſpoſition, he went ſecretly to the Queen at St. *Germains*, to juſtifie himſelf, and perſwade her, *That his rendring* Dublin, *and other Towns, were ſerviceable to the King her Husband, then Priſoner to the Parliament, becauſe* (ſaid he) *it is better that they have them, then the Catholicks, whom he affirm'd to have fail'd in their Fidelity to their King*, although they renew'd the abovemention'd 1648.

1648. Oath yearly. About this time, another Assembly of Catholicks, sent to the Queen, and the Princes her Children, to desire *certain concessions* in the absence; and becauſe of the Detention of the King her Husband, deputing others to *Rome*, with Instructions to the former Deputies, to act jointly with these; but contrary, those to the Queen (not waiting the Resolution, or Concurrence of them at *Rome*) *Muskery*, and *Brown*, two of those Deputies, (notwithstanding the opposition of the Marquiss of *Antrim*, who was chief) proposed, and obtain'd of the Queen, that she send into *Ireland*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, as formerly to be Lord Deputy, or Vice-Roy: Who being brought into that Kingdom, *by the support of the said Supream Council*, of which 7 always favour'd him, they again concluded a Cessation of Arms with *Inchequin*, then reduced to such necessities, that he was ready to fly into *Holland*, whither then he had dispatch'd part of his Goods, with good store of Money, pick'd up there; The Suspension not to be hindred by the Nuncio, notwithstanding the offers of Money, to satisfie the pressing necessities, declar'd by the Council, together with *Owen Roe O Neal*'s offer, to drive *Inchequin* quite out of *Munster*, at his own charge, and at the charge he would force out of those parts, by his Souldiers: But at this time *Inchequin* was in a deeper Correspondence with the *Scots* Nation, which way, *Ormond* was also to biass his Designs. The Nuncio thus disappointed, called a new assembly of his Clergy, compos'd of *Hugh O Rely*, Primate of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fleming*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Thomas Welsh*, Archbishop of *Cassel*, *John de Bourk*, Archbishop of *Tuam*, and ten Bishops, who unanimously declared, *That this Cessation of Arms, was much prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and could not be embraced in Conscience, and so Excommunicated all that adher'd thereto.* Hitherto the Council had born it self with some respect toward the Catholick Church, remembring the Clemency us'd by the Nuncio, in delivering some of them from Prison; but upon this last Excommunication, they so threatned him, that he was forced to go privately from *Kilkenny*, to a Castle, where *Preston* (by order of the Council) following, he fled to *Gallway*, and called there a National Council, to pacifie the Troubles of the Kingdom, which the aforesaid Council endeavour'd to hinder, forbidding the appearance of the Clergy, taking hold of divers Ecclesiastical Persons of his household, imprisoning them: So that the Nuncio despairing of re-establishing of the Affairs of the Catholicks, and having information, *That* Ormond *had resolv'd* (*with all his Forces*) *to advance the Protestant Religion, and to destroy all opposers*, and that the Supream Council of Catholicks, had declar'd their departure from the League, with their Confederates; he departed, arriving in *France*. In the interim, *Owen Roe*, judging, that he could not in conscience, joyn his Armies any longer with a Party, *that called it self Catholick, and yet chas'd away the Nuncio*, declar'd his separation from them, until they recal the Nuncio, and endeavour to obtain a Catholick Vice-Roy, and execute (in all other points) the Oath they had taken. This was taken very ill by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and his Council, who charg'd *O Neal* with a Design (under colour thereof) to oppose the Affairs of the King, which occasion'd him to object to them, not the aforesaid Oath, but a particular Declaration, which he had published; where he, with all his Officers profess, *That they intend onely to re-establish the Catholick Religion, the Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Prerogatives of*

of the King, in their former Glory and Splendor: The *Ormond* Party Catholick, being in ſuch perplexity, by reaſon of theſe differences, and their ſleighting the Nuncio, appeal'd to his Holineſs; but from *Rome*, it is certified, *That the Pope (well underſtanding their deportment) refuſed to give Audience, before he had heard his Nuncio*; Who in the end, rather receiv'd a Check (as before is mention'd) then an Approbation from his Holineſs, for what he had done in *Ireland*. 1648.

And now, as to the difference betwixt their Generals, and our Proceedings thereupon.

Jones (finding *Clanrickard* active) ſtirs forth, and takes in ſome Caſtles.

Colonel *Jones* finding the Diſtractions amongſt the Rebels, to grow very high, and that the old *Engliſh*, under the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, had taken the Caſtle of *Athlone*, and other Places from *Owen Roe*, and that *Athy* was beſieged by Colonel *Preſton*, and *Owen Roe*, came up to Relieve it, and burnt and ſpoil'd the Countrey thereabouts, thought it high time, to be ſtirring out amongſt them; and thereupon ſent out ſome of his Forces, which took in the Garriſons of the *Nabber*, and *Balliboe*, formerly ſurprized by the Rebels; But yet (not having his Proviſions come from *England*) durſt not himſelf ſtir forth, till he had ſufficiently ſecured *Dublin*; which in the firſt place, he began more ſtrongly to Fortifie, that it might receive no prejudice in his abſence. About which time, *Flemming* (an active Officer among the Rebels) took in *Cruces* Fort, and *Killaloe*, two Garriſons in *Pudſonbyes* Quarters.

Several ſuſpected to be for the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, ſent into *England*.

Next, *Jones* ſecured Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, Colonel *Gifford*, *Capron*, *Flower*, *Willoughby*, and ſeveral others, who, continuing their affection to the Marqueſs, he ſuſpected, and (by Order of the Committee of *Derby-Houſe*) ſent them to the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, detaining Colonel *Byron*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Priſoners at *Tredagh*, ſuſpecting theſe would deliver him, and the City, to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, then every day expected, Lord Lieutenant out of *France*. The *Scots* Army under Duke *Hamilton*, about this time, entered *England*, to whoſe Proceedings, Major General *Monro*, ſent over into *Scotland*, his Son or Nephew *George Monro*, with 2000 Foot, and 600 Horſe, as Sir *Robert Stewart*, his Son, with a Troop, and Sir *Fred. Hamilton* his, with a Regiment, and ſeveral others, diſaffected to the Parliament of *England*, in hope to ſettle (with advantage) there; By which means, *Belfaſt*, *Carrigfergus*, and *Colrain*, were left very weak, and much un-guarded, which Colonel *Monk* finding, and underſtanding how contrary to all compact, *Monro* had dealt with the Parliament of *England*, in ſending over the Forces (maintain'd by them in *Ireland*) to fight againſt them in *England*; he began to think of ſome means, to make himſelf maſter of thoſe Towns; he was at preſent at *Liſnegarvy*, and prepared a Party to go out to make an inroad into the Rebels Quarters; he march'd away in the morning; but having ſent ſome Perſons of truſt, to remain near *Carigfergus*, to attend his advance thither, he return'd in the night over the mountains, and came at break of day to the Gates of *Carigfergus*, which he found open, and ſo enter'd without reſiſtance; he ſeiz'd upon Major General *Monro*, and ſent him Priſoner into *England*, where he was by the Houſe of Comons committed to the Tower. Colonel *Monk* having thus ſeized upon *Carigfergus*, caus'd ſome Horſe to march preſently away to *Belfaſt*, which was ſurrendred into his hands by the Governor, and ſo was likewiſe *Colrain*, ſo as he preſently became Maſter of all thoſe Towns, disbanding, and ſending away moſt of thoſe Forces into *Scotland*, which oppos'd the Parliament,

Colonel *Monk* ſeizes on *Carrickfergus*.

1648. and hindred thoſe broken Troops of *George Monro*'s, (which fled out of *England*, upon Duke *Hamiltons* defeat at *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*) from returning into *Ireland*, and did uſe all means to ſettle the Country in ſuch a poſture, as that the Intereſt of the Parliament, might be ſecur'd there. He planted Garriſons upon the Frontiers of *Ulſter*, to hinder the incurſions of the Rebels, and he gave the Quarters the *Scots* had, to ſuch of the *Britiſh* as he found faithful to the ſervice. This was about *September*, 1648. a Service very acceptable in *England*; in manifeſtation whereof, the Parliament ſent him 500 *l.* and made him Governor of *Carigfergus*, by an Order of the 4*th.* of *October*, and ſent over Cloaths for ſome of thoſe *Scottiſh* Regiments which came into him, and 5000 *l.* in Money, for the two Provinces, of *Ulſter* and *Connaght*, to be equally divided. Sir *Charles Coot* there being very active, not long after took in the ſtrong Fort of *Culmore*, near *Londonderry*; ſeizing on (at the ſame time) Sir *Robert Stewart*, whom he ſent Priſoner to the Parliament; upon which, the *Scots* Mutinied; but by a Letter from Sir *Robert Stewart*, they were pacified, and all the Affairs of that Province, managed by Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *Robert Stewart* being at Liberty upon his Parole.

Before this, *Townſend*, and *Doily*, two Colonels under *Inchequin* in *Munſter*, ſent over to the Committee at *Derby-Houſe*, ſome Propoſitions, for the ſurrender of the Towns in *Munſter*, upon Condition of indempnity, and receiving part of the Arrears for the whole Army; this was pretended to be acted by the conſent of *Inchequin*, and that he with his own hand, had approved and interlin'd them in ſeveral Places. Hereupon, the Committee at *Derby-Houſe*, ſent back Colonel *Edmond Temple*, with an Anſwer to thoſe Colonels, and Power withall to Treat with the Lord *Inchequin*, about ſomewhat more certain and more reaſonable, to be propounded by him. But before his arrival there, Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, the Princes Secretary, was come from the Prince to *Inchequin*, with a Declaration of the Princes Deſign, to ſend the Duke of *York* into *Ireland*, with ſuch of the revolted Ships as remain'd in *Holland*, and to let him know the hopes he had, that by his aſſiſtance, and the Army under his Command, both he and his Father might be reſtored: This ſo puft up *Inchequin*, as that he would hear of no Overtures, and made him abſolutely diſ-avow to have had any knowledge of the Propoſitions ſent over, and thereupon impriſoned *Townſend*, and *Doily*, thereby putting an iſſue to that Negotiation: Fortifying, beſides all the Harbours againſt the Parliaments Forces, placing and diſplacing their Officers, as he thought moſt convenient, to introduce the Kings keeping a Correſpondence with the Weſt of *Ireland*, as yet free to all Trade, and holding frequent intelligence with *Jarſey*, where the Prince, was ſaid, would keep his Court; Thus the Intereſt of the Parliament was wholly loſt in *Munſter*, where Sir *William Fenton*, Colonel *Fair*, Captain *Fenton*, and other Officers (for their affections to the Parliament) being impriſon'd, were exchang'd in *December*, for the Lord *Inchequin*'s Son, impriſon'd in the Tower, about *October*, 1648.

Some ſuſpicions that the Lord *Inchequin* would have ſubmitted to the Parliament.

The Lord *Inchequin* taken off his inclinations, by hopes of greater Honour.

Near this time *Owen Roe* attempted to reſcue *Fort-Falkland*, beſieged by the Lord *Inchiquin* and Colonel *Preſton* joyn'd; but he was repulſed with the loſs of many men, as his Lieutenant General *Rice Mac-Guire*, and *Lewis More*, dangerouſly hurt; which put *Owen* to ſuch ſtraits, as he made an Overture to Colonel *Jones*, by his Vicar-General *O Rely*, to ſurrender *Athy*,

Athy, *Mary-burrough*, and *Rebban*, and lay down his Arms, if he and his Confederates might have the priviledges they had in King *James*'s time: But *Jones* could better improve the Offers to a beneficial delay, than aſcertain any thing. Though afterwards *Owen Roe* and his Council of Officers, further offered, That if he, nor the new expected Army from *England*, would not moleſt him in his Quarters, but give him leave to depart with his Forces into *Spain*, he would not joyn with *Ormond*, *Preſton*, or *Inchiquin*. 1648.

And here we muſt reſume our account of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who after he had in vain ſolicited ſupplies of Money in *France*, to the end that he might carry ſome Relief to a Kingdom ſo harraſſed and worn, and be the better thereby able to unite thoſe, who would be ſure to have temptation enough of Profit, to go contrary to the Kings obedience; his Excellency was at laſt compelled being with great importunity called by the Lord *Inchiquin* and the reſt, who were reſolv'd to uphold his Majeſties Intereſt) to tranſport himſelf, unfurniſh'd of Money ſufficient, Arms or Ammunition conſiderable, and without any other Retinue than his own Servants, and ſome old Officers of the Kings: And in this Equipage he Embarqu'd from *Haure de Grace* in a *Dutch* Ship, and arriv'd about the end of *September*, 1648. at *Cork*, where he was receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, and the *Iriſh*, with much contentment; ſoon after whoſe arrival (even the 6*th*. of *October*) he publiſhed the enſuing Declaration.

The Marquis of *Ormond*'s return into *Ireland*.

By the Lord Lieutenant General of *Ireland*.

ORMOND,

TO prevent the too frequent prejudices, incident through jealouſies, diſtruſts, and miſ-conſtructions to all undertakings, We account it not the leaſt worthy our labour, upon the inſtant of our arrival, to prepare this People, whoſe welfare we contend for, with a right underſtanding of thoſe intentions in us, which, in order to his Majeſties Service, we deſire may terminate in their good.

To enumerate the ſeveral Reaſons by which we were induc'd (for preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Engliſh *Intereſt) to leave the City of* Dublin, *and other his Majeſties Garriſons then under our Power in this Kingdom, in the hands of thoſe intruſted by his two Houſes of Parliament, were to ſet forth a Narrative in place of a Manifeſt. It may ſuffice to be known, that thoſe Tranſactions had for one main ground this confidence, That by being under the Power of the Houſes, they would upon a happy expected compoſure of Affairs in* England, *revert unto, and be reveſted in his Majeſty as his proper right.*

But having found how contrary to the inclinations of the well-affected to his Majeſties reſtauration in England, *the Power of that Kingdom hath unhappily devolv'd to hands, imployed onely in the art and labour of pulling down, and ſubverting the Fundamentals of Monarchy, (with whom a pernicious Party in this Kingdom do equally ſympathize and co-operate.) And being*

1648. *being filled with a deep ſenſe of the Duty and obligations that are upon us, ſtrictly to embrace all opportunities of employing our endeavours, towards the recovery of his Majeſties juſt Rights, in any part of his Dominions. Having obſerved the Proteſtant Army in the Province of* Munſter *(by ſpecial providence diſcovering the Arts and practiſes uſed to intangle the Members thereof, in engagements as directly contrary to their Duties towards God and Man, as to their intentions and reſolutions) to have found means to manifeſt the Candor and Integrity thereof, in a diſclaimer of any obedience to, or concurrence with thoſe Powers or Perſons, which have ſo groſly vari'd even their own profeſſed Principles of preſerving his Majeſties Perſon and Rights, by confining him under a moſt ſtrict Impriſonment, his Majeſty alſo vouchſafing graciouſly to accept the Declaration of the ſaid Army, as an eminent and ſeaſonable expreſſion of their fidelity toward him, and in teſtimony thereof, having laid his Commands upon us to make our repair unto this Province, to diſcharge the duties of our Place.*

We have as well in obedience thereunto, as in purſuance of our own duty, and deſire to advance his Majeſties Service, reſolved to evidence our approbation and eſteem of the proceedings of the ſaid Army, by publiſhing unto the World our like determination in the ſame enſuing particulars. And accordingly we profeß and declare,

Firſt, to improve our utmoſt endeavours for the ſettlement of the Proteſtant Religion, according to the example of the beſt Reformed Churches.

Secondly, to defend the King in his Prerogatives.

Thirdly, to maintain the Priviledges and Freedom of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subjects; that in order hereunto we ſhall oppoſe, to the hazard of our lives, thoſe Rebels of this Kingdom, who ſhall refuſe their obedience to his Majeſty, upon ſuch terms as he hath thought fit by us to require it; and we ſhall endeavour to the utmoſt, the ſuppreſſing of that Independent-Party, *who have thus fiercely laboured the extirpation of the true Proteſtant Religion, the ruine of our Prince, the diſhonour of Parliament, and the Vaſſalage of our Fellow-Subjects, againſt all thoſe who ſhall depend upon them, or adhere unto them. And that this our undertaking might not appear obnoxious to the Trade of* England, *but that we deſire a firm Union and Agreement be preſerved betwixt us, we do likewiſe declare, that we will continue free Traffick and Commerce with all his Majeſties good Subjects of* England; *and that we will not in the leaſt manner prejudice any of them that ſhall have recourſe to our Harbours, either in their Bodies, Ships, or Goods; nor ſhall we take any thing from them, without payment of ready money for the ſame. And now that by his Majeſties ſaid Command, we have proceeded to re-enter upon the work of his Service in this Province, We conceive no higher teſtimony can be given of his Majeſties acceptation, or of the eſtimation we bear about us towards their Proceedings, than by reſorting unto them in Perſon with his Majeſties Authority, and exhibiting unto them the incouragement and ſatisfaction they may receive in this aſſurance, That as we bear an eſpecial regard to their preſent undertakings and performances, accompanied with a real ſenſe of their former ſufferings; ſo leſt there ſhould any advantage be derived unto thoſe, who endeavour to improve all opportunities of ſowing ſedition and diſtruſt by this ſuggeſtion, that the former differences in Judgment and Opinion, which have induced perſons to ſerve diverſly under his Majeſty, and the Parliament, will occaſion prejudice, or ill reſentments to ariſe towards ſuch Perſons, as have not formerly concurred in Judgment with others in his Majeſties Service.*

1648.

Service. We do declare, that we are qualifi'd with ſpecial Power and Authority from his Majeſty, to aſſure them, that no diſtinction ſhall be made in any ſuch Conſideration, but that all Perſons now intereſted and engaged in this Cauſe, ſhall be reflected upon with equal fervour and regard; and that we ſhall make it our endeavours ſo to improve and confirm his Majeſties Gracious diſpoſure towards them, as that we will never call to memory any paſt difference in Opinion, Judgment, Action, or Profeſſion, to the prejudice of any Member of this Army, or any Perſon relating to it; but on the contrary, ſhall be very ready to atteſt our good affections towards them, in the diſcharge of ſuch good Offices as ſhall be in our power; in return whereof, we ſhall onely expect their perſeverance in their preſent Ingagements for his Majeſties Service, with ſuch alacrity, conſtancy, and affection, as may ſuit with their late publick Declaration and Profeſſions. To whom we deſire this aſſurance alſo may be inculcated, That as we ſhall in the future uſe our utmoſt care and diligence to provide for their preſervation from the like hardſhips, to thoſe they have formerly undergone; ſo we have already employ'd our beſt induſtry and endeavours for the ſettlement of ſuch a courſe, as we may (with moſt reaſon) hope, will, in theſe uncertain times, produce a conſtant and competent Subſiſtance for them, enabling them to make ſuch a progreſs in their preſent undertakings, as may, with the accompliſhment of the great ends thereof, eſtabliſh their own Honour and Content. Thus much we have thought fit to publiſh unto the World, to furniſh it with an evidence of ſtrong conviction againſt us, if we ever ſwerve (to the beſt of our power) from the juſt ways of maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Intereſt of his Sacred Majeſty, the juſt Rights of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subjects, and the ſafety, quiet, and welfare of the People intruſted to our Care.

At *Cork*, 6. *Octob.* 1648.

Here it muſt not be forgotten, that during the time the Marquis was in *France*, and after the Parliaments Forces had, upon ſo great inequality of number, defeated the *Iriſh*, and in all Encounters driven them into their Faſtneſſes, the Confederate Catholicks had eaſily diſcern'd the miſchiefs they had brought upon themſelves, by forcing the Kings Authority out of the Kingdom, and introducing another, which had no purpoſes of mercy towards them: And therefore they had ſent the Lord Marquis of *Antrim*, who from the beginning had paſſionately ſerv'd them in their moſt intimate Concerns, the Lord Viſcount *Muskery*, and others, as their Commiſſioners to the Queen of *England*, and to her Son the Prince of *Wales*, who were both then at *Paris*, to beſeech them (ſince by reaſon of the King's impriſonment they could not be ſuffered to apply themſelves to his Majeſty) to take compaſſion of the miſerable condition of *Ireland*, and to reſtore that Nation to their protection; making ample profeſſions and proteſtations of Duty, and of applying themſelves for the future to his Majeſties Service, if they might be once again own'd by him, and countenanced and conducted by his Authority. And thereupon the Queen and Prince anſwered thoſe Perſons, *That they would ſhortly ſend a Perſon qualifi'd to treat with them, who ſhould have power to give them whatſoever was requiſite to their ſecurity and happineſs.* With which Anſwer they return'd well ſatisfi'd into *Ireland*: So that as ſoon as the Lord

The Marquis of *Antrim* and the Lord *Muſkery* ſent to the Queen and the Prince in *France*, to conſider the Confederates Condition.

The Queen and Prince's Anſwer.

1648. Lord Lieutenant was Landed at *Cork*, he wrote, the 4*th.* of *October*, to the Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks then at *Kilkenny*, *That he was, upon the humble Petition which they had preſented to the Queen and Prince, come with full power to conclude a Peace with them, and to that purpoſe deſir'd, that as little time might be loſt as was poſſible; and that Commiſſioners might be ſent to him at his Houſe at* Carrick, *whither he would go to expect them*; within 14 miles of the Place where the Aſſembly then ſate, who were ſo much gladder of his preſence, by the obligation which they had newly received from the Kings Authority: For when the *Nuncio* and *Owen O Neil* had thought to have ſurprized them, and to have compelled them to renounce the Ceſſation, the Lord *Inchequin* being ſent unto by them for his protection, had march'd with his Army to their relief, and forc'd *O Neal* over the *Shannon*, thereby reſtoring them to liberty and freedom, ſo that they return'd a meſſage of joy and congratulation to the Lord Lieutenant for his ſafe arrival, and appointed Commiſſioners to treat with him at the place appointed.

A Copy of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Letter to the Supreme Council afore-mention'd, was gotten by Colonel *Jones*, and ſent over to the Committee of *Derby-houſe*; *and being read in the Houſe of Commons*, it was Voted to be ſent down into the *Iſle of Wight*, to the Commiſſioners then Treating there with the King, to know if he would avow it; and in caſe he did diſavow it, that then he would declare againſt the Marquis: Whereupon his Majeſty ſignifi'd, *That in caſe other things were compos'd by the Treaty, the Concerns of* Ireland *ſhould be left wholely to the management of the Houſes.* And in the interim writes to the Marquis of *Ormond* this Letter.

His Majeſties Anſwer to the Parliaments Meſſage touching the Lord Lieutenant.

C. R.

RIght Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, We greet you well. Whereas We have received ſeveral Informations from Our two Houſes of Parliament, concerning your proceedings with the Confederate Roman Catholicks *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *(the ſeveral Votes and Extracts whereof We do herewith tranſmit unto you) and foraſmuch as We are now engaged in a Treaty of Peace with Our two Houſes, wherein We have made ſuch large Conceſſions, as We hope will prove the foundation of a bleſſed Peace. And We having conſented by one Article (if the ſaid Treaty take effect) to entruſt the Proſecution and Management of the War in* Ireland *to the Guidance and Advice of Our two Houſes; We have therefore thought fit hereby to require you, to deſert from any further Proceedings upon the Matters contained in the ſaid Papers:*

And

And We expect ſuch Obedience unto this Our Command, that Our Houſes deſires may be fully ſatisfi'd. 1648.

Given at *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*, the 25th of *November*, in the 24th Year of Our Reign.

To Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, James *Marquis of* Ormond.

As ſoon as the Parliament received this Letter, ſome were of opinion that it ſhould be immediately ſent to the Marquis of *Ormond*; yet others (aiming at what afterwards was brought upon the Stage) laid it (as it's ſaid) aſide: We find by the event it produced nothing, for the Treaty proceeded, a Peace enſuing; though (as yet) *Owen Roe* was ſo far from being reconcil'd to the Supreme Council, or any that adher'd thereunto, as he fell moſt violently (in the end of *November*) upon the Earl of *Clanrickard*'s Party, gaining *Jameſtown* by Compoſition, and *Drumruſk* by the Sword, *Rory Mac-Guire* (the prime Inſtrument herein) with ſeveral other Officers and Common Soldiers, to the number of 4 or 500 being there ſlain; *Owen Roe*'s Party afterwards putting all to the Sword, ſave Major *Bourk* his Wife and Children, cruelly haraſſing the whole County of *Roſcommon*.

The Confederates Commiſſioners come to the Lord Lieutenant at *Carrick*.

The 19*th*. of *October*, the Confederate Catholick's Commiſſioners came to *Carrick*, an Houſe of the Marquis's, where he continued about twenty days, which they ſpent principally in matters of Religion; in treating whereof, they were ſo bound and limited by their Inſtructions, and could make ſo little progreſs of themſelves, being ſtill to give an account to the Aſſembly of whatſoever was propos'd or offer'd by the Lord Lieutenant, and to expect its Direction or Determination before they proceed; that for the husbanding of time (which was now very precious, the prevailing Party in *England* every day more diſcovering their bloody purpoſes towards the King) the Aſſembly thought it fit to deſire the Marquis to repair to his own Caſtle at *Kilkenny*, which they offered to deliver into his hands, and that (for his Honour and Security) he ſhould bring his own Guards, who ſhould have the reception due to them: And upon this invitation (about the middle of *November*) he went to *Kilkenny*; before the entry into which, he was met by the whole Body of the Aſſembly, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, and in the ſame Town was receiv'd with all thoſe requiſite Ceremonies by the Mayor and Aldermen, as ſuch a Corporation uſe to pay to the Supreme Authority of the Kingdom; ſo that greater evidence could not be given of an entire union in the deſire of the People of returning to the Kings obedience, or of more affection and reſpect to the Perſon of the Lord Lieutenant, who by his ſteady purſuing thoſe profeſſions he had always made, by his neglect and contempt of the Parliamentarians, and their prodi-

1648. gious Power whilſt he was in *England*, by his refuſing all Overtures made by them unto him for his particular benefit, if he would live in the Kingdom, and by their declared manifeſt hatred and malice towards him, was now ſuperiour to all thoſe Calumnies they had aſperſed him with: and confeſſed to be worthy of a joynt truſt from the moſt different and divided Intereſts and Deſigns: However, there were ſo many Paſſions, and Humours, and Intereſts to be compli'd with, and all Concluſions to paſs the Approbations of ſo many Votes, that it was the middle of *January* before all Opinions could be ſo reconciled, as to produce a perfect and entire Contract and Agreement, which about that time paſſed with that miraculous conſent and unity, that in the whole Aſſembly, in which there were Catholick Biſhops, there was not one diſſenting Voice: So that on the 17*th*. of *January*, 1648. the whole Aſſembly repair'd to the Lord Lieutenant in his Caſtle at *Kilkenny*, and there with all ſolemnity imaginable preſented him, by the hand of their Chair-man or Speaker, the Articles of Peace, as concluded, aſſented, and ſubmitted unto by the whole Body of the Catholick Nation of *Ireland*; which he receiv'd, and ſolemnly confirm'd on his Majeſties behalf, and caus'd the ſame that day to be Proclaim'd in that Town, to the great joy of all who were preſent, and it was with all ſpeed accordingly Proclaim'd, and as joyfully receiv'd, in all the Cities and Incorporate Towns which profeſſed any Allegiance to the King throughout the Kingdom; and for the better reception thereof amongſt the People, and to manifeſt the ſatisfaction and joy they took in it, the Catholick Biſhops ſent out their Declarations and Letters, that they were abundantly ſatisfi'd in whatſoever concern'd Religion, and the ſecure practice thereof: Certainly well they might, for unleſs it had been at ſuch a time that his Majeſty had been reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity, a Prince could be compell'd to ſuch diſingenious and hard terms, could never have been ſtood upon with a free and generous Prince; in as much as his preſent Majeſty, in his Declaration for the ſettlement of *Ireland*, there takes notice, *That no body could wonder that he was deſirous (though upon difficult conditions) to get ſuch an united Power of his own Subjects, as might have been able (with Gods bleſſing) to have prevented the infamous and horrid Parricide intended.* But how ineffectual this his Indulgence after prov'd, will appear, *by theſe Wretches fooliſhly forfeiting all the Grace which they might have expected from him.* But to proceed. When the Articles of Peace were preſented (in that ſolemn manner to him by the Aſſembly, after a Speech made by the Chair-man *) The Lord Lieutenant expreſs'd himſelf in theſe words.

The Peace of 1648. concluded.

* Sir *Richard Blake* Knight.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Lord Lieutenant's Speech upon the preſenting of the Articles of Peace.

I Shall not ſpeak to thoſe expreſſions of Duty and Loyalty, ſo eloquently digeſted into a Diſcourſe, by the Gentleman appointed by you to deliver your ſence; you will preſently have in your hands greater and more ſolid Arguments of his Majeſties Gracious acceptance, than I can enumerate, or perhaps you your ſelves diſcern: For beſides the proviſion made againſt the remoteſt fears, fear of ſeverity of certain Laws, and beſides many other

Freedoms

Freedoms and Bounties conveyed to you and your Poſterity by thoſe Articles, there is a door, and that a large one, not left, but purpoſely ſet open to give you entrance, by your future Merit, to whatſoever of Honour and Advantage you can reaſonably wiſh: So that you have in preſent fruition what may abundantly ſatisfie, and yet there are no bounds ſet to your hopes; but you are rather invited, or (to uſe a new phraſe, but to another and better end) you ſeem to have a Call from Heaven *to exerciſe your Arms and uttermoſt Fortitude, in the Nobleſt and Juſteſt Cauſe the World hath ſeen; for let all the Circumſtantes incident to a great and good Cauſe be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably call'd to defend, Religion, not in the narrow circumſcribed definition of it, by this or that late found out name, but Chriſtian Religion is our Quarrel, which certainly is as much and fatally ſtruck at (I may ſay more) by the blaſphemous Licenſe of this Age, than ever it was by the rudeſt Incurſions of the moſt barbarous and avowed Enemy to Chriſtianity; the Venerable Laws and Fundamental Conſtitutions of our Anceſtors are trodden under Impious, and, for the moſt part, Mechanick feet.* 1648.

The Sacred Perſon of our King (the Life of thoſe Laws, and Head of thoſe Conſtitutions) is under an ignominious Impriſonment, and his Life threaten'd to be taken away by the Sacrilegious hands of the baſeſt of the People, that owed him obedience; and (to endear the Quarrel to you) the Fountain of all the benefits you have but now acknowledg'd, and which you may further hope for by this Peace, and your own Merit, is endangered to be obſtructed by the execrable murther of the worthieſt Prince that ever Ruled theſe Iſlands.

Inſhort, Hell cannot add any thing to the deſperate Miſchiefs now openly projected: and now judge if a greater and more glorious Field was ever ſet open to Action, and then prepare your ſelves to enter into it, receiving theſe few advices from him, that is throughly Embarqu'd with you in the Adventure.

Firſt, let me recommend to you, that to this, as unto all holy Actions, (as certainly this is) you will prepare your ſelves with perfect Charity, a Charity that may obliterate what-ever Rancor the long continued War may have contracted in you, againſt any that ſhall now co-operate with you in ſo bleſſed a Work; and let his Engagement with you in this, whoever he is, be (as it ought to be) a Bond of Unity, of Love, of Concord, ſtronger than the neareſt Tyes *of Nature.*

In the next place, mark and beware of thoſe, who ſhall go about to renew jealouſies in you, under what pretence ſoever, and account ſuch as the infernal Miniſters, imploy'd to promote the black deſign on foot, to ſubvert Monarchy, and to make us all ſlaves to their own avaritious luſts. Away (as ſoon and as much as poſſible may be) with diſtinction of Nation and Parties, which are the fields wherein the ſeeds of thoſe Rancour-weeds are ſown by the great Enemy of our Peace.

In the laſt place, let us all diveſt our ſelves of that prepoſterous and ridiculous ambition and ſelf-intereſt, which rather leads to our own threatned general ruine, than to the enjoyment of advantages unreaſonably deſired.

And if at any time you think your ſelves pinch'd too near the bone by thoſe Taxes and Levies that may be impoſed for your defence, conſider then how vain, how fooliſh a thing it will be to ſtarve a righteous Cauſe for want of a neceſſary ſupport, to preſerve your ſelves fat and gilded Sacrifices to the rapine of a mercileſs Enemy.

1648. *And if we come thus well prepared to a Contention so just on our Parts, God will bless our Endeavours with success and victory, or will crown our Sufferings with honour and patience; for what honour will it not be, if God hath so determin'd of us, to perish with a long glorious Monarchy? and who can want patience to suffer with an oppressed Prince? But as our Endeavours, so let our Prayers be vigorous, that he may be delivered from a more unnatural Rebellion, than is mention'd by any Story, now raised to the highest pitch of Success against him.*

I should now say something to you as to my self, in Retribution to the advantagious mention made of me and my Endeavours, to the bringing this Settlement to pass: But, I confess, my thoughts were taken up with those much greater Concernments. Let it suffice, that as I wish to be continued in your good Esteem and Affection, so I shall freely adventure upon any hazard, and esteem no trouble or difficulty too great to encounter, if I may manifest any Zeal to this Cause, and discharge some part of the Obligations that are upon me, to serve this Kingdom.

The Lord Lieutenant, by the Commissioners of Trust, infinitely abridged in his Office.

It will not here be necessary to insert the Articles of Peace at large, which are publickly known to the World, though we shall sum them up in brief. It is sufficient that the Lord Lieutenant granted all that was enough, in the Judgements of the *Romish Catholick* Bishops, and even of the Bishop of *Ferns*, (that Incendiary, and still waspish Prelate) requisite to a peaceable and secure profession of that Religion, with such countenancing of, and support to it, as from the first planting of it, it had never (in some respects) been possessed of in that Kingdom; but was likewise compelled so far to comply with the Fears and Jealousies of divers, (who by often breaking their Faith, and from a greater guilt were apprehensive, that all that was promised to them, might not be hereafter observed) as to divest himself of that full and absolute Power, that was inherent in his Office, and was never more fit to be exercised, than for the carrying that Design, in which they seem'd all to agree, and to make 12 *Commissioners* *, (nam'd and chosen by the Assembly, to look to the observation and performance of the said Articles, until the same should be ratified, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament) *joynt sharers with him in his Authority*: So that he could neither levy Souldiers, raise Money, or so much as erect Garrisons, without the approbation and consent of the major part of those Commissioners; the danger and mischief of which limitation and restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that People, and composing them to an entire confidence in the Peace, (which could be compassed no other way) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it: And then the abilities and the affections of the Commissioners, were so well known and approved by him, that having most of them (in appearance) the same good Ends with him, he presum'd, he should with less difficulty be able to perswade, which were the nearest and most natural ways that conduced thereunto.

The Commissioners of Trust. * *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costeloe*, Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskery*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander MacDonnel* Esq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwal* Baronet, *Geoffry Brown*, *Donnogh OCallaghan*, *Tirlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerald Fennel*, Esquires.

The

1648.

The Heads of the Articles of Peace, 1648.

1. THat the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland* have free Exerciſe of Religion, all Penalties taken off, not obliged to the Oath of Supremacy, to enjoy all Churches and Church-Livings they have in preſent poſſeſſion, and the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction therein.

2. That a Parliament be had within 6 months, or when after the *Roman Catholicks* ſhall deſire.

3. That all Laws made in the Parliament of *England* ſince 1641. in blemiſh of the Catholicks, are at the next Parliament to be vacated.

4. All Indictments againſt any Catholicks ſince 1641. be vacated.

5. All Impediments to be taken away, that Catholicks be elected in Parliament.

6. All Debts to remain as they were *Feb.*8. 1641. notwithſtanding any Attainder.

7. The Eſtates of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of *Connaght*, *Clare*, *Thomond*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*, be ſecured by an Act.

8. All Incapacities of the Natives in *Ireland* be taken away by Act.

9. All Honours, Truſts, Imployments, or ſuch like, be conferred as well upon Catholicks as Proteſtants.

10. That the King take 12000 *l. per annum*, in lieu of the Court of Wards.

11. No Noblemen to have more Proxies than two in Parliament, and all Blanks to be null.

12. That the depending of the Parliament of *Ireland* upon *England*, ſhall be as both ſhall agree and ſtand with the Laws of *Ireland*.

13. That the Council-Table meddle only with Matters of State.

14. That all Acts forbidding the Tranſport of Wooll, be null'd by the next Parliament.

15. That if any have been wrong'd by Grants from King *James*, or ſince, they may Petition, and have Relief in Parliament.

16. That divers particular Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, who have been (as they conceiv'd) wrong'd, ſhall now be righted.

17. That all who had their Eſtates taken from them in *Cork*, *Toughall*, and *Dungarvan*, have reſtoration or Rent.

18. That in the next Parliament an Act of Oblivion paſs to all in *Ireland*, and that adhered to them.

19. That no Officer of Eminency in *Ireland* farm the Cuſtoms.

20. An Act to paſs againſt Monopoliſts.

21. That the Court of *Caſtle-Chamber* be regulated.

22. That the Acts for prohibiting plowing with Horſes by the Tayls, and burning Oats in the Straw, be null.

23. An Act for taking off the Grievances of the Kingdom.

24. That Maritime Cauſes be determin'd in *Ireland*.

25. That no Rents be rais'd upon the Subjects, under pretence of defective Titles.

26. That

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26. That Intereſt-Money be forgiven from 1641.

27. That all this be acted, and be of force, till a Parliament agree the ſame.

28. The Commiſſioners for the Catholicks that treated, agree upon ſuch as ſhall be Commiſſioners of the Peace, and hear all Cauſes under 10 *l.*

29. That all Governours of Towns, Caſtles and Places, made by the King, be with the Approbation of the Catholick Commiſſioners.

30. That none of his Majeſty's Rents be paid, until a full Settlement in Parliament.

31. That the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* do try Murthers, Stealing, and all inferiour Treſpaſſes of that nature.

32. That hereafter ſuch Differencies as ſhall ariſe between Subjects, be determin'd by a Court in *Ireland*, not transfer'd to *England*.

33. That the *Roman Clergy*, that behave themſelves according to the Agreement, be not moleſted.

Laſtly, That his Majeſty pleaſe to grant what-ever elſe is neceſſary for the *Roman Catholicks*.

Upon which Peace, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Taaff*, and that Party, engag'd to raiſe for *Munſter*, 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe; the ſupream Council and *Preſton* for *Leimſter*, 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe; *Inchiquin*, 3000 Foot and 600 Horſe; the Lord of *Clanrickard* for *Connaght*, proportionable to the firſt: In all, 15000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, beſides what *Owen Roe* (upon his uniting afterwards) might bring in, computed to be 5000 Foot and 500 Horſe, that in the whole, a gallanter Army (had they been unanimous) could ſcarce have been marſhall'd.

Owen O Neal and *Antrim* refuſe to ſubmit to the Peace

With what Conſent and Unity ſoever this Peace was made, by thoſe who had any pretence to Truſt, or to whom there was the leaſt Deputation of Authority and Power by the Nation, yet *Owen O Neal* (with whom the Earl of *Antrim* joyn'd) had the greateſt Influence upon the Humours and Inclinations of the old *Iriſh*, who had given themſelves up to the *Nuncio*, and who indeed had a better diſciplin'd, and conſequently a ſtronger Army at his Command, than the Confederates thought he could have gain'd to his Devotion, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to it. So that the Lord Lieutenant, (as ſoon as the Peace was concluded) was as well to provide againſt him, to remove ſome Garriſons he held, which infeſted thoſe who obeyed the Acts of the Aſſembly, and to prevent his Incurſion, as to raiſe an Army againſt the Spring, to march againſt the *Engliſh*, who were poſſeſſed of *Dublin*, and all the Countrey, and important Places of that Circuit, and who, he was ſure, would be ſupplied with all aſſiſtance of Shipping, Men, Money, Victuals and Ammunition, which the Parliament of *England* (who had now murthered their Sovereign, and incorporated themſelves under the Name and Title of a *Common-wealth*) could ſend them. And he was in a worſe condition to prevail againſt *both theſe*, by the unhappy Temper and Conſtitution of the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, who, being very numerous, and poſſeſſed of the ſtrong Towns, (though in profeſſion they abhorred the Regicides, and were not reconcilable to *Owen O Neal* and his Party) were (as yet) as un-inclined to the Peace made with the Confederates, and far from paying an obedience and full ſubmiſ-

The *Scots* not yet willing to joyn in the Peace.

ſion

ſion, to the Orders and Government of the Lord Lieutenant, maintaining, at the ſame time, the Presbyterian Form in their Church, and an utter Independency in the State, and out of thoſe contradictory Ingredients, compounding ſuch a peeviſh and wayward Affection and Duty to the King, as could not be applied to the bearing any part, in the great Work the Marqueſs was incumbent to. 1648.

As ſoon as he heard of the Murther of the King, he proclaim'd our preſent Sovereign, *Charles* the 2d. King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, at *Carrick*, the 16th. of *Feb.* 1648.

And being (by a Clauſe in his late Commiſſion from his Majeſty) qualified with ſpecial Power and Authority, to make no diſtinction (in difference of Judgement) betwixt any who ſhould ſubject their Aſſiſtance to his Majeſty's Service, he ſoon won the *Scots* to a compliance, though under the ſhackles of their Covenant, who immediately us'd the moſt favourable Arguments they could, to win Sir *Charles Coot* to their Party. And to that end, (from the Congregation of the Presbytery at *Belfaſt*, the 15th. of *Feb.* 1648.) they tempt him (by ſeveral Repreſentations) with their Sence: To which, the 7th. of *March* enſuing, Sir *Charles Coot*, and the Council of War, (held at *London-derry*) return'd theſe Reaſons, for their Diſ-agreement.

Firſt, We find no part of God's Word authorizing us, being but a Branch of a ſubordinate Kingdom, to declare againſt the Parliament of *England*, under whom we ſerve, who are the viſible Authority of both Kingdoms, and againſt an Army, acting by their Power, before we receive from themſelves a Declaration, and Grounds of thoſe Proceedings, wherewith they are aſpers'd.

Secondly, For the Covenant we have taken, on which your Repreſentations ſeem to be grounded, we cannot find, we have ſworn to act, according to the Principles you now declare: For, in ſome things, if we admit of your Repreſentation, we ſhall be neceſſitated to act, againſt what we have ſworn unto in the Covenant. For,

The firſt Article, wherein we are bound to a preſervation of the preſent Diſcipline in *Scotland*; we are in the ſame Article obliged, to a Reformation of the ſame in *England* and *Ireland*, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches, which (no doubt) the Parliament will in due time eſtabliſh: In the interim, we are un-ſatisfied with any Power, that acts in this Caſe, without their Direction.

For what you ſpeak in relation to the King's Perſon, we have yet no certainty out of *England*, concerning that Matter, and it is an action of ſo tranſcendent degree, that till we receive ſome poſitive Reſolution concerning it from *England*, we ought not to proceed in giving our Sence of it.

In the 5th. Article of the Covenant, we are ſworn to endeavour the continuing the Kingdoms in Union, in which we deſire your ſelves to be Judges, if the publiſhing of your Repreſentations, be a probable way to obſerve the Oath.

In the 6th. Article, we are ſworn to defend thoſe joyn'd with us in this Covenant, and not to ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly to combine againſt them: Now, till we receive a full Declaration of their falling from thoſe Principles of this Covenant, how can we with ſafety to our own Con-

1648. Conſciences, declare a War againſt them, without breaking the Covenant in this Particular?

In the next place, We find ſome things in your Repreſentations, wherein (as we conceive) you are not rightly informed.

Firſt, In that you ſay, *The Parliament hath broken the Covenant, in oppoſing the Presbyterial Government*; which can no ways appear, ſince the ſame Government, by their appointment, is obſerv'd throughout *England*, and that the Covenant obligeth them to eſtabliſh the Government no further, than is agreeable to God's Word.

Secondly, You ſay, *That you have deeply ſworn in the firſt Article, to maintain the Church-Government, as it is in the Church of* Scotland; which they have not ſworn, the part of the Oath, for preſervation of the Government, relating only to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Reformation of Religion, to the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

Thirdly, 'Tis affirmed, *That the Power now governing in* England, *doth labour to eſtabliſh by Law an univerſal toleration of all Religions*; which yet was never done by them.

Laſtly, The ſad Conſequences which will un-avoidably follow, if we purſue the Intention of the Repreſentations, are theſe:

Firſt, By declaring ſuch an open War againſt the Parliament, we ſhould deprive our ſelves of all Succours and Supplies out of *England*, which have been hitherto a great part of our ſubſiſtence.

Secondly, The purſuing of ſuch a War, will un-avoidably ſow ſuch Diviſions amongſt us, who, in theſe Parts, are of ſuch different Principles and Practices, that we ſhall ſoon become inſtruments of our own ruine.

Thirdly, It will compel us, for our own preſervation, to joyn with the Rebels, or deſert this Kingdom.

And laſtly, It will, without any lawful Call, engage us in a War againſt an Army, who have, under God, been the inſtruments of redeeming *England* out of thraldom, and was not long ſince acknowledged to have been ſo inſtrumental, in ſetling *Scotland* in the Peace and Quietneſs it now enjoyeth, and this at the Charge of *England*, as the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth thankfully witneſs.

Theſe things therefore being duely weighed, we deſire you, in the fear of God, ſeriouſly to take this our Anſwer into your Conſiderations, and to remember on whom the guilt of innocent blood will fall, if you inforce a War; and to ſet before your eyes, the puniſhment from Heaven, which hath ſtill attended the Endeavours of all, who have deſerted the Quarrel in this Kingdom, to engage againſt the Parliament of *England*. From viſible Judgements, we are reſolv'd, by God's aſſiſtance, to take ſo good warning, as we will not be guilty of deſtroying the Cauſe, we have ſo long labour'd into countenance for your Repreſentations, till we be better ſatisfied in our Conſciences, though we will not directly or indirectly countenance any Sectaries or Schiſmaticks, who-ever is truely ſo called, contrary to our Solemn League and Covenant; but we will, to the utmoſt of our Endeavours, continue faithful in the proſecution of the Rebels in this Kingdom, and their Abettors, wherein we ſhall not doubt of the Bleſſing and Protection of the Almighty, upon our lawful and juſt Endeavours. And for furtherance hereof, we deſire, in the laſt place, that

that we ſhould all declare againſt the Peace laſt made by the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, as that which will (if not proteſted againſt) ruine and deſtroy your Service of this Kingdom, againſt the Rebels. 1649.

Here it's evident, that Sir *Charles Coot* could by no ways be brought on; yet the Peace being ſettled, his Excellency endeavour'd to work over Lieutenant General *Jones* to his Party; to which end his Excellency vouchſafed to write to him many Letters from *Thurles*, the 27. of *March*, 1649. all anſwer'd without the leaſt compliance on *Jones*'s ſide. He, by his Reply the 31. of *March*, 1649. charging the fatal and inhumane Act (perpetrated on his Majeſty) to his Excellency's arrival in *Ireland*, during the Treaty at *Carisbrook*, *whereby the ſincerity of that Treaty was queſtion'd*, occaſionally (writes he) producing what thereupon followed; ſo as in concluſion he profeſſed, *That were there neither King or Parliament, he ſhould yet ſtand firm to his Principles, to preſerve the* Engliſh *Intereſt in* Ireland, *that being a Cauſe alien from what was acted in* England, *Foraign to his Work and Truſt, which if he ſhould not perform, would not eaſily be expiated by a ſlender or lean Manifeſt:* upon which no more Letters paſs'd betwixt them; though the Lord *Inchequin* in *June*, from the Camp at *Finglaſs*, 1649. renewed the Attempt, and was anſwer'd with the like Reſolution, and ſome Reflections on his Lordſhip.

The Lord Lieutenant treats with *Jones* to come in. 1649.

Inchequin does the like, but in-effectually.

About which time, *Ireland* came again to be ſeriouſly thought of by the Parliament, though hitherto it was (in ſome reſpects) made a Stale for ſeveral Deſigns then on foot. *Jones* was much confided in; but it was thought requiſite, the weight of that Buſineſs ſhould lye on other ſhoulders, not his; *Cromwel* therefore (about the 28 of *March*) was voted General of *Ireland*, *Skippon* (under the Title of Martial General) having refuſed the Command; and theſe enſuing *Votes* paſſed thereupon.

1. That ſuch Regiments as ſhould be alloted for the *Iriſh* Service, ſhould have their Arrears audited, ſtated, and Debentors given for their reſpective Services.

2. That viſible Security ſhould be given, ſo that any Friend (or other, being intruſted with a Debentor) might receive it at a time preſcrib'd by the Parliament.

3. That thoſe who go for *Ireland*, ſhould be firſt ſatisfied for their Arrears, ſince 1645.

4. That out of the 120000 *l. per menſem*, for *England* and *Ireland*, three months Pay ſhould be given to thoſe that go.

5. That private Souldiers, and *non*-Commiſſion-Officers, ſhould receive 2 Months Pay of Arrears; and Commiſſion-Officers, under a Captain, one Months Pay.

6. That Magazines for Proviſions be ſettled at *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, *Liverpool*, *Beaumaris*, and *Milford*.

7. That a ſufficient Squadron of Ships be appointed for the *Iriſh* Coaſt.

8. That Ships ſhould be Victuall'd at *Dublin*, *Liverpool*, and *Beaumaris*, and a Court of Admiralty ſhould be erected at *Dublin*, to prevent their coming into *England*, to diſpoſe of Prizes, and ſo neglect the Service.

9. That the Pay of the Officers and Souldiers, ſhould be according to the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, onely the Officers to receive for the preſent, the ſame Pay as here.

1649. 10. That an Hoſpital for ſick and maim'd Souldiers, ſhould be erected at *Dublin*.

11. That the Parliaments Forces already in *Ireland*, and thoſe then ready to go over, ſhould be in one Army, and one Eſtabliſhment.

12. That 5000 Quarters of bread-Corn, 200 Tun of Salt, 200 Tun of Cheeſe, ſhould be tranſported with thoſe who now go over.

13. A Competent Train of Artillery, with Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* ſhould be ſent, and a care to be taken to ſend over Recruits of Horſe, as there ſhould be occaſion.

Laſtly, That there be Recruits of Horſe, Foot, Arms, Saddles, *&c.* ready to ſupply the Service of *Ireland*, to be ſent over, as need ſhall require.

Thus provided, *Cromwel* prepares for his Journey; though to accommodate him with an Army of 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, no ſmall difference aroſe betwixt the Presbyterian and Independent at that time, undermining each other, the Levellers being pragmatick; He, however, carried over ſome of the diſcontented Perſons on each ſide, finding them there work enough againſt a common Enemy: And ſo prepared for his Journey, 120000 *l.* being borrowed of the City, upon the Credit of the Ordinance of 90000 *l.* a month. In the interim, he gets Sir *Theophilus Jones*, (who was ſent to the Parliament from his Brother) diſpatch'd for *Ireland* with 1500 Quarters of Corn, and 10000 *l.* in Money, little enough to hearten the Souldiers, frequently then deſerting the Parliament, and flying to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*; yea, the Regiment the Parliament (ſent under Colonel *Tuthil*, being made up of Volantiers, moſt of thoſe engaged in *Colcheſter* Deſign) mutinied, being ſent over without Money, Proviſions, or Cloaths, thereby indangering the City more then the Marqueſs.

The *Scots*, in the interim, in a *Remonſtrance and Declaration*, (to which, on the leaſt Motive, they are naturally inclin'd) *of the general Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland, *concerning preſent and eminent danger, the* 13th. *of* Febr. 1649. declared, amongſt other things, as Grievances, *That the ſtanding Armies in* Ireland, *under the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *the Lord* Inchequin, *and the Lords of* Ards, *and* George Monro, *forgetting all the horrible cruelty that was exerciſed by the* Iriſh *Rebels, upon many thouſands of the* Engliſh *and* Scottiſh *Nations in that Land, have enter'd into a Peace and Aſſociation with them, that they may the more eaſily carry on the old Deſigns of the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant Party; and the Lords of* Ards, *and* George Monro, *have by treachery and oppreſſion, brought the Province of* Ulſter, *and Garriſons therein, under their Power and Commands*; which urging (with much violence) afterwards produced a Declaration from the King, in diſlike of the Peace, 1648. much inſiſted on by the *Iriſh*, and indeed (as you will hear) begat the grounds of a future diſtaſt.

So that whoſoever will wiſely revolve and conſider this wilde Conjuncture of Affairs, and that to the ſubduing the Power, Strength, and Wealth, of the Parliament, and the equal malice and headineſs of *Owen O Neal*, and his Party (as much, or in truth, more contracted againſt the Confederate *Iriſh*, then the Kings Authority) and the forming and diſpoſing the uſeleſs, and unprofitable pretences of affection in the *Scots*, and

and reducing them to obedience, the Marqueſs brought over with him neither Men nor Money, conſiderable, nor any advantage, but that of his own Perſon, Wiſdom, and Reputation, and was now (upon the Peace) to conſtitute an Army, not only of ſeveral Nations, and Religions, and of ſuch Paſſion, and Superciliouſneſs in theſe Opinions, which flowed from their ſeveral Religions, but of ſuch men, who had for about the ſpace of eight years, proſecuted a ſharp War againſt each other, with all the Circumſtances of Animoſities, Rapine, and Revenge; and who were now brought into this Reconciliation and Conjunction, rather by the wonderful Wiſdom, and Dexterity of the Principal Commanders, then by their own Charity and Inclination; And that in the forming of this Army, he had not above 6 or 7 Officers, upon whoſe skill in Martial Affairs, and affection to him, he could with any confidence depend; but was to make uſe of very many, who were utterly unknown to him, and ſuch who either had no experience in the War, or who had been alway in the War againſt him; I ſay, whoſoever without paſſion conſiders all this, will rather wonder, that the Marqueſs did not ſink under the weight of the firſt Attempt, nay, that he could proceed with ſucceſs, in any one Enterprize, then that an Army ſo made up, ſhould upon the firſt miſ-adventure be diſſolv'd into jealouſies and prejudices, amongſt themſelves; and that all confuſions ſhould follow, which naturally attend ſuch Compoſitions. 1649.

The difficulty the Lord Lieutenant encountred in forming his Army.

As ſoon as the Peace was thus concluded, proclaim'd and accepted, the Lord Lieutenant took a ſurvey of the Stores of Arms, Ammunition, and other Proviſions neceſſary for the Army, which was to be brought together in the Spring, and found all very ſhort of what he expected, and what was abſolutely neceſſary to the Work, and ways for raiſing of Money, with which all the reſt was to be ſupplied, in no degree to be depended upon; The Cities, and Incorporate Towns, where, upon the matter, all the Wealth was, having never ſubmitted further to the General Aſſembly, then by declaring themſelves to be of their Party; but like ſo many Common-Wealths, order'd all Contributions, and payments of Money, by their own Acts and Determinations; nor would upon the moſt Emergent occaſions, ſuffer any Money to be rais'd in any other proportion, or in any other manner, then beſt agreed with their Humours and Conveniencies. So that the Commiſſioners, adviſed and beſought the Lord Lieutenant, to make a Journey in Perſon, to ſuch of thoſe Corporations, as were beſt able to aſſiſt him, and by his own Preſence, Aſſiſtance, and Intereſt, endeavour to perſwade them, to expreſs that affection to the Peace, they had profeſſed; And thereupon he went with a Competent number of the Commiſſioners, to *Waterford*, which gave 8000 *l.* and 3000 Barrels of Corn; and from thence he went to *Limerick*, and then to *Gallway*, and *Kilkenny*, from which ſeveral Places, he procured the Loan of more Money, Corn, and Ammunition, then the General Aſſembly had ever been able to do, for moſt of which laſt, he was forced to bargain with *Patrick Archer*, and other Merchants, for a Supply thereof, engaging the Kings Cuſtoms, and the tenths of Prizes, for payment; and by this means, which coſt him much labour and time, he found himſelf in a condition, to draw ſeveral Forces together; which he did about the beginning of *May*, having made the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant-General of the Army; the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; and the Lord *Taaff*, Maſter of the Ordnance, at the General Randezvouz

The Lord Lieutenant finds Arms and Money no ways anſwerable to his expectation.

1649. at *Cashol*, whilst the *Scots* reduc'd *Ulster*, and *Connaght*; and it being thought fit, to lose as little time as might be, in marching towards *Dublin*, as soon as any considerable number of men were once together; he sent the Earl of *Castlehaven* with some Forces, to take in several Garrisons, which were possessed by *Owen O Neal* in the *Queen*'s County, which was the way he intended to march, and so would have no Enemy in his Rear; And the Earl of *Castlehaven*, accordingly took the Fort of *Maryborrough*, and other Places in that County, and *Athy*, and *Reban*, in the County of *Kildare*, whereby their passage was open for the further March.

The Lord Lieutenant constitutes the Officers of the Army, to march against *Dublin*.

The Lord Lieutenant begins the Campaign in *May*, but was forced to use his own Credit to begin the service, some write but with 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horse.

Having thus began the Campania, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a General Randezvouz for the whole Army, at *Cloghgrenan*, alias *Glaughgrenan*, an house of his upon the River *Barrow*, near the Castle of *Caterlaugh*, where he made a Conjunction of all the Forces, Protestant and *Irish*; Who by the Wisdom and Temper of the Principal Officers, mingled well enough, and together about the end of *May*, made a Body, as (it's generally reported) of 3700 Horse, and 14500 Foot, with a Train of Artillery, consisting of four Pieces of Cannon; But when they were thus met, all the Money which could be rais'd by the Commissioners, or which had been rais'd by the Corporate Towns, was so near spent in drawing the Forces out of their Quarters, and in those short Expeditions into the *Queen*'s County, and County of *Kildare*, that they could not have advanced in their March, if the Lord Lieutenant had not upon his own Private Credit, borrowed 800 *l.* of Sir *James Preston*, by means whereof, he gave the Common Souldiers four days Pay; and so about the beginning of *June*, marched from *Cloghgrenan*, and the same Evening, appear'd before *Talbots* Town, a strong Garrison of the Enemies, which together with Castle *Talbot*, two miles distant from the other, was within 3 days surrendred to the Marquess, upon promise of Quarter, which they had; and then he march'd to *Kildare*, which Town was likewise surrendred unto him; as were Castle *Sallogh*, and Castle *Carby*, at *Kildare*; He was compelled to stay 3 or 4 days, both for want of Provision, and for a Recruit of 2000 Foot, which by the Lord *Inchequin*'s Care and Diligence, was then upon their March, and being join'd, he was in hope by a suddain and speedy Motion, to have engaged *Jones*, (who at that time, *viz.* 12. of *June*, was march'd from *Dublin*, as far as *Johnstown*, with his Army, consisting of 1000 Horse, and 3000 Foot,) and so having encouraged his Souldiers with 3 days Pay, (which he was likewise compelled to borrow on his Credit, out of the Pockets of Persons of Quality, attending on him, and of the Officers of the Army) he passed the River of *Lisly*; and *Jones* having upon intelligence of his Motion, in great disorder rais'd his Camp, and retir'd into *Dublin*; after that Major *Cadogan*, by his Command, had done notable and severe Service about *Tecroghan*, burning the Countrey, not in 5 years before Visited, and had beaten a part of the Marquess's Forces, though he got not so much by his Victory (though considerable) as *Jones* afterwards lost by Treachery, the Garrison of *Allan* being delivered up for 200 *l.* The Marquess encamped his whole Army at the *Naas*, twelve miles from *Dublin*, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken, being now the middle of *June*.

That which appeared worthy of debate was, whether the Army should first make an Attempt upon *Dublin*, in which it was believ'd there

there were very many both Officers and Souldiers, and other Perſons of Quality, well affected to the Kings ſervice, and who had formerly ſerved under the Marqueſs, and eſteem'd him accordingly, who might make that work more eaſy; Or whether the Army ſhould be firſt imployed in the taking in of *Trim*, *Tredagh*, and other out-Garriſons, from whence the City receiv'd much Proviſions of all kinds, and from whence Proviſions to the Army would be cut off, and much other prejudice might ariſe. But upon full conſideration, the Council of War, which conſiſted of the General Officers, inclined to the former; concluding, that if they could take *Dublin*, all other places would quickly fall into their hands; and if they ſhould delay it, and waſte their Proviſions in thoſe leſſer Attempts, there might probably arrive out of *England*, ſuch ſupplies of Men, Money, and other neceſſaries to *Jones*, which were daily expected, as might render that important work almoſt impoſſible: Hereupon, the Lord Lieutenant marched the very next morning toward *Dublin*, and that afternoon, re-paſſed the whole over the River of *Liffy*, by the Bridge of *Lucan*, and encamped near that place, to reſt his men a few hours: He marched very early in the morning, being the 19*th.* of *June*, and appear'd by nine of the Clock at a place called *Caſtleknock*, in view of the City; and hearing that *Jones* had drawn out all his Horſe into the Green, not far from the Walls, he ſent a Party of Horſe and Musketiers to face them, while he drew his whole Body, within leſs then Cannon-ſhot of their Gates, hoping thereby to give ſome countenance to thoſe in the Town, to raiſe ſome Commotion therein; and having ſpent ſome part of the day in this poſture and expectation, after ſome ſlight skirmiſhes between the Horſe, writes one; others ſay conſiderable, where the Earl of *Clanrickards* Regiment of Horſe was ſorely beaten, though they ralli'd twice; He found it neceſſary to draw off, and encamped that night at a place two miles from the Town, called *Finglas*, whither great multitudes of *Roman Catholicks*, whereof moſt were aged Men, Women, and Children, whom *Jones* had turned out of the City, repair'd to him, whom he ſent with all due Order, for their Reception, into Quarters adjacent.

1649.

Dublin reſolv'd to be firſt attempted.

The Lord Lieutenant appears before *Dublin*.

The Marqueſs was no ſooner in his Quarters, then he receiv'd ſure intelligence, that *Jones* had ſent his Horſe to *Tredagh*, from whence they would have been able to have diſtreſſed his Army ſeveral ways, and to have interrupted Proviſion which came out of the Countrey, out of the Magazines, which were at leaſt 30 miles diſtant; And ſeveral Officers were of opinion, upon the view they had taken that day of the Enemy, and the countenance they had obſerved of their own men, that they were not preſently provided for a formal Siege, and as ill to attack the Town by a briſk attempt; and therefore he reſolv'd to remain encamp'd at that place for ſome time, whereby he might take the advantage of any opportunity, that within the Town would adminiſter unto him: and preſently ſent the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant-General of the Army, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, to purſue *Jones* his Horſe, which were ſent for *Tredagh*; which he did ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſurprized one whole Troop, and afterwards encountred Colonel *Chidley Coot*, in the head of 300 Horſe, whereof he ſlew many, and routed the reſt, who in great diſorder fled to *Tredagh*. The Lord *Inchequin* preſently ſent advertiſement of this ſucceſs, and that he had reaſon to believe, that if he purſued this advantage, and attempt the Town, while this terror poſſeſſed that Party,

The Lord *Inchequin* defeats a Party of *Jones*'s Horſe ſent to *Tredagh*.

1649. Party, he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of it; whereupon (in reſpect of the great importance of the Place, the reduction whereof would produce a ſecure correſpondence with, and give encouragement to the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, who made great profeſſions (in which they were ever free) of Duty to the King, and had now under the conduct of the Lord Viſcount *Montgomery* of *Ards*, driven Sir *Charles Coot* into the City of *London-derry*, and upon the matter beleagu'd him there) the Lord Lieutenant by the advice of the Council of War, approved the Lord *Inchequin*'s Deſign, and to that purpoſe ſent him two Regiments of Foot, and two Pieces of Artillery, and ſuch Ammunition and Materials, as could be ſpared; wherewith he proceeded ſo vigorouſly, that within 7 days, he compelled the beſieged to yield to honourable Conditions, ſo reduced *Tredagh* to the Kings Obedience, after he had been twice beaten off, the Town having not above 600 Men, who had ſpent all their Ammunition, left to defend ſo large a circuit, ſome of which afterwards revolted to the Marqueſs; and Colonel *Coot*, with 150 Horſe, and near 400 Foot, march'd to *Dublin*.

The Lord *Inchequin* takes in *Tredagh*.

There was now very reaſonable ground for hope, that the Parliaments Party would quickly find themſelves in notable ſtreights and diſtreſſes, when it was on a ſuddain diſcover'd, how very active and dexterous, the ſpirit of Rebellion is to reconcile and unite thoſe, who were poſſeſſed by it, and how contrary ſoever their Principles and Ends ſeem to be, and contribute jointly to the oppoſing and oppreſſing that Lawful Power, they had both equally injured and provoked. The Parliament Party, who had heap'd ſo many Reproaches and Calumnies upon the King, for his Clemency to the *Iriſh*, who had founded their own Authority and Strength upon ſuch foundations, as were inconſiſtent with any toleration of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and ſome write (ſo bitter are their Pens) even with Humanity to the *Iriſh* Nation, and more eſpecially to thoſe of the old Native Extraction, the whole Race whereof they had (upon the matter) ſworn to an utter extirpation; And *Owen O Neal* himſelf was of the moſt antient Sept, and whoſe Army conſiſted onely of ſuch, who avowed no other cauſe for their firſt entrance into Rebellion, *but Matter of Religion*; and that the Power of the Parliament, was like to be ſo great and prevalent, that the King himſelf would not be able to extend his Favours and Mercy towards them, which they ſeem'd to be confident, he was (in his gracious diſpoſition) inclined to expreſs; and therefore profeſſed to take up Arms againſt the exorbitant Power onely of them, and to retain hearts full of Devotion and Duty to his Majeſty; and who at preſent, by the under-hand and ſecret Treaties with the Lord Lieutenant, ſeem'd more irreconcilable to the Proceedings of the General Aſſembly, and to the Perſons of thoſe whom he thought govern'd there, then to make any ſcruple of ſubmitting to the Kings Authority, in the Perſon of the Marqueſs, to which and to whom, he proteſted all Duty and Reverence. Theſe two ſo contrary and diſ-agreeing Elements, had, I ſay, by the ſubtile and volatile ſpirit of Hypocriſy and Rebellion (the Arts of the time) found a way to incorporate together; and *Owen O Neal* had promiſed and contracted with the other, that he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire, and draw off his Army from about *Dublin*, by his invading thoſe Parts of *Leimſter*, and *Munſter*, with his Army, which yielded moſt, yea, all the Proviſions and ſubſiſtance to the Marqueſs, and which he preſumed the Marqueſs

Owen O Neal, and the Parliaments Party agree.

queſs would not ſuffer to be ſpoil'd and deſolated by his Incurſions: for the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this Expedition, Colonel *Monk*, Governor of *Dundalk*, (who was the ſecond Perſon in Command, amongſt the Parliaments Forces) had promiſed to deliver to him, out of the ſtores of that Garriſon, a good quantity of Powder, Bullet, and Match, proportionable; for the fetching whereof, *Owen O Neal* had ſent *Farral* (Lieutenant General of his Army) with a Party of 500 Foot, and 300 Horſe. At that time *Tredagh* was taken by the Lord *Inchequin*; who, being there advertiſed of that new contracted friendſhip, reſolved to give ſome interruption to it, and made ſo good haſt, that within few hours after *Farral* had receiv'd the Ammunition at *Dundalk*, he fell upon him, routed all his Horſe, and of the 500 Foot, there were not 40 eſcaped, but were either ſlain, or taken Priſoners, and got all the Ammunition, and with it ſo good an Account of the preſent ſtate of *Dundalk*, that he immediately engaged before it, and aſſiſted by the Lord of *Ards*, (who a little before, had been choſen by the Presbyterian Miniſters, their Commander in Chief, thereby poſſeſſing himſelf of *Carrigfergus*, and *Belfaſt*) in two days compelled *Monk* (who would elſe have been delivered up by his own Souldiers) to ſurrender the Place, where was a good Magazeen of Ammunition, Cloath, and other Neceſſaries for War; moſt of the Officers and Souldiers, with all alacrity engaging themſelves in his Majeſties ſervice; though the Governor Shipt himſelf for *England*, and landing ſhortly after at *Cheſter*, he went immediately to *Briſtol*, where *Cromwel* (the Parliaments Lord Lieutenant) was then to come for *Ireland*; who receiv'd him very courteouſly; but, after he had remain'd ſome days there, adviſed him to go up to the Parliament, to give them ſatisfaction, in the Ceſſation he had made with *Owen Roe O-Neal*, the 8*th*. of *May*, 1649. which he did; And the buſineſs of that Ceſſation being brought into the Houſe, it was much reſented; and after ſome debate, (more then ordinarily had on other occaſions) ſeveral ſevere Votes paſſed againſt it; onely Colonel *Monk*, being conceived to have made it out of a good intent, for preſerving the Intereſt of the Parliament, was held to be clear, and not thought fit hereafter to be queſtion'd: But this was taken as a fair way of laying him aſide; whereupon Colonel *Monk* retir'd to his own Eſtate, unhappy onely in being the Inſtrument of their preſervation, who were not ſenſible of his Merits.

1649.

Inchequin routs *Farral*.

Takes in *Dundalk*.

Colonel *Monk* diſmiſſed the Parliaments Service.

And now that all Parties might be kept entire, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* publiſhes a Declaration, upon Inſtructions from the King, deſign'd purpoſely for *Ulſter*.

AFter my hearty Commendations, upon ſome Repreſentations, that have been lately made unto us, we have thought fit, to ſend you down the enſuing Inſtructions:

Firſt, That ſo far as your Power extends, you cauſe every Perſon, without diſtinction, who have ſubmitted to his Majeſties Authority, and to the Peace of this Kingdom, to be put into the actual poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, he paying, and contributing to the maintenance of the Army, and neceſſary burdens of the Countrey, proportionable to the reſt of his Neighbours.

2. *That you cauſe the Articles of War to be put in execution, amongſt all the Forces under your Command, whereof we ſend you down herewithall a Copy.*

3. *Whereas*

1649. 3. *Whereas it is well known to belong to us, as General of the Army, in this Kingdom under his Majesty, to dispose of all Military Offices and Commands, whether in Chief or Subordinate, which Right we cannot in Honour suffer to be lost from the Sword; and whereas some Commissions lately have been Procured, giving Power to other Commanders, to name and place all sorts of Military Officers, under the respective Commands; in which Commissions nevertheless, and much more in the Instructions, there is an express reference to us, and to our Approbation, from which they are to receive their validity. We do therefore Order and Declare our Pleasure thereby, That no Commander whatsoever, within the Province of* Ulster, *do assume to themselves, the nomination of Military Officers, as Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, or Ensigns, upon pretence of any late Commission, but leave them to our discretion, as in this Kingdom hath ever been accustomed.*

4. *If any Person shall speak or act to the prejudice of his Majesties Authority, or Affairs, let him upon proof be forthwith Imprisoned, and his Estate secured, and an Information sent up to us of the nature of his Crime, that we may give further Order therein. And if any Ecclesiastical Person in his Prayer or Sermon, shall presume to exercise the People to Sedition or Disobedience, or shall intermeddle in Pulpit or Consistory with the managery of Civil Affairs, or shall derogate from the present Government or Governours of this Kingdom, or shall teach, that his Majesty is not to be admitted to the possession of his Crown, until he hath given satisfaction to his Subjects, or until he have taken such Oaths and Covenants, as are impos'd upon him, without his Consent, without Law, contrary to the Dictates of his own Conscience; upon proof thereof, without further Circumstance, let his Estate be confiscated to the use of the Army, and himself be either imprisoned, or banished, or tryed for his Life, as the Enemy shall deserve.*

5. *If there be any Person whose Loyalty is suspected, let the Chief in Command upon the Place, administer unto him the Oath of Allegiance; and if he refuse it, let them secure both his Person and Estate, and send up an information to us, that we may cause proofs to be made against him.*

6. *Although we cannot now take notice of the* Scotch *Army in this Kingdom, or of any, distinct from that which is committed into our hands by his Majesty; we expecting a joynt obedience of all Forces,* English, Scotch, *and* Irish, *indifferently, as branches of the Army under our Command; yet in respect your old Quarters are straightn'd by the Garrison of* Belfast, *by our very good Lord, the Lord Vicount* Montgomery *of the* Ards; *we are well pleased in lieu thereof, to assign unto you for the enlargement of your Quarters, so much of the Countreys of* Antrim, *as was possessed or enjoyed by Sir* John Clotworthie's *Regiment, now disbanded of themselves; and because we cannot but judge, that this dissolution of them proceeds from the aversness to his Majesties Service, and therefore we require that none of them be admitted into any Troops, as Horsemen, or Dragooners.*

7. *For Answer to your other Proposition; if any Postage shall be sent down from them, or from the other Provinces of the Kingdom, into* Ulster, *for his Majesties Service upon any occasion: it is our Pleasure, they have their Quarter and Provision for the present in these Quarters, through which they pass; but the whole Province of* Ulster *is to contribute proportionably towards the Charge.*

8. *Let*

8. *Let the Siege of* Derry *be proſecuted by the common advice of the Lord Vicount* Mountgomery *of* Ardes, Robert Stewart, *Sir* George Monro, *and Colonel* Audley Meryin. 1649.

9. *We deſire the ſaid four Perſons laſt mention'd likewiſe to conſider and certifie, what fit Augmentation of Quarter and further Proviſion, may be aſſign'd to the Regiment and Troops of* Eſteline *without prejudice, or with the leaſt prejudice to any other of his Majeſties Forces.*

ORMOND.

Upon the Lord *Inchiquin*'s ſucceſs at *Dundalk*, the leſſer Garriſons of *Newry*, *Narrow-water*, *Green-Caſtle*, and *Carlingford*, were eaſily ſubjected; and the Lord *Inchiquin*, in his return, being appointed to viſit the Town of *Trim*, the onely Garriſon left to the Parliamentarians in thoſe parts, except *Dublin*, in two days after he had beſieged it, he made himſelf Maſter of it, and ſo return'd with his Party (not impair'd by the Service) to the Lord Lieutenant in his Camp at *Finglaſs*. *Owen O Neil* ſtill continued his affection to the Parliamentarians; and when he found that his deſign of drawing the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Army from *Dublin* could not prevail, he haſtned into *Ulſter*, and upon the payment of 2000 *l.* in money, ſome Ammunition, and about 2000 Cows, he rais'd the Siege of *London-derry* the 8*th.* of *Auguſt*, the onely conſiderable Place in that Province, which held for the Parliament under Sir *Charles Coot*, and which was even then reduc'd to the laſt extremity, by the Lord Viſcount *Mountgomery* of *Ardes*, Sir *George Monro*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, Colonel *Audley Mervin*, and others, and muſt in few days have ſubmitted to the Kings Authority, if it had not (in that manner) been relieved by the *Iriſh* under *O Neil*, with whom Colonel *Richard Coal*, in the behalf of Sir *Charles Coot* (Lord Preſident of *Connaght*) had made Articles of Ceſſation, (as Colonel *Monk* had done before) on the grounds of neceſſity, the 22. of *May*, 1649. the benefit of which he acquainted the State with, deſiring that the Propoſitions preſented by him might be accepted; which was thought by them a demand ſo extravagant, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence to the whole Kingdom, as it was ill reſented (*Owen Roe* and his Party having been firſt engaged in thoſe horrid Maſſacres) and preſently rejected: And though Sir *Charles Coot* was not cenſur'd, becauſe it was preſum'd he did it out of neceſſity; yet ſeveral Votes paſſed againſt him as to that Ceſſation, though he was continued in his Imployment; and having received the pleaſure of the Parliament concerning the Ceſſation made by him with *Owen Roe*, preſently acquainted him therewith, who, according to Articles betwixt them, did ſoon retire, and, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, came to an agreement with the Marquis of *Ormond*, finding he could not by any means (he could uſe) draw himſelf or his Party to be accepted of by the Parliament, an attempt he earneſtly ſolicited, engaging to maintain their Intereſt with the hazard of his Life and Fortune againſt all oppoſers whatſoever; with whom joyn'd the Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ulſter*: though many were of opinion, that all that was done both by Sir *Charles Coot* and Colonel *Monk*, was tranſacted by the privity (if not conſent) of the Grandees in *England*; but the Grounds to faſten this upon them could never be found, though the buſineſs hath been narrowly ſearch'd

Inchequin takes in *Trim*.

Owen O Neal (in behalf of the Parliament) raiſes the Siege of *London-derry*.

Sir *Charles Coot* cenſured for his compliance with *Owen O Neil*.

1649. into: Known it was, that there was a Perſon ſent over, and many Overtures made by a Prieſt *O Rely* to the Committee of *Derby-houſe*, but with whatreception, the certainty yet remains in the Clouds. However, Sir *Charles Coot* having by this means delivered himſelf from the ſtraitneſs of a Siege, and having received ſome new ſupplies of Men and Proviſionsout of *England*, (Colonel *Hunks* being ſent from *Cromwel* with Forces to his Relief) preſently marched out, and clear'd the Countrey about him; and afterwards in *October* got ſuch a ſtrength together, as he went to *Colerain*, and took in that Town by *Aſſat*, and ſo went on to the Siege of *Carigfergus*. However, he ſo reſents the Parliaments ſlow ſupplies, as (in *June* this year) there is exhibited his complaint, truly a ſad one, in reference to their neglect, and in concluſion deſires either to be ſuppli'd anſwerable to his condition, or to be diſcharg'd from his Employment.

The Lord Lieutenant, upon the view of his Army, found it conſiderable rather to Block up the City, than make a Regular Siege.

But to look backwards. All the Places of Moment near *Dublin* being (as we have ſhew'd) reduc'd by the Marquis *Ormond*'s Party, who on the 24*th*. of *July* took a view of his whole Army, and found it to conſiſt of no leſs than 7000 Foot and about 4000 Horſe, others write more; which though a good Force, was not equal to the work of forming a Regular Siege of ſo large and populous a City as *Dublin*, and as unfit to ſtorm it; therefore it was reſolv'd ſtill to continue the former deſign of ſtraitning it, until the neceſſities within abated the obſtinacy of that People; for the better doing whereof, the Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtiloe*, was appointed to remain ſtill on the North-ſide of the Town, with a Body of 2000 Foot and 500 Horſe, to block it up, having two or three ſmall Places of ſtrength to retire to upon occaſion; and that the Sea (as far as his Power might extend) might not be unprovided, his Excellency granted Letters of Mart, the 6*th*. of *July*, ſigned by Secretary *Lane*, to Captain *Joſeph Containe* of *Waterford*, and others. And then the Lord Lieutenant march'd with the remainder of the Army over the River of *Liffy* to the South-ſide, to a Place called *Rathmines*, where he reſolved to Incamp, and from whence, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the River, he might diſcourage an attempt of ſending Relief into the Town by Sea from *England*. And in truth, if he had come time enough to have rais'd a Work upon the Point, ſome interruption might have been given to that Enterpriſe; but it pleaſed God, that that very ſame day (the 25*th*. of *July*) the Marquis marched thither, in ſight of his Army, a ſtrong gale of Wind from the Eaſt brought into *Dublin* Harbour Colonel *Reynolds*, Colonel *Hunks*, and Colonel *Venables*, with a good ſupply of Horſe, *viz*. 600, and 1500 Foot, Money, and all other neceſſaries whereof the Garriſon ſtood in need, which marvellouſly exalted the ſpirits of thoſe, who were devoted to the obedience of the Parliament, and depreſſed the minds of them, who watched all opportunities of doing ſervice to the King. There were then in *Dublin* 5000 Soldiers, beſides Inhabitants. However, the Marquis purſued his reſolution, and encamped that night at *Rathmines*, and the next day made himſelf ſtrong there, till, upon information, he was ſure to receive an account of the ſtate and condition of the Enemy, that he might better conclude what was next to be done.

Colonel *Reynolds*, *Hunks*, and *Venables*, arrive at *Dublin*.

There were many men within the City who found means to ſend the Marquis ſtill advertiſement of what was neceſſary for him to know, & ſome Ships (which brought Supplies for the Parliaments Forces there) brought likewiſe

likewiſe intelligence from thoſe that wiſhed well to the Kings ſervice, unto the Lord Lieutenant, and unto other Perſons of Honour that were with him, and from ſeveral Perſons of known Integrity, and who were like enough to know what was tranſacted in the Councils of the Parliaments Party: It was informed, that this Supply, which was already landed at *Dublin*, was all that was intended for that Place, and believed it to be ſufficient to defend it againſt any Army the Marquis could bring to attaque it; and that *Cromwel* (who was known to be ready in *England* to Embarque with a great Army) meant to land in *Munſter*, a Countrey but lately fall'n from their Devotion, and where there were ſtill many inclined to him, and thereby to compel the Lord Lieutenant to riſe from *Dublin*. And it is very true, that at that time *Cromwel* was reſolv'd to have proceeded in that manner, after he had with much ſeeming difficulty been brought to accept of the Place, the Presbyterians laying Wagers he would never come, and the Independents ſought to divert him from it by their unexpected Mutinies, on a Tenent, *That all were to enjoy their own Principles*. Yet upon this joynt intelligence of *Cromwel*'s advance (for it came from ſome Perſons to the Lord Lieutenant, and from others to the Lord *Inchiquin*) it was, upon conſultation with the General Officers, concluded abſolutely neceſſary, that the Lord *Inchiquin*, being Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, ſhould immediately, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, repair into that Province, whereby at leaſt the Garriſons there might be ſupported againſt any ſudden attempt of the Enemy, if they ſhould land there; and that, the Army being thus weakned by the Quality, as well as the Number of this Party, who were the beſt Horſe of the Body, the Lord Lieutenant ſhould retire to *Drumnagh*, being a Quarter of greater ſtrength and ſecurity than that of *Rathmines* was, or could be made, and was at ſuch diſtance, as might as well block up the Enemy as the other; and from thence, an interrupted Communication might be held with that Party, which encamp'd on the North ſide of the River. And upon this Concluſion, the Lord *Inchiquin* departed towards *Munſter*. When it was known that his Excellency was to retire, the Officers and Soldiers expreſſed much trouble, and ſeem'd to believe the reducing of the Town not to be a matter of that difficulty as was pretended, if they could hinder the Parliamentarians Horſe from graſing in the Meadows near the Walls, (which was the onely Place they were poſſeſſed of to that purpoſe) they could not be able to ſubſiſt five days; and it would be in their power to take that benefit from them, if they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Caſtle of *Baggatrath*, very near adjoyning to that Paſture, which was already ſo ſtrong, that in one night it might be made ſufficiently fortifi'd. And this diſcourſe (which was not indeed unreaſonable) got ſo much credit, that the Council of War intreated the Marquis to decline his former reſolution of retiring to *Drumnagh*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, General *Preſton*, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, and Major General *Purcel*, having viewed *Baggatrath*, and aſſured the Lord Lieutenant, that it might be poſſeſs'd and ſufficiently fortifi'd in one night.

1649.

Cromwel accepts of the Lieutenantſhip.

The Lord *Inchequin* (ſuſpecting *Cromwel* might land in *Munſter*) went thither.

It is no wonder that in an Army thus conſtituted and compoſed, the Marquis thought not fit, by his Authority, to reſtrain it from purſuing an Enterpriſe of ſo much Gallantry, and which had ſo much poſſibility of ſucceſs: and indeed, he ſtill retain'd ſome hope of advantage by the affection of that City, and that (even in theſe laſt Supplies that were ſent over) there were many that laid hold of that opportunity to tranſport

1649. themſelves, for the advancement of the Kings ſervice, and with purpoſe quickly to change their Maſters, ſo that he was contented to recede from his former reſolution, and on the firſt of *Auguſt* at night ſent a ſtrong Party, *viz.* 1500 Foot, under Major General *Purcel*, to poſſeſs themſelves of *Baggatrath*, with Engineers, and ſuch other Materials as were neceſſary to fortifie it: and becauſe he concluded, that the Enemy would immediately diſcover what they were doing, and would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the execution of a Deſign, which would bring ſuch irreparable damage to them, he gave ſtrict order for drawing the whole Army in Battalia, and commanded, that they ſhould ſtand in Arms all that night, himſelf continuing in the Field on Horſback till morning; as ſoon as it was day, he went to viſit the Place that was to be fortifi'd, which he found not in that condition he expected; the Officer * excuſing himſelf, by having been miſguided in the night, ſo that it was very late before he arrived there, though it was not an *Engliſh* mile diſtant from the Camp; wherewith the Marquis being unſatisfi'd, diſplac'd the Officer who commanded the Party, and put another of good Name and Reputation into the Charge, and appointed him to make his men to work hard, ſince it appear'd, that in four or five hours it might be ſo well fortifi'd, that they need fear no attempt from the Town; and that they might be ſure to enjoy ſo much time, he commanded the Army to remain in the ſame poſture they had been all night; and about 9 of the Clock, ſeeing no appearance of any Sally from the Town, which he had ſo long expected, he went to his Tent to refreſh himſelf with a little reſt, which he had not obtain'd for the ſpace of an hour, when he was awaken'd by an Alarm from the Enemy, and putting himſelf immediately upon his Horſe, quickly found, that his Officers and Lieutenant General *Preſton* had not been ſo punctual in their Duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their Poſts (out of an unhappy confidence, that the Beſieged would not adventure, at that time of the day, to make any Sally) as ſoon as the Marquis went to repoſe himſelf; ſo that a ſtrong Party out of the Town, about 10 of the clock in the morning, the 2*d.* of *Auguſt*, 1649. march'd directly to *Baggatrath*, and (with leſs oppoſition than ought to have been made) beat, routed, and diſpers'd the Party that poſſeſs'd it; who, finding their Horſe not ſo ready to aſſiſt them as they expected, quitted the Place with all imaginable confuſion; which encourag'd *Jones*'s Party (who were ſeconded immediately by the whole Power in *Dublin*) to advance further towards the Army (which they diſcern'd to be in high diſorder) than at their coming out they intended. The Lord Lieutenant uſed all means to put the Horſe in order, ſending the Lord *Taaff* to command the Foot: But Sir *William Vaughan* (Commiſſary General of the Horſe) being in the firſt Charge killed, they who followed him were immediately routed, notwithſtanding that the Forces from *Dublin* march'd onely in ſingle Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia; whereupon ſo great a conſternation ſeiz'd upon the ſpirits of all the reſt, that the Marquis could prevail with none to ſtand with him, but the Regiments of his Brother, Colonel *Butler* and Colonel *Grady*, ſome write *Miles Reylye*, with which he charged the Enemy, wherein (Colonel *Grady* being ſlain, and his Brother ſore wounded and taken Priſoner) that Body was entirely broken; and from that time, it was not in his power, by all the means he could uſe, to rally any Party of Horſe, and to make them

ſo

A Party ſent to fortifie *Baggatrath* under *Purcel*.

* Major General *Purcel*.

The Lord Lieutenant's Forces routed at *Rathmines*.

ſo much as ſtand by him; ſo that (when he was environ'd by the Enemy, attended with very few of his own Servants, and two or three Gentlemen) he was forced to make his way through them, and to quit the Field; when a ſmall Body of Foot, under Colonel *Gifford* (which ſtill kept the ground, and valiantly defended themſelves) finding that they were deſerted by their Horſe, were compelled to ſurrender their Arms to *Jones*; the Lord *Taaff* making his own way ſo proſperouſly, that he got to the North-ſide, where he found that Body (compoſed of the Lord *Dillons*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrongs*, the Lord *Moores*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Purdons* Regiments of Horſe; Colonel *Warrens*, Colonel *Walles*, and Colonel *Mich. Byrns* Regiments of Foot) which had been left at *Finglaß* in Arms, and which had not ſeen the Enemy that day; upon which, the Lord *Taaff* us'd all poſſible endeavours to perſwade them to attempt a Recovery of what was loſt, which, in ſo great diſorder of the Enemy (which ſuch ſucceſs uſually produceth) was not reaſonably to be deſpaired of: But the apprehenſion, jealouſies, fright and terrour, was ſo univerſal, that he could not incline them to it, nor to do more than (and that in great confuſion) to provide for their own ſecurity: Whilſt the Marquis directed his Letters to them, ordering therein the one half of them to go to *Tredath*, and the other half to *Trym*, for the ſecurity of thoſe Places, whilſt himſelf went to *Kilkenny* to rally what he could of the Army, and to raiſe what new Forces he ſhould be able. This was the unhappy, and indeed fatal Defeat at *Rathmines*, by the Biſhops at *Jameſtown*, 1650. thought ſo improvident and unfortunate, as nothing happen'd in Chriſtianity more ſhameful. Yet in his Excellencies Letter from *Kilcolgan* the 2*d.* of *December*, 1650. to the Aſſembly at *Loghreogh* ſo Anſwer'd, as hitherto no Reply hath been attempted. The news of which, and the conſequences thereof, was receiv'd and proclaim'd (writes *Walſh*, *fol.* 583.) with much gladneſs and exceſs of joy in *Rome*, as that which made for the *Nuncio's* Party. It was the firſt and onely loſs that fell upon any Army or Party of which the Marquis had the Name and Title, (and here he had no more than the name) of the Supreme Commander, and theſe the whole Circumſtances of it. In this Battel were ſlain on the place, and in the Chace, about 4000. and 2517 taken Priſoners, and two whole Cannon, three Demi-cannon, one long ſquare Gun carrying a Ball of 12 Pound, one Saker-drake, one Mortar-piece, all theſe Braſs; beſides 200 Draught-Oxen for the Train, and the richeſt Camp of Commodities an Enemy could well be Maſter of. But not to ſpeak further of the ſad misfortune of this great Commander, than whom, no man was more juſtly magnified for his Courage, confided in for his Loyalty, relyed on for his Wiſdom, truſted in for his Care to prevent ill Accidents, and Dexterity to take advantages; he was indeed looked upon as the Reſtaurator of his Countrey, and as the onely Perſon, by whoſe management of the *Iriſh* War, the injur'd King was like to ariſe out of his Fathers ruines to the Glory and Greatneſs he was born to; though upon this Defeat, thoſe (whoſe Crimes were no otherwiſe to be veil'd than by this misfortune) caſt the miſcarriage thereof ſolely upon him; a Fate incident to great Men, to be extremely magnifi'd on Succeſs, and upon any notable Diſaſter to be as much depreſs'd, and peradventure neither juſtly. 1649.

Soon after this Defeat, *Jones* was writ to by his Excellence, *to have a Liſt of the Priſoners he had taken from him.* To whom it was repli'd,

My

1649. *My Lord, ſince I routed your Army, I cannot have the happineſs to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.*

Michael Jones.

The Defeat at *Rathmines* alter'd Conſultations.

This Defeat at *Rathmines* alter'd the reſult of Counſels at Court, till then very ſtrong for his Majeſties repair into *Ireland*, the *Scots* having given ill proofs of their Integrity and Faith: And certainly the *Iriſh* were at that time ſo diſpoſed, as probably they would have ſubmitted to his Majeſty, what-ever afterwards might have been the reſult of their compliance: And for the Parliament, they had at that time ſo inconſiderable a footing in *Ireland*, (poſſeſſing not a Garriſon in *Munſter* or *Connaght*, and in *Ulſter* none but *London-derry* and the Fort of *Culmore*, as in *Leimſter* little but *Dublin* and *Balliſhannon*) as his Majeſties Preſence (it was thought) would have wrought on ſome, reduced others, and brought in All.

The Lord Lieutenant from *Rathmines* retires to *Kilkenny*.

When the Marquis (as we have ſaid before) found the Conſternation to be ſo great in his Soldiers, as they could not be contain'd from diſperſing, and had ſent Orders to thoſe on *Finglaſs-ſide* to march to *Tredagh* and *Trim*, for the ſtrengthning of thoſe Garriſons, which he believ'd *Jones* might, upon the pride of his late ſucceſs, be inclined to attack; whilſt himſelf went to *Kilkenny*, as the fitteſt Rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and ſcattered Forces, and from whence he might beſt give Orders and Directions for the making of new Levies: And in his March thither, the very next day after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, he made an halt, with thoſe few Horſe he had rallied together, and ſummon'd the ſtrong Fort of *Balliſhannon*, which he had before left blocked up by a Party of Horſe and Foot, and (having found means to perſwade the Governour to believe that *Dublin* had been ſurrendred, and that his Army was returning) he got that important Place into his hands, without which Stratagem, *Jones* would have purſued his Conqueſt even to *Kilkenny* it ſelf, which he had found in a very ill condition to defend it ſelf: For in a whole weeks time after the Marquis's coming to *Kilkenny*, he could draw together but 300 Horſe, with which he found it neceſſary that day ſevennight after the Defeat, to march in Perſon to the relief of *Tredath*, which was beſieged by *Jones*, and defended by the Lord *Moor*; but upon the approach of the Marquis no nearer than *Trim*, the Siege was rais'd, and *Jones* return'd to *Dublin*, and his Lordſhip entred *Tredath*, whether he reſolved to draw his Army as ſoon as might be, and iſſued out his Orders accordingly, hoping in ſhort time, (if no other misfortune intervened) to get a Body of Men together able to reſtrain thoſe of *Dublin*, from making any great advantage of their late Victory: But he had been there very few days, when he received ſure advertiſement, that *Cromwel* himſelf was landed with a great Army of Horſe and Foot, and with vaſt Supplies of all kinds, at *Dublin*, where he arriv'd within leſs than a fortnight, (*viz.* on or about the 15*th.* of *Auguſt*) after the unfortunate Defeat at *Rathmines*.

Colonel *Jones* beſieging *Tredath*, was raiſed by the Lord Lieutenants coming to *Trim*.

Cromwel lands at *Dublin*.

The Scene being now alter'd, and the War the Lord Lieutenant was to make could be onely Defenſive, until the Parliamentarians ſhould meet with a Check in ſome Enterpriſe; and his own Men by Reſt, Diſcipline, and Exerciſe of their Arms, might again recover their Spirits, and forget the fears they had contracted of the Enemy. He in the firſt place therefore took care to repair the Works and Fortifications of *Tredath*, as well as

as in ſo ſhort a time could be done, and got as much Proviſion into the Town as was poſſible; and then with a full approbation of all the Commiſſioners, he made choice of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a *Roman Catholick*, and a Soldier of very great Experience and Reputation, (one at *Reading* and *Oxford* formerly confided in by his Majeſty, a Gentleman of an Ancient and yet flouriſhing Family in *Cheſhire*) to be Governour thereof; and put a Garriſon into it of 2000 Foot, and a good Regiment of Horſe, all choice Men, and good Soldiers, with very many Gentlemen and Officers of good Name and Account, and ſupplied it with Ammunition and all other Proviſions, as well as the Governour himſelf deſired; and having done ſo, he marched with his Horſe and ſmall remainder of Foot to *Trim*, from whence he had ſent to the Lord *Inchiquin* to bring up as many Men to *Tecroghan* the Rendezvous as he could out of *Munſter*; now the apprehenſion of *Cromwel*'s Landing there was over, and endeavour'd from all parts to recruit his Army, hoping (that before the Parliamentarians could be able to reduce any of his Garriſons) he might be empowered to take the Field. 1649.

The 24*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1649. the Commons aſſembled in Parliament ſet forth a Declaration, declaring all Perſons who had ſerved the Parliament of *England* in *Ireland*, and had betrayed their Truſt, or adhered to, or aided and aſſiſted his late Majeſty, or his Son, to be *Traitors* and *Rebels*; and accordingly to be proceeded againſt by a Court-Marſhal; whereby ſome were Sentenc'd, others ſent into *England*, ſome Impriſon'd there, and many disbanded, though they had ſerv'd againſt the Rebels from the firſt Diſcovery.

Upon *Friday* the 30*th.* of *Auguſt*, *Cromwel* marched out of *Dublin*, (having ſetled the Affairs of that City, Civil and Military, inſtituting Sir *Theophilus Jones* Governour in his abſence) with an Army of 9 or 10000 Men, (choſen out of the General Muſter, where appear'd a compleat Body of 15000 Horſe and Foot) came before *Tredath*, *Monday* the 2*d.* of *September*; of which the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was no ſooner advertiz'd, than he came to *Trim*, to watch all opportunities to infeſt the Enemies Quarters; and having full confidence in the Town, and in the Experience of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, (who had ſent him ſeveral Advices to precipitate nothing, for that he doubted not to find *Cromwel* play a while) the goodneſs and number of the Garriſon being ſuch, that *Cromwel* would not be able to get the Town by any Aſſault: But here again he found his expectations diſappointed, for the Enemy reſolv'd not to loſe their time in a Siege; and therefore as ſoon as they had ſent their Summons the 9*th.* of *September*, and it was rejected, they made a Breach the next day with their Cannon, and ſtorm'd the Place; and though they were for ſome time ſtoutly reſiſted, and twice beaten off, yet at the third Onſet (led by *Cromwel*) they enter'd, and purſu'd their Victory with ſo much cruelty, that they put the whole Garriſon in Arms to the Sword, not ſparing thoſe upon ſecond thoughts, to whom (in the heat of the Action) ſome of *Cromwel*'s under-Officers promiſed and gave Quarter; a crime, writes one (then in the Action) themſelves were moſt guilty of, they again reſuming Arms when they had engaged to lay them down: So that, except ſome few who (during the time of the Aſſault) eſcaped at the other ſide of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels as their own men, diſguiſed themſelves, that they were not diſcovered, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or Religious Perſon belonging

Cromwel gains *Tredath* by Storm, &c.

1649. longing to that Garriſon left alive, beſides thoſe (after Decimation) ſent to *Barbadoes*; and all this within the ſpace of nine days after the Enemy appear'd before the Walls; and when very many Royaliſts as well as *Iriſh* were glad that they were engaged before the Place, that was likely to be ſo well defended, and to ſtop their further progreſs for that ſeaſon of the year.

This indeed was a much greater Blow than that at *Rathmines*, and totally deſtroy'd and maſſacred a Body of near 3000 Men, with which, in reſpect of Experience, and Courage of the Officers, and Goodneſs and Fidelity of the common Men, the Marquis would have been glad to have found himſelf engaged in the Field with the Enemy, though upon ſome diſadvantages: And he had not now left with him above 700 Horſe and 1500 Foot, whereof ſome were of ſuſpected Faith, and many new rais'd men: And though the Lord *Inchiquin* was ready to march towards him with a good Party of Horſe and Foot, and the Lord Viſcount of *Ardes* with the like of *Scots*; yet he had neither Money to give them one days Pay, or Proviſion to keep them together for 24 hours: The Commiſſioners were either diſperſed, or their Orders for collecting Money not executed or regarded; and when in thoſe ſtraits the Lord Lieutenant iſſued out Warrants for raiſing of Men and Money, they complain'd of the breach of Articles of the Treaty, and talk'd amongſt themſelves of Treating with the Enemy. That which was moſt conciliable, and which all men ſaw was fitteſt to be practiſed, was, to put all their Men into Garriſons, and thereby ſecure the moſt conſiderable Places, and therewithall (Winter now approaching) to have proſecuted their Levies, and by good Diſcipline and Exerciſe of their Men, recover their Spirits againſt the Spring: But this was not at all in the Marquis's power to do, he was reſtrained by the Articles of the Treaty from making any new Garriſon, and from changing any old Governours, without the approbation of the Commiſſioners; and he and the Commiſſioners together had not credit and power enough with the Chief Cities and Incorporate Towns, which were moſt worth keeping, and conſequently moſt like to be attempted by the Rebels, to force or perſwade them to receive Garriſons. So *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Limerick* and *Gallway*, the moſt conſiderable Ports of the Kingdom, declared, they would admit of no Soldiers; nor indeed did they further obey any other Orders which were ſent to them than they thought fit themſelves. If this fatal diſtemper and diſcompoſure had not been diſcovered to be amongſt them, it is not to be believed that *Cromwel* (what ſucceſs ſoever he had met with) would have engaged his Army, which with being long at Sea, change of Air, and long Duty, was much weaken'd, and had contracted great ſickneſſes in the Sieges after the beginning of *October*; yet being encourag'd, and, in truth, drawn on by the knowledge of this humour and obſtinacy of the *Iriſh*, againſt all Remedies that could preſerve them, he withdrew his Forces from *Tredagh*, (having taken in firſt *Trim*, *Dundalk*, *Carlingford*, *Newry*, and other ſmaller Garriſons thereabouts) and return'd to *Dublin*, having ſent Colonel *Venables* down with ſome Forces to oppoſe *George Monro*, (who had a good Strength with him) and to relieve *London-derry*, but was not able to keep the Field: In his March, he was ſet upon in his Quarters by Colonel *Trevor*, who had 5 or 600 Horſe with him, and gave him a deſperate Attack; but the morning appearing, he was beaten out by Captain *Meredith* and his Troop, who was

was appointed by Colonel *Venables* to charge him; this was upon his march towards *Belfaſt*, which was ſurrendred unto him upon Conditions from the *Scots*: And while he was here, he ſent out a Party under Lieutenant Colonel *Conally*, who was encountred as he march'd to *Antrim* by *George Monro*, and a good ſtrength of Horſe, and routed; *Conally* was there ſlain by Colonel *John Hamilton*. Such are the Diſpenſations of the Almighty, as he did not live to receive the fruit of ſo great ſervice as he had done to that Kingdom, in diſcovering the Plot. *Moſes* ſaw the good Land, but never entred. 1649.

At *Dublin Cromwel* refreſh'd his Soldiers a few days, and (intending to fiſh in troubled Waters) reſolv'd preſently to appear before *Wexford*; which the Marquis of *Ormond* ſuſpecting, (upon *Cromwel*'s return from *Tredagh* to *Dublin*) removed his Army from *Caſtle Jordan* down towards the Counties of *Wexford* and *Kilkenny*, there not onely to lie ſecure till *Owen O Neil*'s Army ſhould come up to him, (according to agreement, as you ſhall hereafter hear) but alſo ready to be drawn into either *Wexford* or *Kilkenny*, as there ſhould be occaſion. *Cromwel* (according to his reſolution) the 27*th*. of *September*, march'd from *Dublin*; but before he march'd thence, (or preſently after) he Caſhiers the ſeven *old Regiments* which *Jones* had continued at *Dublin*, allowing the Colonels (for a little time) a ſmall Penſion, which he ſoon took off; though they were the firſt who (to that inſtant) had ſerv'd againſt the Rebels. And then he march'd towards *Wexford* through the County of *Wickloe*, (taking the People into protection, and not ſuffering the Soldiers in his Army to commit any ſpoil as he went, but to pay for all Proviſions) in his march he took in ſeveral Caſtles and Garriſons, as *Killingkerick*, *Arcklo*, *Little Limerick*, *Iniſcorphen*, alias *Eniſcorvy*, *Ferns Caſtle*, and the Fort of *Wexford**; and the firſt of *October* with his Army he ſate down before *Wexford*, the Inhabitants whereof appear'd willing (under Colonel *David Synnot* their Governour) to make defence, albeit they had too long neglected the means thereof, and were at laſt (when part of the Enemies Army was lodged within half-Muſquet-ſhot of their Walls) contented to receive an aſſiſtance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which (upon the firſt intimation) his Excellency haſtned to them, of the choiceſt of thoſe he had left, all Catholicks, (for that was ſtill inſiſted upon) under the Command of his Couſin Sir *Edmond Butler*, with near 1500 Men) who with ſome difficulty paſs'd the River into that part of the Town which the Parliaments Army could not infeſt; but he had not been two hours in the Town, before Captain *James Stafford*, Governour of the Caſtle (whom the Lord Lieutenant would have remov'd from that Charge, not as being unfit for it, but becauſe he was a Catholick, and had exerciſed that Charge during the time that the Confederates were in Arms againſt the King) gave up that Place to *Cromwel*, and took Conditions under him: *Cromwel* having thus gain'd the Caſtle, advanc'd his Flag upon the Caſtle, and turn'd the Guns againſt the Town; which the Townſmen perceiving, their hearts fail'd them, and the Soldiers in confuſion quitted the Walls, not expecting the return of their Commiſſioners, who treating with *Cromwel*, had procured the ſafety of the Inhabitants of the Town, and the preſervation of it from Plunder, as leave for the Soldiers to depart every one to their own homes, (they engaging not to bear Arms any more againſt the State of *England*) and laſtly, of life to the Officers. Yet in great conſternation

* Near *Eniſcorfy* there was a Monaſtery of *Franciſcans*, which, upon the approach of the Army, quitted the Place, and their Proviſions very conſiderable.

Cromwel takes in *Wexford*.

1649. sternation (fear having surprized the Townsmen and Soldiers before their Commissioners return) they endeavour'd to pass over the Water for the safety of their lives: Which *Cromwel*'s Soldiers perceiving, about 14. of *October*, presently clapt Scaling Ladders to the Walls, and entred the Town without any resistance, wherein all found in Arms were put to the Sword, to the number of 2000, amongst which was Sir *Edmond Butler*, endeavouring (when he discovered their Treachery) to escape, was killed, before he had been two hours in that City: *Cromwel*, in the interim not losing 20 men in the whole Siege, though (as you may see) Colonel *David Synot*, Governour of the Town and Castle of *Wexford*, had confidence by the Propositions he sent, (1.) That the Inhabitants of the Town should exercise (without disturbance) the *Roman Catholick* Religion. (2.) Their Religious Orders and Priests should enjoy their Monasteries and Churches. (3.) The Bishop *Nicolus Ferns*, and his Successors should have their undisturb'd Jurisdiction of their Dioceſs. (4.) Their Officers and Soldiers should march out with flying Colours, and the other punctilio's of Honour. (5.) Whosoever of the Inhabitants hereafter should desire to depart the Town, should have what-ever was theirs with them. (6.) That all Free-men should have their Immunities and Liberties hitherto enjoyed, they adhering to the State of *England*. (7.) None to be disturb'd in their Possession. (8.) Who-ever afterwards should desire to depart, may have safe Conduct into *England*, or else-where. (9.) That all enjoy a full liberty of Free-born *English* Subjects, in what Port soever they should Traffick in *England*. (10.) That no memory remain of any Hostility or distance betwixt the Parliament and those that kept the Town and Castle. All which, *Cromwel* accounting impudent, had no effect.

From this Torrent of Success and Corruption, no body will wonder, That *Cromwel* march'd thence without control, and took in *Ross*, a strong Town situate upon the *Barrow*, and far more considerable for Navigation than *Wexford*, the River admitting a Ship of 7 or 800 Tun to ride by the Walls; of this Place Major General *Lucas Taaff* was Governour, who had with him a strong Garrison, re-enforced by 1500 Men, even in the sight of *Cromwel*'s Army, who (when he came before it) to save Blood, sent a Summons to the Town; which was answer'd suitable to his mind by the Governour: but the Great Guns sending in the next Summons, the Town was surrendred on condition the *19th.* of *October*, That they within should march away with Bag and Baggage. Capitulating for which, *Taaff* demanded Liberty of Conscience for such as should stay. To which *Cromwel* repli'd, That he medled not with any mans Conscience; but if by Liberty of Conscience was meant a Liberty to exercise the Mass, he judged it best to use plain dealing, and to let him know, where the Parliament of *England* had power, that will not be allowed.

The Lord Lieutenant sought all opportunities to fight *Cromwel.*

The Marquis of *Ormond*, out of a too deep sense of the stupidity, nay madness and ingratitude of that People, (for whose Protection and Defence he had embarqu'd himself, his Fortunes, and his Honour) and whose jealousie and fond obstinacy made the work of their own preservation more difficult and impossible, than the Power of their Enemy could do, about this time desired nothing so much as an opportunity to fight *Cromwel*, and either to give some check to his swelling Fortune, or to perish (gloriously) in the action; and to that purpose drew all his Friends

Friends to him, then about the *Graige* and *Thomaſtown*, with an intention to fight him, his Excellency's Army being exceedingly increas'd, by the conjunction of *Inchiquin*'s and *Owen Roe*'s Armies, had he not been diverted by a falſe Alarm of the Enemy's, being gone as far as *Bennets-bridge* towards *Kilkenny*, whereby he was drawn thither for the defence of that City, otherwiſe he had engaged them before their getting to *Carrick*. 1649.

Roſs being now in *Cromwel*'s poſſeſſion, he caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be made (under protection of the Town) over the River *Barrow*, and the Army to ſit down before *Duncannon*, a ſtrong Fort commanded by Colonel *Wogan*; but the Place being ſo well provided of all Neceſſaries, it was judged convenient not to loſe time about it. And preſently after Colonel *Abbot* reduced *Eniſteoge* (a little wall'd Town, about 5 miles from *Roſs*) to the Parliaments obedience. And about the ſame time, Colonel *Reynolds*, with 12 Troops of Horſe, and 3 of Dragoons, march'd toward *Carrick*, having divided his Men into two parts; whilſt the Beſieged were amuſed with the one Party, he enter'd a Gate with the other, taking the Place, and about 100 Priſoners, without the loſs of one Man. But to look back. *Carrick* taken in.

From the time that the Peace was concluded at *Kilkenny*, the Lord Lieutenant well diſcerned the miſchief he ſhould ſuſtain, by being to provide againſt the Attempts of General *Owen O Neal*, as well as againſt the *Engliſh* Forces, and that at leaſt he could hope for no aſſiſtance from the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, as long as they fear'd him. And therefore he ſent *Daniel O Neal*, Nephew to the General, to perſwade him to be included in the ſame Peace; but he was ſo un-ſatisfied with the Aſſembly, that he declared he would have nothing to do with them, or be comprehended in any Peace they ſhould make: But if the Marqueſs would conſent to ſome Conditions he propos'd, he would willingly ſubmit to the King's Authority in him. The Marqueſs was content to grant him his own Conditions, having indeed a great eſteem of his Conduct, and knowing the Army under his Command to be better diſciplined, than any other of the *Iriſh*. But the Commiſſioners of Truſt would by no means conſent to thoſe Conditions, whereby it is evident, (though theſe would be thought to adhere to the Marqueſs) that they had alien thoughts to his Majeſty's Happineſs, and declared, if the Lord Lieutenant ſhould proceed thereupon to an Agreement, it would be a direct breach of the Articles of Peace. And thereupon *Owen O Neal* made that Conjunction with *Monk*, as is before ſpoken of, and, about the very time of the Defeat at *Rathmines*, relieved Sir *Charles Coot* in *London-derry*, and thereby kept the King, from being entirely poſſeſſed of the Province of *Ulſter*, which, but for that Action, would have been able to have ſent ſtrong Supplies of Men and Proviſions, to the aſſiſtance of the Marqueſs. And it is well known, that while the Lord Lieutenant was in a hopeful condition to prevail againſt the Parliament, the Commiſſioners of Truſt, and the principal Perſons of Intereſt, had no mind to agree with General *O Neal*, out of animoſity to his Perſon and Parts, and in confidence that the Work would be done without him: And others, who were of his Party, had as little mind that he ſhould be drawn into a Conjunction with the Marqueſs, becauſe they knew, if he was once engaged under him, they ſhould no more be able to ſeduce him, to joyn with them in any Actions of Sedition. And upon theſe Reaſons, the Perſons, who were deputed by the Commiſſioners to treat with him, The Means the Lord Lieutenant took to reduce *O Neal*. The Commiſſioners of Truſt diſſent from the Lord Lieutenant.

1649. and were known to have an Intereſt in him, on the one ſide perſwaded *Owen O Neal*, that the Lord Lieutenant had broken the Articles of Peace, and that he could have no ſecurity, that what ſhould be promiſed, ſhould be performed to him; and on the other ſide informed the Marqueſs, that *Owen O Neal* inſiſted on ſuch extravagant Propoſitions, that the Commiſſioners of Truſt would never yield to them. But after the Arrival of *Cromwel* & his ſucceſs againſt *Tredagh*, the Commiſſioners of Truſt thought it high time to unite to him: And *Owen O Neal* himſelf diſcerned, how unſafe he ſhould be, by the prevailing of the *Engliſh* Party, who, notwithſtanding the ſignal Service perform'd by him to them, had publickly diſ-avowed the Agreement which their Officers had made with him. And thereupon, by the Interpoſition of Colonel *Daniel O Neal*, (at that time Governour of *Trim*) all Particulars were agreed betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and him, the 12th. of *October*, 1649. with the Conſent of the Commiſſioners of Truſt; the management of which was committed to Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, and Sir *Richard Barnwel* Baronet, authoriz'd by the Lord Lieutenant, to conclude with General *Owen O Neal*, for whom there was the Biſhop of *Clogher*, and *Tirlagh O Boyle*, who agreed in 18 Articles, about the time *Cromwel* was before *Wexford*: Inſomuch that he promiſed to bring his Army within a few days, and joyn with the Lord Lieutenant, which (though himſelf lived not to accompliſh, dying at *Cloughoter*-Caſtle, in the County of *Cavan*, about the beginning of *December*) was ſhortly after performed. So that about the time that *Wexford* was taken, the Lord Lieutenant was not without hope, by the advantage of a Paſs, and by cutting off his Proviſions, to have made *Cromwel* return to *Dublin* very hard, without loſing a good part of his Army; when on a ſudden, and all together, all the conſiderable Places in the Province of *Munſter*, as *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Kinſale*, *Bandonbridge*, *Moyallo*, and other Garriſons, revolted to the Parliament, and thereby gave them a ſafe Retreat, and free Paſſage, and neceſſary Proviſions of all that they wanted, and Harbours for Ships, to bring all to them that they could deſire.

O Neal dies.

The Garriſons in *Munſter* revolt to the Parliament.

The Lord *Inchiquin* being ſo totally betrayed by thoſe Officers whom he truſted moſt, and had moſt obliged, and (that after he had in vain tryed to reduce them by force) he could not, without much difficulty, obtain the liberty and re-delivery of his Wife and Children to him, which when he had procur'd, he fled for ſafety into *Thomond*, to his Kindred.

This Defection, in ſo fatal a Juncture of time, (when the ſtraits *Cromwel* was in, by the Winter, and want of Proviſions, had rais'd the Spirits of all Men, and when they looked upon themſelves, as like to have at leaſt ſome hopeful Encounter with him) was not a loſs, or a blow, but a diſſolution of the whole Frame of their Hopes and Deſigns, and introduced a Spirit of Jealouſie and Animoſity in the Army, which no Dexterity or Intereſt of the Lord Lieutenant could extinguiſh or allay.

The Revolt of the *Munſter* Garriſons begot a Jealouſie in the *Iriſh* Army.

From the firſt hour of the Peace, the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the Marqueſs much trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their obedience and ſubmiſſion, to the Authority and Pleaſure of their chief Commander, than united by the ſame Inclinations and Affections, to any publick End. Inſomuch as before the Defeat at *Rathmines*, there were many of the *Iriſh*, who

who much fear'd the ſwift ſucceſs of the Army, and apprehended, the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeedy reducing of *Dublin*, would give him ſuch Power, and make him more abſolute, than they deſired to ſee him, and therefore were not ſorry for that Miſchief. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* were much troubled, to ſee the Authority and Juriſdiction of the Marqueſs ſo reſtrain'd and limited by the Articles, and that the Army was neither recruited, diſciplined, nor provided, as it ought to be, ſolely by his want of Power; and they had a very low opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Iriſh*. But now upon this Defection in *Munſter*, there was a Determination of all Confidence and Truſt in each other; the *Iriſh* declaring, *That they ſuſpected all the* Engliſh *Nation, and made the Treachery of thoſe, who ſo infamouſly had betrayed their Truſt, an unreaſonable Argument for jealouſie, of thoſe who remain'd in the Army, who being a handful of gallant Men, and of moſt un-ſhaken Fidelity to the King, were indeed, in reſpect of their Courage and Experience in the War, the Party to be principally depended upon in any Action or Encounter, and of which the Enemy had only an apprehenſion.* 1649.

Cromwel makes his Attempt upon *Waterford*, but draws off to his Winter-Quarters.

Though the Seaſon of the year, for it was now towards the end of *November*, and the Sickneſs that was in *Cromwel*'s Army, made it high time to betake themſelves to their Winter-Quarters, and ſuch was their reſolution; yet hearing of the gaining of *Carrick*, and of the preſent Diſtemper amongſt thoſe, who had the whole Strength the Lord Lieutenant was to truſt to, and knowing all the Clergy had the full Dominion, in all incorporate Towns and Places of Importance, and would keep the People from ſubmitting to thoſe Expedients, which could only preſerve them, he reſolv'd to make an Attempt (with his Army, conſiſting of about 2000 Horſe and 5000 Foot) upon *Waterford*, hoping to reduce that important Place, before the Army ſhould draw into Winter-Quarters, knowing well enough, that the Marqueſs could not keep the ſmall Body he had together, many days, which was true: For he, having not Money to give them half a Weeks Pay, or Proviſion to ſerve half ſo long, was compelled to ſuffer part of them, *viz.* the *Scots*, to go to their Quarters; who, upon the Plains of *Liſnegarvy*, (being joyn'd with Sir *George Monro*, to relieve *Carickfergus*) were, upon the 6th. of *December*, met with by Sir *Charles Coot*, who gave them ſuch a blow, as they were afterwards never able to make head in *Ulſter*. However, the Marqueſs was reſolv'd not to leave *Waterford* to the Enemy, though the Inhabitants had ſo obſtinately and diſobediently refuſed to receive a Garriſon, which would have prevented their preſent preſſures; whereas they were now cloſely beſieged to their Walls, on all that ſide of the Town which lay to *Munſter*; the other being open, and to be reliev'd by the River *Sure*, which there ſevers *Leimſter* and *Munſter*, and waſheth the Walls of the Town on that ſide. The Inhabitants ſeeing Deſtruction at their Door, abated ſo much of their former Madneſs, as to be willing to receive a Supply of Souldiers; yet under a condition, that they might be all of the old *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, who (under the Command of *Owen O Neal*) had long oppos'd the King's Authority, and were now newly joyn'd with the Marqueſs, and in expreſs terms refuſed any of their Neighbours and Kindred, the Confederate *Iriſh* Catholicks of *Munſter* or *Leimſter*, to the great offence and ſcandal of that Part of the Nation, which had been as zealous for their Religion as any. However, ſince there was no other way to preſerve them, the Lord Lieutenant was content to comply even with that

1649. that Humour; and so choosing a strong Party of near 1500 Men, and putting them under the Command of Lieutenant General *Farral*, who was the most acceptable to them, his Excellency himself march'd with them, and put them into the Town; which he had no sooner done, than *Cromwel* thought it convenient to raise his Siege, (having taken in *Passage-Fort*, within 2 miles of *Waterford*) and march'd to *Dungarvan*, delivered up the 3d. of *December*, where he found the Lord *Broghal*, who (partly by his own Interest, and the dis-affection in the Souldiers to the Lord *Inchiquin*) had gotten in all the Towns in *Munster*, that had formerly been under the Parliament: A Service most considerable, and such as was of very great advantage to *Cromwel*, who was now in great straits where to take up his Winter-Quarters, for his sick and distressed Regiments, his Army, partly by sickness, partly by leaving Garrisons in the several Places he had taken in, being so much weakned and impair'd, so as he brought not, of all the Men he carried over with him, above 5000 Horse and Foot, to *Dungarvan*; where Colonel *Jones*, who sickned in his way thither, died, about the 18th. of *December*, 1649. of a Purple Fever; a Person certainly of much Gallantry, and one in the Discipline of the Army (whereof he was Lieutenant General) very exact, carrying his Victories oftner more by the dint of his Sword, than the number of his Men: And though he passes not, in the History of our Age, without some Reflections, as too obstinately adhering to *Cromwel*, whom he us'd to call, *Companion in Labours*, yet those who were intimate with him, had that certainty of his Worth, as nothing so much steer'd him in the Service of *Ireland*, as a just Reflection on the Murthers and Insolencies committed by the *Irish* on the Protestants, not otherwise to be pacified, than by a due Revenge: And had he surviv'd *this Service*, it is confidently believ'd, *Cromwel* (how well soever he spoke of him) would have found some Expedient to have laid him aside. *Cromwel* having thus gain'd *Dungarvan*, shortly after betook himself to his Winter-Quarters, garrisoning at *Bandonbridge*, Colonel *Ewer*, and his Regiment; at *Kinsale*, Colonel *Stabber*; at *Cork*, Colonel *Phaier*; and Colonel *Cook* at *Wexford*; and *Toughal*, and other adjacent Places, was assign'd the head-Quarters. Whilst the Marques of *Ormond*, (sensible of what might be the product of so un-controul'd a Success, having left *Waterford*, in his thoughts full of the sence of the late benefit and preservation, which, by his vigilance, that City had receiv'd) in *December*, (a season much colder than usually had been observ'd in that Countrey) cast all ways imaginable to hinder the Enemy's future Attempt upon that Place, and to reduce *Passage*, *Wexford*, and other Places, weakly mann'd and provided by *Cromwel*. And accordingly he drew his Forces together, and, leaving them on the other side of the River *Sure*, himself with a Train only of 40 or 50 Horse, consisting of his Friends and Servants, went into the Town, presuming he should be able to perswade them to submit to joyn, in whatsoever should manifestly appear for their own benefit or advantage. When he came into the Town, he found Lieutenant General *Farral* engaged in a Design to take *Passage*, a Place seized on by *Cromwel*, when he had retir'd from *Waterford*, and which was an in-convenient Neighbour to that City. Colonel *Wogan* (who had been seasonably sent by the Marques into *Duncannon*, even when the first Governour placed thereby the Confederate Catholicks, was ready to deliver it up to the Enemy, and who had with notable courage defended it against *Cromwel*, and in the end, after the

Cromwel draws off from *Waterford*, goes to *Dungarvan*.

Colonel *Jones* dies about the 18th. of *Decem.*

The Lord Lieutenant's Endeavour to impede *Cromwel*.

loss

loſs of a great number of his Men, compell'd him to retire) had agreed to meet Lieutenant General *Farral*, Commander of the *Ulſter* Forces, at a Place and Houſe appointed, and together to fall on *Paſſage*. Though the Marqueſs had not been informed of the contrivance of the Deſign, yet he knew well enough, what interpretation would be made of his Interpoſition, or Command, or Warineſs, ſhould he declare againſt it, therefore he was very willing it ſhould proceed: The Matter was well laid, and carried with ſecrecy, being hopeful enough. Lieutenant General *Farral* had not been march'd from the Town many hours, when the Marqueſs diſcovered (from ſome Place of proſpect in the Town) a ſtrong Party of Horſe, marching in good order, the way that led to *Paſſage*, which belonging to the Enemy, made him conclude, that they had notice of the Deſign. Whereupon he preſently ſent for the Maior of the Town, and ſhewing him the in-evitable danger their whole Party was in, (which was the only Srength againſt any Enterprize of the Enemy) if they were not inſtantly reliev'd, required him preſently to ſend ſome Body over the Water, for the tranſporting (from the other ſide of the River) of a Regiment or two of Horſe, with which he would himſelf endeavour to reſcue them. How apparent ſoever the danger and miſchief was, and how viſible and natural ſoever the remedy, all the Commands and Entreaties he could uſe, could not prevail to get one Body, or their Conſent, that any of his Horſe ſhould be ſuffered to march through the Town, without which they could not go to their Relief. When he had in vain tryed all the means he could invent, to convince and perſwade them to ſo natural an Action, he cauſed all his Friends and Servants aforemention'd, to mount their Horſes, and with all imaginable haſte himſelf led them towards *Paſſage*, that he might at leaſt diſcover (though he was not like to prevent) the loſs that was to enſue. When he came within ſight of the Town, he could diſcern a Party of Foot, marching in great haſte and diſorder towards him, being purſued by the Enemy's Horſe, who had even over-taken them, having fallen upon the remainder, and either killed them upon the Place, or taken them Priſoners. Though the company which attended the Marqueſs, was too few to encounter the Enemy's Horſe, with any conſiderable hope, yet he drew them up in that manner, on the ſide of an Hill, that the Enemy imagining their number to be more conſiderable, thought fit to leſſen their pace, and to ſend ſmall Parties to diſcover them; which being again entertain'd by the like number in like skirmiſhes, the Foot as much improving their March, they were in the end (by the Marqueſs's frequent oppoſing of his own Perſon, to retard the Enemy's purſuit) preſerv'd; and ſo brought back with him into the Town, about half of thoſe who had march'd thence, (the reſt being killed or taken Priſoners by Colonel *Zanckey*) which alſo had been infallibly deſtroyed, if the Marqueſs had not taken that deſperate courſe to redeem them, as he might in hope have recovered all the others, who were made Priſoners, and defeated all that Body of the Enemy, and conſequently have taken *Paſſage*, if the City would have permitted his Horſe to have been tranſported over the River, and to have march'd through it. His Excellency's Forces had not better ſucceſs in their Attempt to re-take *Carrick*, (governed by Colonel *Reynolds*) meerly through the want of Pick-axes and Spades, though his confidence of the Deſign, (built on the brittle aſſurance of his Commanders) had brought him almoſt thither, where (if it had not been for Colonel *Milo Power*, who acquainted him of

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The Lord Lieutenant's gallant Attempt to relieve the Party that went to take in *Paſſage*.

The Lord Lieutenant diſappointed in retaking of *Carrick*, and good Service done by Colonel *Milo Power*.

1649. of his Armies being baffled, and of its removal thence) he had been ſurprized by the Enemy. And the Lord *Inchiquin*'s, Lieutenant Colonel *Trevor*'s, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*'s Expeditions againſt *Wexford* and *Roſs*, ended in the like loſs and misfortune. The Marqueſs however leaves nothing un-attempted to fortifie *Waterford*, what diſ-couragements ſoever he had received by the Inſolency of ſome Men, inſtigated by the Violence and Opiniaſtriſe of the Clergy; In as much as he knew, *Paſſage* or the other Places could not be regain'd, without he might bring his Army over the River, which they would not admit of, nay! deſiring that his Army might for a little time be but hutted under their Walls, where they ſhould receive their Proviſions and Pay, duely out of the Countrey, and ſo ſhould be a Security and Benefit to the Town, without the leaſt damage in any Degree. This Propoſition alſo found no more regard then the former, and inſtead of conſulting, with what Circumſtances to comply with ſo juſt and neceſſary a Demand of the Kings Lieutenant, it was propoſed in the Council of the Town, *To ſeize on his Perſon, and to fall on all who belonged to him, as an Enemy*; Which Advice met with no other Reprehenſion, then that for the preſent, the major part did not conſent unto it. Of all which, when the Marqueſs was fully informed, he thought it time to depart thence, and to leave them to their own Imaginations; and ſo marched away with his Army, which after this Indignity, it was a thing impoſſible to keep them together; And (becauſe the Principal Towns refuſed to admit them in) he was fain in the depth of Winter, to ſcatter them over all the Kingdom. The greateſt part of the *Vlſter* Forces were ſent into their own Province, there to chuſe a new General, according as their Conditions allowed them; for *Owen O Neal* was dead; And *Luke Taaff* with his Men, were ſent back into *Connaght*, to my Lord of *Clanrickard*; The Lord *Inchequin*, with the remainder of ſuch as belonged unto him, went over into the County of *Clare*; The Lord *Dillon*, with his, into *Meath*, and towards *Athlone*; all the reſt were ſcattered ſeveral ways; Onely Major General *Hugh O Neal*, was admitted with 1600 *Vlſter* Men into *Clonmel*, as Governor, whilſt the Marqueſs went to his Caſtle of *Kilkenny*; From thence he diſpatch'd the 24*th*. of *December*, an Account to the King, (who was then in the Iſle of *Jerſey*) of the true Eſtate of his Affairs in that Kingdom; By which his Majeſty might ſee, how much *Cromwel*'s Forces, who diſclaimed any Subjection to him, prevail'd againſt his Authority; And how it was equally contemned, deluded, or diſ-regarded by his Subjects, who made all the Profeſſions of Obedience and Duty to him; which was a Method, theſe ill times had made his Majeſty too well acquainted with. And from this time, which was towards the end of *December*, 1649. the Marqueſs never did, or could draw together into one Body, a number of 500. what endeavours he uſed to do it, will be mention'd in order hereafter.

The Treachery of *Waterford* againſt the Lord Lieutenant.

His Account of the State of *Ireland* to the King.

Aſſoon as the Lord Lieutenant came to *Kilkenny*, he conſulted with the Commiſſioners of Truſt, without whoſe approbation and conſent he could do no act, that was of importance; what remedy to apply to the diſorder and confuſion, which ſpread it ſelf over all their Affairs; they had been ſtill Witneſſes of all his actions, of his unwearied pains and induſtry, and of the little fruit that was reaped by it; how his Orders and Commands, and their own, had been neglected and diſ-obeyed in all thoſe Particulars, without which, an Army could not be brought or kept together; how

thoſe

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thoſe places which the Rebels had poſſeſſed themſelves of, had been for the moſt part loſt by their own obſtinate refuſal, to receive ſuch aſſiſtance from him, as was abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation; and yet that they had rais'd moſt unreaſonable Imputations and Reproaches on him, as if he had fail'd in their Defence and Relief. They had ſeen the wonderful, and even inſupportable wants and neceſſities the Army had always undergone; and knew very well how all Warrants had been diſobeyed for the bringing in of Money and Proviſions, for the ſupply thereof. And yet their Countrey was full of clamour and diſcontent, for the payment of Taxes, and being exhauſted with Contribution; He deſired them therefore, to examine where any miſ-demeanors had in truth been, and that they might be puniſhed; and from whence the Scandal and Calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the People might be informed and compoſed. The Commiſſioners for the moſt part had diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in them; yet there were ſome amongſt them, (too able and dexterous in Buſineſs) who alway malign'd the Perſon of the Marqueſs, or rather his Religion, and the Authority he repreſented; And what profeſſions ſoever, they made of reſpect to him, ſtill maintain'd a cloſe Intelligence and Correſpondence with thoſe of the Clergy, who were the moſt diſ-affected to his Majeſties Intereſt; and who from the misfortune at *Rathmines*, had under-hand fomented and cheriſh'd all the ill humours and jealouſies of the People. The Commiſſioners adviſed the Marqueſs, as the beſt expedient to ſatisfie the Countrey; that Orders might be ſent to them, to elect ſome few Perſons amongſt themſelves, to ſend to *Kilkenny*, as Agents, to repreſent thoſe Grievances which were moſt heavy upon them, and to offer any deſires which might promote their ſecurity, alledging, that they could by this means be clearly inform'd, how groundleſs thoſe jealouſies were, and the Artifices would be diſcover'd, which had been uſed to corrupt their affections: though the Marqueſs well ſaw how tedious and inconvenient this courſe might prove, and rather advance all the ſcandalous and ſeditious Deſigns, then ſuppreſs them; Yet he fore-ſaw as well, that if it were declin'd by him, he ſhould be un-avoidably reproach'd, with not being willing to be informed of the juſt Grievances of the People, and conſequently not to remedy them; And therefore without giving countenance to any ſuch irregular Convention, by any formal ſummons of his own, he gave way that the Commiſſioners ſhould write their Letters to that purpoſe, and accordingly the Agents did come thither from the ſeveral Countreys, to communicate and preſent their Complaints and Deſires together, in *January* following; And the Lord Lieutenant received them with good Countenance, and wiſhed them freely to conſult together as ſoon as they could, to preſent whatſomever they had to ſay to him; to which, they ſhould be ſure to receive a ſpeedy Anſwer.

The Clergy, the Fomentors of all miſ-conceits againſt the Lord Lieutenant.

His deſire to clear their ſuſpicions, being (by their Orders onely) met at *Kilkenny*.

About which time, Colonel *Barry* (who through the whole Scene had been intruſted by the Supream Council, to negotiate with the King, and was not ill thought of by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*) had then licence from *Cromwel*, to viſit his Wife and Family at *Caſtlelions*, under the Parliaments obedience, where he tranſacted (through the Mediation of a noble Perſon) many Concerns, to the compoſing of Differencies with the greateſt; though what tended to an Agreement with *Inchequin*, would never in the leaſt be indulged; and the reſt then ſpoke of had a fate, not ſeaſonably to be compoſed.

1649.

The Clergies Aſſembly at *Cloanmacnoiſe*, whence they intitle their Merits.

In the mean time, the Biſhops and Clergy of themſelves, and without any Authority, received or deſired from the Lord Lieutenant, Aſſembled at *Cloanmacnoiſe*, upon the River *Shannon*, upon whoſe Councils and Concluſions, all mens eyes were more fixed, then upon what the Agents ſhould repreſent at *Kilkenny*; it being very evident, that many of the Catholick Noblity of the Kingdom, and ſome principal Perſons of Quality and Intereſt, formally concurred with the Marqueſs; And the Commiſſioners of Truſt, were for the moſt part, as zealous for the execution and obſervation of the Articles of Peace, and that the ſame might be rendred uſeful to the Nation: Yet the Clergy and Religious Perſons, had found means to obſtruct that Union, which was neceſſary for the carrying on the Work; and eſpecially had that influence upon the Corporate Towns, that no Garriſons would be admitted therein, or ſuch Submiſſion paid to the Lord Lieutenant, or the Commiſſioners Orders, as were eſſential to their own defence, and to the making War againſt the Enemy; So that all men were in ſuſpence, what would be the iſſue of that Meeting. And it cannot be denied, but that thoſe Biſhops, and that part of the Clergy which were beſt affected, and knew the ways which were moſt conducing to the happineſs of their Countrey, prevail'd ſo far, that the Concluſions which were made there, ſeem'd full of reſpect for the Kings Service, and wholſom Advice and Council to the People; *They declared how vain a thing it was, to imagine that there would be any ſecurity for the exerciſe of their Religion, for the enjoying of their Fortunes, or for the preſervation of their Lives, by any Treaty with, or Promiſe from the Parliament. That they abhorred all factious Animoſities, and Diviſions, which raged amongſt themſelves, to the hindrance of the Publick Service; And therefore enjoyn'd all the Clergy, of what Quality ſoever, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, by Preaching, and all other means, to incline the People unto an union of Affection; and to the laying aſide of all jealouſies of each other, and unanimouſly to concur in oppoſing the Common Enemy; And appointed the Biſhops and other Perſons, to proceed with greater ſeverity againſt thoſe Religious and Spiritual Perſons, who ſhould under-hand cheriſh and foment thoſe Jealouſies and Diviſions.* In a word, they ſaid ſo much, and ſo well, that when the Lord Lieutenant was informed of it, and when he ſaw the Extract of their Determinations, he conceiv'd ſome hope, that it might indeed make good Impreſſion on the People, and produce a very good effect: The Particulars of which here follows.

The Copies of Acts and Declarations, by the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, *met at* Clonmacnoiſe, *the fourth day of* December, 1649. *And ſince Concluded.*

By the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates.

WHereas heretofore many of the Clergy and Laity, did in their actions and proceedings, expreſs much diſcontents and diviſions of mind, grounding the ſame on the late difference of Opinion, happened amongſt the Prelates and the Laity; by which the Nation was not ſo well united, as was neceſſary in this time of great danger, wherein all, as with one heart and hand, ought to oppoſe the Common Enemy. We the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates of this Kingdom, met motu proprio, *at* Clonmacknoſe 4. Decembris, 1649. *having removed all differences among us, (not entring into the merits of diverſities of former Opinions) thought good for removing of all jealouſies from our own thoughts, hearts, and reſolutions; and from others, who had relation, or were adherent to the former diverſity of Opinions, to manifeſt hereby to all the World, that the ſaid Diviſions and Jealouſies grounded thereupon, are now forgotten, and forgiven among us on all ſides, as aforeſaid. And that all and every of us, of the above Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, are now, by the bleſſing of God, as one body united, And that we will, as becometh charity and our Paſtoral charge, ſtand all of us as one intire Body, for the Intereſt and Immunities of the Church, and of every the Prelates and Biſhops thereof; and for the Honour, Dignity, Eſtate, Right, and Poſſeſſion, of all and every the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates. And we will as one intire and united Body, forward by our Councils, Actions, and Devices, the advancement of his Majeſties Rights, and the good of this Nation in general and in particular occaſions, to our Power; and that none of us in any occaſion whatſoever, concerning the Catholick Religion, or the good of this Kingdom of* Ireland, *will in any reſpect ſingle himſelf, or be, or ſeem oppoſite to the reſt of us, but will hold firm and intire in one ſence as aforeſaid; hereby deteſting the actions, thoughts, and diſcourſes of any, that ſhall renew the leaſt memory of the differences paſt, or give any ground of future difference among us, And do in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, exhort all our flock to the like brotherly affection and union, and to the like deteſtation of all paſt differences or jealouſies as aforeſaid, ariſing hitherto among them. And we deſire that this our Declaration be Printed, and Publiſhed in each Pariſh, by Command of the reſpective Ordinaries.* Ut

1649. videant opera veſtra bona, & glorificent Patrem veſtrum qui in Cœlis eſt.

Datum apud Clonmacnoſe, 13. *Decem.* 1649.

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Thomas Dublin, Thomas Caſhel; Joan. Archiep. Tuam. Fr. Boetius Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinenſis & Procurator Waterfordienſis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagienſis & Cluanenſis, Nicholaus Fernenſis, Edmundus Limericenſis, & Procurator Epiſcopi, Oſſorienſis, Franciſcus, Aladenſis, Andræus Finiborenſis, Joan. Laonenſis, Fr. Oliverus Dromorenſis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnoſenſis, Fr. Hugo Duacenſis, Fr. Arthur Dunenſis, & Connerenſis, Fr. Terentius Imolacenſis, Fr. Patr. Ardagh, Oliverius, Deis Procurator Epiſco. Medenſis, Dr. Joa. Huſſey Procurator Epiſco. Ardfertenſis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Epiſcop. Rapo. Procurator, Fr. Gregorius o Ferraile Provin. Ordinis Prædicatorum Provin. Hiber. Fr. Thomas Mackeyernane Provin. Fratrum Minorum Provin. Hiber.

Walterus Clonfortenſis *Congregationis Secretar.*

By the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

WE *the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, and Prelates of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *having met at* Clonmacnoſe propria Motu, *the fourth day of* December, *in the year of our Lord God*, 1649. *to conſider of the beſt means to unite our Flocks, for averting Gods wrath fallen on this Nation, now bleeding under the evils that Famine, Plague, and War, bring after them, for effecting a preſent Union, Decreed the enſuing Acts.*

1. *We Order and Decree as an Act of this Congregation, That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, within their reſpective Dioceſſes, ſhall enjoyn Publick Prayers, Faſting, General-Confeſſion, and Receiving, and other works of Piety,* toties quoties, *to withdraw from this Nation Gods Anger, and to render them capable of his Mercies.*

2. *We Order and Decree as an Act of this Congregation, That a Declaration iſſue from us, letting the People know, how vain it is for them to expect from the Common Enemy commanded by* Cromwel, *by Authority from the Rebels of* England, *any aſſurance of their Religion, Lives, or Fortunes.*

3. *We Order and Decree as an Act of this Congregation, That all Paſtors and Preachers, be enjoyned to Preach amity. And for inducing the People thereunto, to declare unto them the abſolute neceſſity that is for the ſame, and as the chief means to preſerve the Nation, againſt the extirpation and deſtruction of their Religion and Fortunes, reſolved on by the Enemy. And we hereby, do manifeſt our deteſtation, againſt all ſuch Diviſions between either Provinces or Families: or between old* Engliſh, *and*

and old Iriſh, *or any the* Engliſh *or* Scots *adhering to his Majeſty. And we Decree and Order, that all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, fomenting ſuch Diſſentions, or un-natural Diviſions, be puniſhed by their reſpective Prelates, and Superiors,* Juxta gravitatem exceſſus, & (ſi opus fuerit) ſuſpendantur beneficiali & Paſtores à beneficio & officio ad certum tempus, Religioſi autem à Divinis juxto circumſtantias delicti. *Leaving the Laity offending in this kind, to be corrected by the Civil Magiſtrate, by Impriſonment, Fine, Baniſhment, or otherwiſe, as to them ſhall ſeem beſt, for plucking by the root ſo odious a Crime; The Execution whereof, we moſt earneſtly recommend to all thoſe having Power, and that are concerned therein, as they will anſwer to God for the evils that thereout may enſue.* 1649.

4. *We* Decree *and* Declare *Excommunicated, thoſe High-way Robbers, commonly called the Idle-Boys, that take away the Goods of honeſt men, or force men to pay them Contribution; and we likewiſe declare Excommunicated all ſuch as ſuccour or harbour them, or beſtow, or ſell them any Victualing, or buy Cattle, or any other thing elſe from them wittingly; Likewiſe all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, Miniſtring Sacraments to ſuch Robbers, or Idle-Boys; or burying them in Holy Grave, to be ſuſpended* ab officio & beneficio, ſi quod habent, *by their reſpective Superiors,* juxta gravitatem delicti. *This our Decree is to oblige within fifteen days after the Publication thereof, in the reſpective Dioceſſes.*

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Thomas Dublin, Thomas Caſhel, Joan. Archiep. Tuam. Fr. Boetius Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinenſis & Procurator Waterfordienſis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagienſis & Cluanenſis, Nicholaus Fernenſis, Edmundus Limericenſis, & Procurator Epiſcopi Oſſorienſis, Franciſcus Aladenſis, Andreas Finiborenſis, Joan. Laonenſis, Fr. Oliverus Dromorenſis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnoſenſis, Fr. Hugo Duacenſis, Fr. Arthurus Dunenſis, & Connerenſis, Fr. Terentius Imolacenſis, Fr. Patric. Ardagh, Oliverius Deis Procurator Epiſco. Medenſis, Dr. Joannes Huſſey Procurator Epiſcop. Ardſertenſis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Epiſcop. Rapo. Procurator.

Walterus Clonfortenſis *Congregationis Secretar.*

By the Eccleſiaſtical Congregation of the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

WE *the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, and Prelates of this Kingdom of* Ireland, *having met at* Clonmacnoſe propria Motu, *on the fourth day of* December, *in the year of our* Lord God, 1649. *taking into our conſideration, among other the Affairs then agitated and determinated for the preſervation of the Kingdom, that many of our Flock are miſlead by a vain opinion of Hopes, that the Commander in Chief of the Rebels Forces, commonly called, the Parliamentaries, would afford them good Conditions, and that relying thereon, they ſuffer utter deſtruction of Religion, Lives, and Fortunes, if not prevented. To undeceive*

1649. *deceive them in that their ungrounded expectation, We do hereby Declare as a most certain Truth, that the Enemies Resolution is, to extirpate the Catholick Religion, out of all his Majesties Dominions, as by their several Covenants doth appear, and the Practice where-ever their Power doth extend, as is manifested by* Cromwel's *Letter of the* 19th. *of* Octob. 1649. *to the then Governor of* Ross. *His words are:* For that which you mention concerning Liberty of Religion, I meddle not with any man's Conscience, but if by Liberty of Conscience, you mean a Liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of *England* have Power, that will not be allowed of. *This Tyrannical Resolution they have put in execution in* Wexford, Drogheda, Ross, *and elsewhere. And it is notoriously known, that by Acts of Parliament, called,* The Acts of Subscription, *the Estates of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom are sold, so as there remaineth now no more, but to put the Purchasers in possession, by the power of Forces drawn out of* England. *And for the common sort of People, towards whom if they shew any more moderate usage at the present, it is to no other end but for their private advantage, and for the better support of their Army, intending at the close of their Conquest (if they can effect the same as God forbid) to root out the Commons also, and plant this Land with Colonies to be brought hither out of* England, *as witness the number they have already sent hence for the Tobacco Island, and put Enemies in their places.*

And in effect this banishment, or other destructions of the common People, must follow the Resolution of extirpating the Catholick Religion, which is not to be effected, without the Massacring or Banishment of the Catholick Inhabitants.

We cannot therefore in our Duty to God, and in discharge of the Care we are obliged to have, for the preservation of our Flocks, but admonish them, not to delude and lose themselves with the vain expectation of Conditions to be had from that mercileſs Enemy. And consequently we beseech the Gentry, and Inhabitants, for Gods glory, and their own safety, to the uttermost of their Power, to Contribute with patience, to the support of the War against that Enemy, in hope that by the blessing of God, they may be rescued from the threatned Evils, and in time be permitted to serve God in their Native Countrey, and enjoy their Estates, and fruits of their Labours, free from such heavy Levies, or any other such Taxes, as they bear at present: Admonishing also, those that are in-listed of the Army, to prosecute constantly according to each mans charge, the Trust reposed in them, the opposition of the Common Enemy, in so just a War, as is that they have undertaken for their Religion, King, and Countrey, as they expect the blessing of God to fall on their Actions. And that to avoid Gods heavy judgment, and the indignation of their Native Countrey, they neither plunder nor oppress the People, nor suffer any under their charge, to commit any extortion or oppression, so far as shall lye in their power to prevent.

Signed by,

Hugo Ardmachanus, Fr. Thomas Dublin, Thomas Cashel, Joan. Archiep. Tuam. Fr. Boetios Elphyn, Fr. Edmundus Laghlinensis & Procurator Waterfordiensis, Emerus Clogher, Robertus Corcagiensis & Cluanensis, Nicclaus Fernensis, Edmundus Limericensis, & Procurator Episcopi Ossoriensis, Franciscus Aladensis, Andreas Finiborensis,

renſis, Joan. Laonenſis, Fr. Oliverus Dromorenſis, Fr. Antonius Clonmacnoſenſis, Fr. Hugo Duacenſis, Fr. Arthurus Dunenſis, & Conne-renſis, Fr. Terentius Imolacenſis, Fr. Patric. Ardagh, Oliverus Deis Procurator Epiſco. Medenſis, Dr. Joannes Huſſey Procurator Epiſco. Ardfertenſis, Fr. Joannes Cantwel Abbas, S. Crucis, Dr. Thadeus Clery Epiſcop. Rapo. Procurator. 1649.

Walterus Clontfertenſis *Congregationis Secretar.*

But the People weary of the War, the Plague encreaſing, and ill provided to endure thoſe Extreamities, *Cromwel* forced daily upon them, they flocked from all Places unto him, and liv'd under Contribution, whilſt the Marqueſs of *Ormond* finding it in vain, to qualifie the Diſcontents at *Kilkenny*, went about the end of *Chriſtmas* to the Marqueſs of *Clanrickards*, in *Connaght*, who conſulting together, found nothing effectual to compoſe the differences, the Clergy ſtill irritated amongſt them; whereupon his Excellency returned to *Kilkenny*, where the Agents ſpent ſome time in preparing Heads of ſuch Grievances, as they thought fit to preſent to the Lord Lieutenant, who called ſtill upon them to diſpatch; But (upon Conference with the graveſt of the Commiſſioners) they found how groundleſs all thoſe Slanders were, which they had believ'd before they came thither, and ſo could not agree of any Particular to complain of; Beſides they met with ſome Diſturbance there, for *Cromwel* (well knowing how the Marqueſs's ſmall Forces were ſcattered abroad) march'd with a ſtrong Party towards that Town; with which the Agents were ſo alarm'd, that they would ſtay no longer there, but deſired the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to let them adjourn to *Juni*, in the County of *Clare*, which they did; and though they met there, yet they never agreed of any draught of Grievances to be preſented, though they made ill uſe of their Meeeting, to propagate the Scandals and Imputations which had been groundleſsly rais'd, and to inflame the People with the ſame untruths; Notwithſtanding this Alarm and Danger the Lord Lieutenants Perſon, and the City were really in, all the Power and Authority he had, could not in ten days draw 500 Men together, to reſiſt the Enemy; However the Townſmen appeared ready, and prepared for their defence, and the Marqueſs putting all his own Friends and Servants on Horſeback, with which (making a Troop of about 100) he look'd with ſo good a Countenance upon the Enemy, that he retir'd; And ſhortly after the Lord Lieutenant committed the Charge of the Place, and the Countrey adjacent, to the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*; and went himſelf upon a more important Buſineſs to *Limerick*.

The Deputies of the Counties adjourn to *Juni*.

Cromwel (having continued in his Winter Quarters in *Munſter* ſcarce two months) finding the Weather prove very favourable in the end of *February*, his Soldiers much recovered from the Diſtempers, which the change of Air had cauſed in them at their firſt coming over, marched out with a Body of 3000 Horſe and Foot, and (having receiv'd all neceſſary Supplies from *England*) divided his Forces into two Parties, the one he led, the other was committed to *Ireton*'s care, who march'd away to *Carrick*, there to re-inforce himſelf by the conjunction of Colonel *Reynolds*. Theſe Forces were to march into the Enemies Quarters two ſeveral ways, (the better to amuſe the Enemy) and to meet together at a Rendezvous, 1650.

1650. Rendezvous near *Kilkenny*. *Cromwel* in his March took in *Cahir-Caſtle*, *Kiltenan*, *Goldenbridge*, *Clogheen*, and *Roghil* Caſtles, and ſeating himſelf before *Callan*, joyn'd with the other part of the Army under *Ireton*, enforced by the addition of the Forces under Colonel *Reynolds* and Colonel *Zanckey*, which, in their way, had took in *Arkenon*, *Dundrum*, *Knocklover*, *Bullinard*, and other Caſtles. The Forces being joyn'd, *Callan*, *Caſhel*, *Featherd*, *Graige*, and *St. Thomaſtown*, with the Caſtles and Garriſons thereabouts, were eaſily ſubdued: And *Cromwel* reſolving to beſiege *Kilkenny*, (knowing it was ſtrong) ſent for *Huſon* (Governour of *Dublin*) to march ſpeedily to him with all the Forces he could conveniently draw together; which he did, and (by the way taking in *Balliſannon*, *Kildare*, *Leighlin*, and other Places) joyns with *Cromwel's* Army near *Goram*, which was preſently taken: From hence *Cromwel* with his Army, conſiſting of 16000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, marches againſt *Kilkenny*; upon whoſe approach, the General Aſſembly fled to *Athlon*, and from whence the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* was drawn out with his Forces, by reaſon the Sickneſs raged ſo, having left Sir *Walthar Butler* and Major *Walſh*, with about 50 Horſe and 400 Foot to defend the Place; where a Breach being made, and aſſaulted by *Cromwel's* Soldiers, they were beaten back with the loſs of ſome Men, and about 600 Arms; though he had it ſurrendred to him ſhortly after upon theſe terms: 1. To deliver up the City and Caſtle to him, (*viz. Cromwel*) with all the Arms, Ammunition, and publick Store. 2. That the Inhabitants ſhould be protected in their Perſons, Goods, and Eſtates, from the violence of the Soldiery, and they that would remove, to have three months after the date of the Articles. 3. That the Governours, Officers, and Soldiers might march away with their Bag and Baggage. 4. That the City ſhould pay 2000 pounds to *Cromwel*. From hence *Cromwel* (having well refreſh'd his Army after the Siege of *Kilkenny*) approaches *Clonmel*, Garriſon'd by 2000 Foot and 120 Horſe, under the Command of *Hugh O Neal*, who behav'd himſelf ſo diſcreetly and gallantly in its defence, that *Cromwel* loſt near 2500 men before it, and had gone away without it, had not the Powder been ſpent, which forced the Governour and Soldiers in the night to forſake the Town, and go to *Waterford*, leaving the Townſmen to make Conditions for themſelves; which they did, as to the ſafeguard of their Lives and Eſtates. Whilſt theſe things were agitating, the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, *Caſtlehaven*, and the Biſhop of *Clougher*, held a Council at *Baltimore* in *Weſt-Meath*, to conſult the ſecurity of the Nation; which *Cromwel* hearing of, ſent Colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones*, with 2500 Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, againſt them, with which they diſperſed them, and thoſe Forces which the Marquis of *Clanrickard* and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* had brought out of *Connaght* to the Relief of *Tecrogham*, (within 20 miles of *Dublin*) and being joyn'd with the *Dublin* Forces, took in *Trim*, *Balahuſe*, *Finagh*, and other Places. In the time that *Clonmel* was Beſieged, the Biſhop of *Roſs* with 4000 Foot and 300 Horſe endeavours its Relief, but is overcome by the Lord *Broghil* near *Bandon-Bridge*, and himſelf taken Priſoner, and hang'd in the ſight of *Caringdred*; which Caſtle thereupon yielded to the Lord *Broghil*. In this Hurry, the Forces in *Ulſter* being (beſides) much ſhaken by reaſon of ſeveral Interreſſes, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commanders for the King ſcattered a Declaration, that none who would ſubmit to his Authority ſhould ſuffer either in Religion

The Siege of *Clonmel*.

Religion, or State; but it prevailed little. During the Leaguer of *Clonmel*, abſolute Orders were brought to *Cromwel* from the Parliament for his ſudden return; as alſo two Expreſſes from the Council of State to that purpoſe, which (after the compleatment of that Siege) he fulfilled, leaving the Kingdom about the end of *May*, 1650. having made Colonel *Ireton* his Deputy. 1650.

Here we cannot but take notice, that there were ſeveral Precepts by the Archbiſhop of *Ardmagh* and others, to pray for the ſucceſs of *Oliver*'s Forces; whilſt *Dominick Dempſy*, a *Franciſcan*, (eſteem'd a grave and holy man, and therefore a leading Perſon) and *Long* the *Jeſuit*, aſſerted, that (the King being out of the *Roman Catholick* Church) it was not lawful to pray for him particularly, or publickly in general on any other day than on *Good-Friday*, as comprehended amongſt the Infidels, *alias*, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Pagans*, and *Hereticks*; and then for the Spiritual welfare of his Soul, not for his Temporal proſperity.

Though the Parliamentarians, by the Faction and obſtinacy of the *Iriſh*, who could not hitherto be induced to make reaſonable proviſion for defence, had prevail'd far, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many good Places without conſiderable oppoſition, yet there remain'd a good part of the Kingdom free from their Power; the whole Province of *Connaght* was ſtill entire, and the Cities of *Waterford*, *Limerick*, and *Galway* in poſſeſſion of the Catholicks, which might be made ſo ſtrong, as not to fear any ſtrength *Ireton* could bring before them, and are ſo ſituated for all advantages of Sea, that they might, being well ſupplied, maintain a War againſt the whole Kingdom: they had alſo the Forts of *Duncannon* and *Sligo*, as alſo the ſtrong Caſtles of *Caterlough*, *Athlone*, *Charlemont*, *Carlo*, and *Neanagh*, from whence the Confederates might bring into the Field twice the number of Men which the Enemy had; ſo that there wanted onely Unity, Order, and Reſolution to preſerve themſelves; to improve which, the Marquis of *Ormond* reſolved to begin with *Limerick*, and if he could have diſpoſed that City unto a full obedience, and to receive a Garriſon, he made no queſtion not onely to fortifie it againſt any attempt of the Enemy, but under the countenance of it, and by the ſecurity of the River *Shannon*, to Quarter his Troops, raiſe Contribution for their ſupport, Diſcipline his Men, and, in effect by the Spring ſo to recruit his Army, that he might not ſuſpect to prevail againſt the Enemy where-ever he ſhould engage: And to this purpoſe he went himſelf thither from *Kilkenny*, in *January*, hoping that the good reſolution of the Biſhops of *Cloanmacnoiſe* had well prepared the People to comply with him; but when he came thither, albeit he was receiv'd with outward demonſtrations of reſpect, he found the temper not ſuch as he deſired, whatſoever the Biſhops had declared; *The Clergy had obſerved none of thoſe Directions, nor were any in ſo much credit as they who behaved themſelves quite contrary to thoſe Determinations.* And if no way could be found to allay this Spirit, all his endeavours he ſaw would be without any fruit: Hereupon he reſolv'd to try, whether that part of the Clergy which wiſhed well to the Kingdom, could uſe as efficacious means to preſerve, as the other, who deſired confuſion, did to deſtroy it: And upon advice with the principal Perſons of the Catholick Nobility, and with the Commiſſioners of Truſt, he did by his Letters of the 27*th.* of *February*, 1649. deſire as many of the Catholick Biſhops as were within

1650. within convenient diſtance, to meet him at *Limerick*; which they accordingly did the 8*th.* of *March* following.

When they came thither, he conferred with them in the preſence of the Commiſſioners of Truſt with all frankneſs, upon the diſtracted and disjoynted ſtate of Affairs, and freely told them, *That without the People would be brought to have a full confidence in him, and yield perfect obedience to him; and without the City of* Limerick *might be perſwaded to receive a Garriſon, and obey his Orders, it was not to be hoped that he could be able to do any thing conſiderable againſt the Enemy: He deſired them therefore, if they had a miſtruſt of him, or a diſlike of his Government, that they would as clearly let him know it; aſſuring them, that ſuch was his deſire of the Peoples preſervation, that there was nothing within his Power conſiſtent with his Duty to the King, and agreeable with his Honour, that he would not do at their deſires for that end: Withall letting them ſee, that his continuance with the Name, and not the Power of the Lord Lieutenant, could bring nothing but ruine upon the Nation, as well as diſhonour on him.* So that again he propounded to them in plain terms, *Either that they would procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or propoſe ſome other way by his quitting the Kingdom, how it might be preſerved.* After conſultation together, they return'd with many expreſſions of reſpects and affection to his Perſon, and faithfully promis'd to endeavour all that obedience he deſir'd; withall preſenting (the 13*th.* of *March*) to him *a Paper of Advice, which contained,* as they ſaid, *certain Remedies, for removing the diſcontents and diſguſts of the People, and for the advancing of his Majeſties Service:* Amongſt which they propoſed, *That a Privy Council might be framed by the Peers, and other of the Natives of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to ſit daily with him, and determine all the weighty Affairs of the Countrey by their Council; and many other Particulars, concerning the raiſing of Men, and conducting the War.* To every one of which, his Excellency, from *Limerick*, gave them (ſitting at *Loghreogh*) an Anſwer in writing, amongſt which he told them, *That he could not underſtand how the preſent diſtreſſes of the Kingdom could proceed from the want of a Privy Council, or how the framing of ſuch a Council could advantage the management of the War, which by the Articles of Peace was to be done by the Commiſſioners of Truſt, with whom he did always communicate all matters of importance; and therefore he could not think it fit unneceſſarily to preſume upon doing a thing, for which he had neither Power nor Preſident, the Nomination of all Perſons to be of the Privy Council being always reſerv'd by the King to himſelf: Yet rather than he ſhould be wanting in any thing that was in his power to ſatisfie the People in, he wiſhed, that the particular Acts which the Privy Council had heretofore done, and were now neceſſary to be done, might be inſtanced, and as far forth as ſhould appear neceſſary and fit, he would qualifie Perſons, free from juſt exceptions, with ſuch.* And ſo anſwer'd all their Propoſitions, that they ſeem'd to be well ſatisfi'd therewith; and thereupon publiſhed a Declaration, (dated at *Loghreogh* the 28*th.* of *March*, 1650.) in which they profeſſed, *That they did and would endeavour to root out of mens hearts all jealouſies and ſiniſter opinions, conceiv'd either againſt his Excellency or the preſent Government; and that they intreated him to give them further Inſtructions, declaring that they were not deterr'd from the want of the expected Succeſs in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but rather animated*

animated to give further Onſets, and to try all other poſſible ways; and did faithfully promiſe, that no Induſtry or Care ſhould be wanting in them, to receive and execute his Directions. 1650.

When the Marquis firſt propoſed to the Commiſſioners of Truſt, that *Limerick* and other Places might be Garriſon'd, he offer'd to them the names of three Perſons of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and of eminent Quality, Reputation, and Fortunes, that out of them they might chooſe one for the Command of *Limerick*: But reſolving afterwards to call this Aſſembly of Biſhops thither, and to be there himſelf in Perſon, he deferred the proceeding further in it, till then, that with their own advice ſuch a Perſon might be choſen for that important Charge, that ſhould be beyond any poſſibility of a juſt exception from that Corporation. Now he took all imaginable pains, and deſcended to all the Arts of Perſwaſion to ſatisfie thoſe Citizens, who, he perceived, were the moſt leading men, of the neceſſity of their ſpeedy receiving a Governour and a Garriſon, for the preſervation of their Intereſt, and whatſoever could be of any value with any People: But he was ſo far from prevailing with them, *That they perform'd not thoſe outward Civilities and Reſpects to him, which had been in no other Place denied.* The Officer who Commanded the City Guards, neither came to him for Orders, or imparted them to him; no Officer of the Army, or any other Perſon, could, without ſpecial leave from the Mayor (which was often very hardly obtain'd) be admitted to come to his preſence, to receive his Commands and Directions for the reſiſting and oppoſing the Enemy, who at that very time prevail'd in the County of *Limerick*: And to publiſh more the contempt they had of the Kings Authority, they committed to Priſon the Lord Viſcount *Kilmallock*, a Catholick Peer of the Realm, and an Officer of the Army, (the Lord Lieutenant being on the Place) for no other reaſon than for Quartering, for one night, ſome few Horſemen under his Command (by the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Order) within the Liberties of that City: All this being done ſo contrary to the Injunction which the Biſhops had publiſhed for the direction of the People, and at a time when they were aſſembled there. And when the Marquis of *Ormond* deſpaired (their contempts being ſo high) of perſwading them, to what abſolutely concern'd their proper Intereſt, he thought it not agreeable to the Honour of his Maſter to remain any longer in the Place, where ſuch affronts and contempts were put upon his Authority; and yet being willing ſtill to expect ſome good effects from the obſervation and diſcretion of the Biſhops, who could not but diſcern what ruine muſt immediately attend ſuch licenſe and diſobedience, he appointed all the ſaid Biſhops, and as many more as could be perſwaded to come thither, and the Commiſſioners, to meet him at *Loghreogh*; where, about the 19*th.* of *March*, they attended him at *Loghreogh*.

Limerick ſo far from complying, as it performed not outward Civility.

The Aſſembly appointed at *Loghreogh*.

When they appeared at *Loghreogh*, the Marquis repreſented to their memories what they had before been themſelves witneſſes of, and obſerv'd at *Limerick*, and the neglects he had born there; *Deſired them to remove thoſe cauſleſs diſtruſts, which being maliciouſly infuſed into the Peoples minds, did ſlacken, if not wholely withdraw their obedience from his Majeſties Authority; and wiſhed them to conſider how impoſſible it was for him, with Honour, or any hope of ſucceſs, to contend againſt a powerful, abſolutely obey'd, and plentifully ſupplied Enemy; himſelf under ſuch domeſtick diſadvantages of diſtruſt and diſobedience; and concluded, that if*

1650. *the conſequence of the Service could not induce them to be all of one mind, in putting a Garriſon into* Limerick; *or, if being all of one mind, they could not induce the City to obedience and ſubmiſſion to ſuch their determination, he could no longer entertain a hope of giving any check to the Enemy, and would thereupon conſider how otherwiſe to diſpoſe of himſelf.* Both the Biſhops and Commiſſioners were really (or at leaſt ſeem'd ſo) and entirely convinc'd of the neceſſity of erecting that Garriſon, and of putting that City into a better poſture of defence than it then appear'd to be in: The Commiſſioners, in whom that Truſt was repoſed by the Articles of Peace, order'd it to be done, and ſent two of their own Members (*viz.* Sir *Richard Everard* Baronet, and Dr. *Fennel*) with their Order to *Limerick*, and with a Letter to the Mayor *to conform thereunto*; and the Biſhops writ to the Archbiſhop of *Caſhel* and the Biſhop of *Limerick* (both then at *Limerick*) *deſiring them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to incline the City to ſubmit to the direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Commiſſioners.* And having done this, they departed to thoſe Places they thought fit to diſpoſe the People (as they profeſſed) to all acts of conformity and obedience. But the Commiſſioners in ſhort time return'd from *Limerick*, without having in any degree prevail'd with them to receive either a Governour or Garriſon, or to conform themſelves to any Orders the Lord Lieutenant, or the Commiſſioners ſhould ſend to them, otherwiſe than as they agreed with their own inclinations: inſtead of making choice of any of thoſe three who were nominated to them for their Governour, they upon the matter declared, *That they would keep that Power in their own hands*; and for receiving of a Garriſon, they propoſed ſome particulars, what men of the *Iriſh Catholicks*, and what they would not, what courſe ſhould be taken for the ſupport of them, and through what hand it ſhould paſs, and many other things, directly contrary to the Articles of Peace which had been with ſolemnity proclaimed in that City, and unto which they had profeſſed all ſubmiſſion.

All this perverſneſs, obſtinacy, and ingratitude, could not yet extinguiſh the affections and compaſſion the Marquis had towards them; and he clearly diſcern'd, that it proceeded not from the Spirit that was included and confined within the Walls, but that it was the ſame that was generally working in other places: He was well enough ſatisfied, that they who were moſt paſſionately poſſeſſed with it, had no correſpondence with the Parliament, nor had a mind to be ſubjected to their Power; he was willing therefore to believe, that they had fancied and imagined to themſelves ſome expedient for their own preſervation, which could not fall within his comprehenſion; and that they might have contracted a prejudice to his Perſon, or to his Religion, which might keep them from ſuch an union and confidence as they might be reduc'd unto under ſome Catholick, who might be as zealous to preſerve his Majeſties Intereſt, and recover the Kingdom to his obedience; and he was the more confirmed in this his apprehenſion, by revolving the ſeveral paſſages which had hapned at his being at *Limerick*, during the time that they ſeem'd to pay him all reſpect when the Lord *Inchiquin* had been then with him, towards whom they had obſerved the Marquis had a great confidence and friendſhip, as he well deſerved: at which time, ſome principal Perſons of the City, and with them ſome of the Biſhops, had, under a ſhew of great confidence and truſt, repaired to the Lord Lieutenant, and

The Citizens of *Limericks* animoſity againſt the Lord *Inchiquin*.

and declared unto him, That all that indiſpoſition and waywardneſs of the People, proceeded from the prejudice they had againſt the Lord *Inchequin*, who had always (they ſaid) proſecuted the War againſt them with the moſt rigour and animoſity; and the Places and Perſons which had been moſt at his devotion, having treacherouſly revolted to the Parliament, the People were not confident of him, and jealous, that the Marquis had too great a confidence in him; ſo that if he would diſmiſs that Lord, and diſcharge the Troops that yet remained under his Command, of which, ſome frequently ran away to the Parliament, not onely that City, but the whole Nation would, as one man, be at his diſpoſal. While theſe inſinuations were thus propoſed to the Lord Lieutenant, other Perſons (and thoſe as leading men) with an equal number of Biſhops, applied themſelves to the Lord *Inchequin*, and told him, *That whilſt the affairs were conducted by the Marquis of* Ormond, *they expected no good fortune; that they looked upon him as not of their Nation, and one ſo ſolicitous for the* Engliſh *Intereſt, and all* Engliſh-men, *that he was nothing regardful of them and theirs: But that his Lordſhip was of the moſt antient Extraction of* Ireland, *and under that notion look'd upon with great affection and reverence by the* Iriſh; *and if the Government and Command were exercis'd by him, there would be ſuch an Obedience paid to him, that he would in ſhort time grow ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Enemy, and recover his Countrey.* When theſe two Lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent Addreſſes which had been made to them, and agreed together how to draw on, and encourage the Propoſers, that they might diſcover as much of their purpoſes as was poſſible, they eaſily found *their deſign was to be rid of them both*: And when they perceived (by the continuance of the ſame Friendſhip) that they had communicated with each other, they leſs diſſembled towards both, but proceeded with thoſe diſreſpects which are mention'd before.

1650.

The Citizens of *Limerick* inſinuate to the Lord *Inchiquin* as much againſt the Lord Lieutenant, as before they did againſt him.

The Marquis having ſadly conſidered all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that he could poſſibly imagine might tend in any degree to the recovery or preſervation of the Kingdom, he appointed another meeting to be at *Loghreogh* the 25*th.* of *April*, and ſummon'd thither all the Catholick Biſhops, as many of the Nobility as could with any ſecurity come thither, the chief Gentlemen of Quality of the Parts adjacent, and ſeveral Officers of the Army; where being met together, he gave them in the firſt place an Anſwer in writing to a Paper he had received from the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, the firſt of *April*, intituled, *The Grievances preſented by the Congregation of Prelates, aſſembled,* propria motu, *at* Cloanmacnoiſe; in which he made it evident, how much they were miſtaken in the matter of Fact, and that which was really amiſs proceeded from themſelves, and their not obſerving the Orders and Rules they were bound by, and could not be prevented by him; and conſented to all the good and practicable ways propoſed by themſelves for remedying the like for the future. He remembred them of the pains he had taken, of the Propoſitions he had made, of the Orders he had given, and of the Neglects, Diſobedience, and Affronts he had received, by which alone the Enemy made that progreſs in their Succeſſes: He ſhewed them a Letter he had received lately from his Maſter the King, bearing date on the 2*d.* of *February*, from *Caſtle Elizabeth* in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, in anſwer to one writ from *Kilkenny* in *December*, in which

The ſecond Aſſembly at *Loghreogh.*

1650. which his Majeſty ſignified his gracious pleaſure to him, *That in caſe of the continuance of that diſobedience in the People, and contempt of his Authority, he ſhould withdraw himſelf and his Majeſties Authority out of that Kingdom.* Whereupon he told them, (having received ſo little effect of all the pains he had taken, and ſo ill returns for all the affection he had ſhewed to them) he was reſolved to make uſe ſpeedily of the liberty the King had given him, as to his own Perſon, which he found was rendred ſo unacceptable to the People; yet if they could propoſe to him any way how he might depoſite the Kings Authority in ſuch manner, as it might not be expoſed to the ſame affronts it had received in him, and might be applied to the preſervation of the People, and recovery of the Nation, he would gladly gratifie them, and would heartily wiſh, that they might receive that happineſs by his abſence, which they could not receive in his preſence; and to that purpoſe deſired them to conſult ſeriouſly and maturely among themſelves.

The Lord Lieutenant had licenſe from the King (on the diſobedience of the *Iriſh*) to withdraw.

Upon this, all the Biſhops, Nobility, and Commiſſioners of Truſt, with the principal Gentlemen, expreſſed very much trouble at the reſolution the Marquis had taken, and on the laſt day of *April* (from *Loghreogh*) 1650, made an Addreſs to him in writing under their ſeveral hands, in which, amongſt other things, they told him, *That they conceiv'd themſelves in duty bound for his better information of the inclination of that Nation, humbly to preſent to him, That however his Excellency might not have met with a ready concurrence to ſome Propoſals made, for the advancing his Majeſties Service, occaſion'd through ſome miſunderſtanding in ſome few Perſons and Places, yet the Country generally, and the Nation in it, as they had already (by expending their Subſtance in an extraordinary meaſure, and their Lives upon all occaſions) abundantly teſtifi'd their ſincere and irremovable affections, to preſerve his Majeſties Rights and Intereſts intire to him; ſo they would for the future, and with like cheerfulneſs, endeavour to overcome all difficulties which the Enemies power and ſucceſs had laid in their way, and that they who were there met (doubting not but the ſame was the general ſenſe of the Nation) would with all care and earneſtneſs endeavour, not onely to conſerve in the People ſuch their good Inclinations, but if any Perſon or Place ſhould be refractory, or decline that obedience which is due to his Majeſties Authority, they would contribute their beſt endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the ſame.* And after many other ſpecious profeſſions and proteſtations of their zeal to obey his Excellency, *They humbly beſought him to appoint Commanders in the ſeveral Provinces, to whom thoſe of his Majeſties Subjects (who by the excitement of the Clergy, ready with all alacrity to undergo, that care ſhould be encouraged to take up Arms) might repair for the oppoſing the Power of the Rebels.* How reſpective ſoever this Addreſs was, and how ſolemnly ſoever it was repreſented (as neither the one or the other could be more formal) the Lord Lieutenant was reſolved not to be longer ſatisfied with thoſe general Declarations of their good deſires and purpoſes; and therefore the very next day he ſent them a Letter, containing what he would expect from them, which for the more clear manifeſtation of the whole Proceedings, ſhall be here faithfully inſerted, and was in theſe words.

The Aſſembly at *Loghreogh* addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, upon his reſolves to leave the Kingdom.

After

1650.

After our hearty Commendations, in Anſwer to your Letter of the laſt of April, *we think fit to mind you, That upon our communicating unto you his Majeſties Letter of the* 2d. *of* Febr. *we then acquainted you at large with what had paſſed at* Waterford, *(which being by us repreſented to his Majeſty, occaſion'd his ſending the ſaid Letter) as alſo, that we found the City of* Limerick *had taken example thereby to affront and contemn his Majeſties Authority placed in us, and from us, by conſent of the Repreſentative of the Confederate Catholicks at the concluſion of the Peace, derived to the Commiſſioners; both which you paſs over with an extenuation of thoſe diſobediences, and by attributing them to ſome mis-underſtandings, you ſeem in a manner to excuſe them: Whereas we had reaſon to expect, that (ſuitable to your general profeſſions) you would have reſented the particular deportment of thoſe Places, and propoſed unto us how the Contrivers thereof might be brought to Juſtice, and the Places reduced to perfect obedience: For as for your profeſſions of care, and earneſtneſs to endeavour, not onely to conſerve in the People the good inclinations you find in them; but that if any Perſon or Place ſhall be refractory, or decline that perfect obedience due to his Majeſties Authority, you will contribute your beſt endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the ſame, cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but by applying thoſe your endeavours, where we give you particular undeniable inſtances of refractorineſs and diſobedience; ſo there can be no inſtance thereof more pregnant, nor (if it be perſiſted in) more deſtructive to his Majeſty and the Nation, than that of* Limerick, *to the immediate reducing whereof, we therefore thought, and do now expect you would effectually apply your ſelves. We are well ſatisfied, that the generality of the Countrey and Nation, who have given the proofs you mention of their ſincere affections to preſerve his Majeſties Rights entire to him, will perſevere therein, if thoſe upon whoſe example and advice they very much fix their reſolutions be active and induſtrious to lead and exhort them thereunto. But we muſt withall let you know, that we cannot hope that thoſe their good affections, and alacrity in defence of his Majeſty, and their own Intereſts, can be ſucceſsful, if the City of* Limerick, *and all other Cities and Towns, be not in perfect obedience, and immediately be put under a Military Government for Military matters, and thereby into a condition of defence and offence: Which to conceal from the People, were, towards them as great a treachery, as it would be in us a vain raſhneſs, without ſuch obedience firſt gain'd, to attempt the oppoſing the ſtrength and power of the Rebels. And therefore we muſt, and do declare, that as the particular refractorineſs of the City of* Waterford, *hath more than any humane means contributed to all the ſucceſſes of the Rebels in thoſe parts, ſince our being at* Waterford: *And as the want of a ſtrong Garriſon in* Limerick, *(which we long ſince deſired might be received there, but could not prevail) hath been the greateſt viſible means, whereby the ſaid Rebels have with ſmall or no reſiſtance gain'd or deſtroy'd the County of* Limerick, *and other parts adjacent; ſo the entire loſs of the Kingdom to his Majeſty, and the deſtruction of the Nation, (which we have no hope to prevent, but by ſtrongly and preſently Garriſoning and Fortifying the ſaid City) muſt be imputed to the obſtinacy of that City, if it ſhall perſiſt therein.*

As to thoſe Diſtruſts and Jealouſies of the People, occaſion'd (as you ſay) for want of ſucceſs in Services, the ſenſe of their ſufferings, and their apprehenſions for want of redreſs of their Grievances: We anſwer, That both the want

1650. *want of ſucceſs, and the ſenſe of their ſufferings, whether from the Enemy, or the Souldier, cannot ſo reaſonably be attributed to any humane Cauſe, as to the want of garriſoning the Army in principal Towns and Cities, wherein we cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by the Enemy's lying at one end of a Town, we were not, without articling and conditioning, permitted to put ſuch Men as we could then get, in at the other end. For, for want of garriſoning the Army, and by being forced to quarter it at large, it was not poſſible to have them exerciſed, their Arms kept in order, nor they under neceſſary diſcipline; which, when they were to be brought together, rendred them worſe than ſo many new rais'd Men, by how much they had contracted a licentious liberty, and habit of rapine and diſobedience. Nor could we prevent the Fraud in Muſter, or reaſonably exact a ſtrict Account from Officers of Men ſo ſcatter'd, who, when they ſhould be imployed upon Service, were forced (or pretending a neceſſity, wherein we could not diſprove them) to range the Countrey, to get in the Means that ſhould enable them to ſerve. As to their Apprehenſion, for want of redreſs to their Grievances, we underſtand not what Grievances are thereby meant, unleſs thoſe delivered unto us by the Archbiſhop of* Tuam, *on the firſt of* April. *For other Grievances, (though we long expected and deſired them) we never ſaw, ſave a Paper given unto us on the 13th. of* March, *at* Limerick, *which for the Forgery, falſe Calumny, and other miſ-becoming Paſſages contain'd in it, was (as ſuch) diſ-avowed by the Clergy then met; and to thoſe given us on the firſt of* April, *we return'd herewith ſuch Anſwers, as (conſidering the generality of them) is poſſible for us to give.*

We have already, with the Advice of the Commiſſioners, and (as we believe) with the Approbation of ſuch of the Biſhops as were preſent, appointed the Earl of Caſtlehaven *to command the Forces in* Leimſter; *and in* Munſter, *with like Advice and Approbation, we have imployed Colonel* David Roch *to command for a neceſſary Expedition; beſides, there is always upon the Place, one general Officer, that will readily receive and imploy any, that ſhall be prevail'd with to take Arms, as is promiſed; and in caſe we find fitting Obedience and Reception from the City of* Limerick, *we ſhall in Perſon be ready to receive and conduct ſuch Forces in the ſaid Province.*

In Ulſter, *we have, in purſuance to an Agreement made with that Province, given Commiſſion to the Biſhop of* Clogher; *and in* Connaght, *the Lord Marqueſs of* Clanrickard *commands the Army.*

We know no uſe to which any Money rais'd upon the People hath been imployed, but to the maintenance of the Forces; if you do, we ſhall deſire to be therein informed, to the end, that any paſt miſ-application thereof may be examined and puniſhed, and the like prevented in future.

To conclude, We ſeriouſly recommend to your Conſideration, the ways of procuring ſuch Obedience to his Majeſty, and his Authority in the general, and particularly from the City of Limerick, *as may enable and encourage us with Honour, and hope of Succeſs, according to our deſire, to uſe our utmoſt induſtry, and encounter all hazards, for the defence of this Kingdom and Nation, againſt the Tyranny that will certainly be exerciſed upon them, and the unſupportable Slavery they will be ſubject unto, if the Rebels prevail. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel. From* Loghreogh, *May* 1. 1650.

For the Archbiſhops, Nobility, Biſhops, the Commiſſioners authorized by us, in purſuance of the Articles of Peace, and others aſſembled at Loghreogh.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

Theſe.

Upon

Upon the receipt of this Letter, they made another Addreſs to the Marqueſs, (in writing) in which they ſaid, *They were very far from intending by any expreſſions they had uſed, to excuſe that Deportment of the City of* Limerick; *nor could any Man (they ſaid) more feelingly than they, reſent their perſonal Diſ-reſpects towards his Excellency, while he was lately in that City, whereof they had in their Letters, then ready to be ſent by a Committee, imployed by them to that Corporation, taken notice: And they did hope, that they would by their Deportment, hereafter merit to have it underſtood, that it proceeds from ignorance rather than malice; and that concerning the garriſoning of the City, the Clergy that had met lately there, and the Commiſſioners of Truſt, had written very effectually to them, and imployed two of the Commiſſioners of Truſt thither, to ſolicit their compliance to his Excellency, and to repreſent to them the danger and prejudice that would enſue their refractorineſs: And though it had not taken that effect with them which was expected, yet they humbly offered his Excellency, that a ſecond Eſſay was to be made, and his Excellency's further poſitive Commands to be ſent thither, whereunto if they would not liſten, they promiſed in as much as in them lay, that they would in their reſpective Degrees and Quality and according to their reſpective Powers, ſo far as ſhould be thought fit and neceſſary, upon conſideration had of what had been propoſed hitherto between his Excellency, the Commiſſioners of Truſt, and them, concerning the garriſoning of that City, co-operate to reclaim them, and bring them to a perfect obedience; humbly deſiring, that what reſolution ſoever ſhould be taken by that City, yet that his Excellency would be pleas'd not to impute it to any Diſ-affection in them, or want of Zeal in the Nation, to advance his Majeſty's Service. And in regard the tranſacting of that Buſineſs might take up ſome time, it was humbly deſired his Excellency would be pleas'd, to apply his immediate Care for the forwarding of the Service, and ſetling of Affairs in other Parts of the Kingdom, anſwerable unto the preſent dangers and condition wherein it was, that there might be ſome viſible oppoſition to the growing Power of the Enemy.* At the ſame time that they ſent this Addreſs to the Marqueſs, ſigned by the Names of the Biſhops and Commiſſioners, which was the 2d. of *May*, 1650. they likewiſe ſent the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, and Sir *Lucas Dillon*, to *Limerick*, with as reaſonable and preſſing Letters to that Corporation, for receiving a Garriſon, and obedience to the Marqueſs's Orders. 1650.

This demeanour in the Aſſembly, and all the viſible Reſults of their Conſultation, together with ſo deep profeſſions of Loyalty to the King, and of reſpect to his Lieutenant, prevail'd ſo far with the Marqueſs, that he again declined his purpoſe of quitting the Kingdom, and thereupon diſmiſſed a Frigat, which he had bought and fitted for his own Tranſportation; and though the Archbiſhop of *Tuam* and Sir *Lucas Dillon* return'd from *Limerick*, without that entire ſubmiſſion from the City which was expected, yet he was willing to make the beſt interpretation of their general profeſſions of Duty, and to believe that they would by degrees be induced to do what they ought; and that he might be the nearer to them, to encourage any ſuch inclination, he removed to *Clare*, 12 miles from *Limerick*, and gave Orders to the Troops, which for conveniency of Quarters were ſcattered at a greater diſtance, to be ready to draw to a Rendezvous. And he was ſhortly after very reaſonably induced to be almoſt confident, that the City was well diſpoſed; for having one day (about the 11th. of *June*) viſited ſome Troops, which he had aſſembled

1650. within 4 miles of *Limerick*, and returning at night to *Clare*, the next day 2 Aldermen of the City came to him with this following Letter, from the Maior of that Corporation.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

THe City Council have given me Command to ſignifie, and humbly to offer to your Excellency, That it was expected by them, that you would (being ſo near the City yeſterday) beſtow a Viſit upon it, which is no way doubted had been done by your Excellency, if your greater Affairs had not hindred you from the ſame, and yet do expect when thoſe are over, your Excellency will be pleas'd to ſtep hither, to ſettle the Garriſon here, the which without your Preſence, cannot be (as is humbly conceiv'd) ſo well done, or with that expedition, as our neceſſity requires, the Particulars whereof we refer to Alderman Piers Creagh, *and Alderman* John Bourk, *their Relation, to whom we deſire Credence may be given by your Excellency, and humbly to believe that I will never fail to be*

Limerick, 12 June, 1650. *Your Excellency's moſt humble Servant,*

For his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governour of Ireland. John Creagh, *Maior of* Limerick.

This Letter might very well have raiſed an expectation and aſſurance, that there would be no more ſcruples of receiving a Garriſon; yet the Aldermen who brought it, made ſuch pauſes in anſwering ſome neceſſary Queſtions, that the Marqueſs return'd them the ſame night with this Anſwer.

AFter our hearty Commendations, We have receiv'd your Letter of this days date, by the Conveyance of Alderman Piers Creagh, *and* John Bourk, *and heard what* John Bourk *and the other had to ſay, as from that Corporation. In Anſwer whereunto, we imparted ſome Particulars unto them, wherein we expected ſatisfaction, which if you ſend us to the Rendezvous to morrow, (where we intend to be) we ſhall viſit that City, and imploy our utmoſt Endeavours in ſetling the Garriſon neceſſarily deſired there, both for the defence and ſatisfaction of that City. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel. From* Clare, June 12. 1650.

To our very loving Friend the Maior of Limerick. *Theſe.*

Your loving Friend,

ORMOND.

The

The Particulars he propoſed to them were, (1.) To be receiv'd in like manner, and with ſuch reſpect, as the Lord Lieutenants heretofore had always been. (2.) To have Command of the Guard, giving the Word and Orders in the City. (3.) That there might be Quarter provided within the City, for ſuch Guards of Horſe and Foot as he ſhould carry in, which ſhould be part of the Garriſon, and whereof a Liſt ſhould be given at the Rendezvous. The next day when the Marqueſs came to the Rendezvous, two Aldermen met him there, and inform'd him, that the City had conſented to all that he had propoſed to them, except only the admittance of his Guards, which they were unwilling to do; whereupon he ſent Meſſengers back with this Anſwer, *That he intended not the drawing in of his Guards, out of any miſtruſt he had of the loyalty of the Magiſtrates of that City to his Majeſty, or of their affection to himſelf, but for the dignity of the Place he held, and to prevent any popular Tumult that might be raiſed by deſperate intereſted Perſons againſt him, or the Civil Government of that City, whereunto he had cauſe to fear, ſome looſe People might by falſe and frivolous ſuggeſtions be too eaſily inſtigated.* And to take away all poſſibility of ſuſpicion from the moſt jealous, he told them, *The Guards he meant to take with him, ſhould conſiſt but of* 100 *Foot and* 50 *Horſe, and even thoſe too to be of their own Religion, and ſuch as having been conſtantly of their Confederacy, were intereſſed in all the Benefits of the Articles of Peace.* And ſo, not imagining that they could refuſe ſo reaſonable an Overture, he went towards the City; but when he came very near the Gates, the ſame Aldermen came again to him, to let him know, That there was a Tumult rais'd in the City by a *Franciſcan Frier*, called Father *Wolf*, and ſome others, againſt his coming into the Town, and in oppoſition to the deſires and intentions of the Maior, and the principal Citizens, and therefore diſſwaded his Excellency's going thither, until the Tumult ſhould be quieted. So that the Lord Lieutenant was compell'd, with that Affront, to return, and reſted that night at *Shanbuoly*, three miles from the City, from whence he writ to them the ſenſe he had of the Indignity offer'd him, *And wiſhed them to conſider, not only by what Power they had been made a Corporation firſt, and by whoſe Protection they had ſince flouriſhed, but alſo what ſolid Foundation of ſafety (other than by receiving the defence he had offer'd them) was or could be propoſed to them, by the preſent Diſturbers of their Quiet: And deſired their preſent Anſwer, That in caſe he might be encouraged to proceed in the way he had laid down, of ſerving the King, and preſerving that City from the Tyranny of the Rebels, he might immediately apply himſelf thereunto, or failing in his Deſires therein, he might apply himſelf, and the Forces he had gathered for that purpoſe, to ſome other Service.* But neither this, nor all he could do, upon ſubſequent Treaties and Overtures, moving from themſelves, could not at all prevail with them, No! not his offer of putting himſelf into the City, and running the Fortune of it, when *Ireton* was encamp'd before it: But they continually multiplied and repeated their Affronts towards him, with all imaginable Circumſtances of Contempt; and in the end, (that we may have no more occaſion of mentioning the ſeditious Carriage of this unfortunate City) broke open his Trunks of Papers, which he had left there, ſeized upon the Stores of Corn laid up there for the ſupply of the Army, when he believed that Place would have been obedient to him, and ſome Corn belonging to himſelf, and diſpos'd of all according to their own pleaſure, and receiv'd ſome Troops of Horſe into the City, which contrary

1650.

Wolf's Inſurrection.

Limerick ſtill refractory and contemptious.

1650. trary to the Marqueſs's Order left the Army, and with thoſe Troops levied and rais'd Contribution in the Countrey adjacent, upon thoſe who had honeſtly paid the ſame for the uſe of the Army, according to thoſe Orders which they were to obey. And when the Marqueſs ſent to the Maior, to deliver the Officer of the ſaid Regiment as a Priſoner, to the Guard appointed to receive him, he could receive no other Anſwer, (and that not in a week) than that the Government of that City was committed to Major General *Hugh O Neal*, and therefore he the Maior would not meddle therein. And when the like Orders were ſent by the Marqueſs to *Hugh O Neal*, he return'd Anſwer, That he was only a Cypher, and not ſuffered to act any thing, but what the Maior and Council thought fit. So that, in truth, that City was no leſs in Rebellion to the King, than the Army under *Ireton* was, though it did for a time reſiſt that Army, and could never have been ſubdued by it, if it had ever been in that obedience to the King, as by their obligation it ought to have been, and therefore muſt have leſs peace of Conſcience to ſupport them, in the Calamities they have ſince undergone.

In the Letter formerly inſerted from the Marqueſs, of the firſt of *May*, it is ſaid, That in purſuance of a former Agreement, he had granted a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Clogher*, for the Command of the Province of *Ulſter*; It will be therefore neceſſary to expreſs what that Agreement was, and the Proceedings thereupon: Amongſt the Articles which had been made with General *Owen O Neal*, it was provided, that in caſe of the ſaid *O Neal*'s death, or removal by Advancement, or otherwiſe, before any ſettlement in Parliament, to which all the Articles of Peace related, that the Nobility and Gentry of the Province of *Ulſter*, ſhould have Power to name one to the Lord Lieutenant, or chief Governor for his Majeſty, to Command in the place of the ſaid *O Neal*; and the ſaid Command, was to be conferred accordingly upon the Perſon ſo to be named, and according to his Power: *Owen O Neal* being dead, the Nobility, Biſhops, and Principal Gentry of that Province, made choice of the Biſhop of *Clogher* to ſucceed him in the Charge, and having ſignified ſuch their Election under their hands to the Lord Lieutenant, the firſt of *April*, he granted ſuch a Commiſſion to him as he was obliged to do.

James Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Oſſory*, Vicount *Thurles*, Lord Baron of *Archlo*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved Biſhop, *Ever Mac Mahon.*

ORMOND.

WHereas *upon the Treaty with General* Owen O Neal, *deceaſed, it was (amongſt other Particulars) Concluded and Agreed upon, that in caſe of death or removal of him, ſuch other General or Commander in*

in Chief, ſhould be authoriſed by Commiſſion from us, to Command his Majeſties Forces of the Province of Ulſter, *Natives of the Kingdom, as ſhould be by general conſent of the Gentry of that Province elected, and made choice of for the ſame. And whereas in a general Meeting lately held by the Gentry for that purpoſe, it was agreed upon, and ſo repreſented unto us, that you ſhould exerciſe that Command over the ſaid Forces. We therefore upon the Conſideration thereof, and of the Care, Judgment, Valour and Expedience, in Martial Affairs, as alſo of the readineſs and good affections of you, to do his Majeſties Service, have nominated and appointed, and we do hereby nominate and appoint you, the ſaid Biſhop* Ever Mac Mahon, *to be General of all his Majeſties ſaid Forces, of Horſe, and Foot, of the Province of* Ulſter, *Natives of the Kingdom. Giving thereby unto you, the ſaid Biſhop* Ever Mac Mahon, *full Power and Authority, to take the ſaid Charge and Employment upon you, and the ſaid Forces, and every of them, to Lead and Command according to the uſe and diſcipline of War, and ſuch further Order and Inſtructions, as you ſhall from time to time receive from us, or other his Majeſties chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, the time being, in that behalf, willing and hereby requiring all the Officers, Troopers, and Soldiers, of the ſaid Forces, to obey you, as their General, and to be at, and perform your Commands, as they ſhall iſſue unto them upon all occaſions of his Majeſties Service, as they will anſwer the contrary.* 1650.

In witneſs whereof, we have Signed this our Commiſſion, and cauſed our Seal of Arms to be thereunto affixed, at *Loghreogh*, the firſt day of *April*, 1650.

In execution of which, the Biſhop with great activity and courage proceeded, in infeſting the *Engliſh* Garriſons and Army in that Province, as much as was in his Power; And having an Army, conſiſting of about 5000 Horſe and Foot, about the 20*th.* of *June*, 1650. (when the Lord Lieutenant himſelf could not draw 1000 men together, or keep them, if together the ſpace of 48 hours) he encountred not far from *London-derry*, with Sir *Charles Coot*, who Commanded the Parliaments Forces in Chief in that Quarter, and was then inferior in Foot to the Biſhop, though otherwiſe he had a great advantage of him, by having near treble the number of Horſe; Notwithſtanding which inequality, the *Iriſh* (for a while) behaved themſelves handſomly, but in the end, were totally defeated; ſo that the Biſhop was compelled after he ſaw the day was irrecoverably loſt, to quit the Field with a ſmall party of Horſe; The next day in his flight, he had the misfortune near *Eniskelin*, to meet with the Governor, Major *King* of that Town, in the Head of a Party, too ſtrong for him, againſt which however, the Biſhop defended himſelf with notable courage, though after he had received many wounds, he was taken Priſoner, and ſoon after, by the poſitive Order of Sir *Charles Coot* (whom within leſs then a year, he had reliev'd, when in great extremity) hang'd. This was a moſt happy Victory for the Parliament, in that 3000 of the Rebels were there ſlain, all meer *Iriſh*, out of an opinion they could not proſper, as long as they had any *Engliſh* joyn'd with them, and for that end, had throughly purg'd their Army, which

The Biſhop of *Clogher* defeated. His Character.

1650. which (being ſtiled by them, the Confident Victorious Army of the North) had a full return of Gods Vengeance, they being the firſt Incendiaries and Actors in thoſe barbarous Cruelties, which enſued their Inſurrection: This was the unfortunate end of that unhappy Prelate, of whom ſince he bore ſo great a Part in the Troubles of *Ireland*, and was much ſuperior in Parts, to any man of that Party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention ſome Paſſages of his Life, that thereby his nature and diſpoſition may be the better collected, and indeed the ſpirit and temper of mind, which thoſe kind of men were poſſeſſed with, who had the greateſt abilities to do hurt. Some few years before the Rebellion, this *Ever Mac Mahon*, being then an Arch Prieſt, and reſiding for the moſt part, in or near *Dublin*, repair'd (as you have heard) to a Prime Inſtrument of State, and diſcovered to him the Contrivances abroad, in reference to bring Troubles upon that Kingdom, who being thereupon Pardon'd, ſtill (as any thing of that nature proceeded) inform'd the State thereof: And though (according to the formality of Law) he ſhould have ſued out his Pardon, yet that he might ſtill be confided in by the Confederates, (who knew not who the Diſcoverer was) he meerly truſted to the Kings Mercy and Clemency, and through the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, he prov'd faithful to the Crown. From the beginning of this Rebellion, his Power was very great with thoſe that were oppoſite to any Reconciliation, upon the firſt and 2 Concluſion of Peace by the Confederate Catholicks, continuing firm to that Party which followed *Owen O Neal*, or rather Govern'd *Owen O Neal*, who commanded that Party; and over and above thoſe demands which concern'd Religion, (to which they ſeem'd to adhere with more then ordinary zeal, and thereby drew a dependency of that Clergy to them,) they inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of the great Eſtates in *Ulſter*, which was not in the Power of the Crown to make, without violation of ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and defeating many deſcents and purchaſes, which had paſſed without any interruption or claim for the ſpace of 150 years. This impoſſible expectation kept both *Owen O Neal*, and the Biſhop of *Clogher*, from concurring with the Confederate Catholicks, in the Peace they made with his Majeſty, 1648. and the Animoſity they contracted againſt the Confederates, inclined them to relieve *London-derry*, when (as is remembred before) it was even ready to be reduced by his Majeſties Forces, rather then to ſubmit to the Peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant: To whoſe Diviſions, the State of *England* (ſaith *Rely* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*) ows their preſent Poſſeſſion of *Ireland*, and therefore infers that that Party of the *Iriſh* Natives, ought to be not onely on that account Favour'd and Truſted, but becauſe alſo, they never had affection for the King or his Family: Yet after they had found it neceſſary to make that agreement with the Marqueſs, in 1649. (being neglected by the Parliament) it muſt be acknowledged, that the Biſhop performed and obſerv'd it very juſtly, (as he was punctual in what he promiſed) and applied himſelf with all dexterity and induſtry to the advancement of his Majeſties Intereſt; ſo that during his time, he reſtrain'd the Clergy from making any Acts, which might diſcourage the People from their Obedience to the Kings Authority. And the Duke of *Ormond* acknowledges, that for theſe 20 years he had to do with the *Iriſh* Biſhops, he never found any of them, either to ſpeak the Truth, or to perform their Promiſe to him, onely the Biſhop of *Clogher* excepted, who during

ring the little time he lived after his ſubmiſſion to the Peace, and Commiſſion receiv'd from him, he could not charge. And therefore, how inconvenient ſoever his Service had been to the Peace and Happineſs of that Nation, his Death was very unſeaſonable. 1650.

Upon the news of the Biſhop of *Clogher*'s defeat, the 26 of *June*, the Lady *Fitzgarret* (after a well-regulated defence) ſurrender'd up her Caſtle of *Tecrochan*, to Colonel *Reynolds*, and Colonel *Huetſon* (who had taken in *Kilmallock*, *Harriſtown*, *Naas*, *Ballymole*, *Rabridge*, *Tallo*, *Athy*, *Maryborrough*, *Dermots* Caſtle, beſides the Places mention'd before.) And on the 19*th*. of *Auguſt*, followed the ſurrender of *Carlow*, (which, by the care of *Ireton*, together with *Waterford*, and *Duncannon*, had ſince the beginning of *June*, been cloſe blocked up) which *Preſton* underſtanding, ſurrender'd alſo *Waterford* within few days, on Conditions, which brought with it the delivery of the ſtrong Fort of *Duncannon*: about the ſame time, *Charlemont* and *Caterlagh*, were ſurrendered to Sir *Charles Coot*, and Colonel *Venables*, after they had took in *Culmore*, *London-derry*, *Eniskillen*, (which was deliver'd by Sir *George Monro*, to Sir *Charles Coot*, for 500 *l*. though a little before, he had receiv'd 1200 *l*. from the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, for to ſecure it,) *Colrain*, alſo *Ardmach*, *Carrickfergus*, *Knockfergus*, *Belfaſt*, *Cloughouter*, Caſtle *Jordon*, *Carlingford*, *Margrave*, *Monaghan*, *Liskelaghan*. In the mean time, Colonel *Henry Ingolsby*, (who was ſent to block up *Limerick* at a diſtance) overcame 3000 Rebels coming to its Relief, whereof 900 were ſlain, the reſt routed and taken Priſoners. In *Auguſt*, the Lord *Inchequin* (gathering Forces in *Kerry*) was diſturb'd by Colonel *Phaer*, who in his return thence, took in the Caſtle of *Kilmurry*, and thence went againſt the Lords, *Roch* and *Muskery*, who headed the Rebels in the Weſt. The Army having refreſht it ſelf at *Waterford*, *Ireton* from thence intended for *Limerick*, yet wanting Proviſion for ſuch a Siege, takes his Journey through the County of *Wicklow*, which afforded him 1600 Cows, beſides Sheep, and other Proviſions; From thence Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, with an equal ſhare of the Booty, was ſent with a conſiderable Force to ſtraighten *Limerick*, (who in his way near *Limerick*, took in *Bally-Glaughan*, *Bally-Cubbain*, and *Garrygaglain*, three ſtrong Caſtles) whilſt *Ireton*, and Sir *Charles Coot*, (joyning Forces) appear'd before *Athlone*, to try if they could gain that Garriſon; but finding the Bridge broke, and the Town on this ſide burnt, Sir *Charles Coot* ſtaid there to ſtraighten it, whilſt *Ireton* taking two Caſtles in *Mac Colcoche*'s Country, and the *Burr*, (which the Enemy had left and burnt) preſently ſeated himſelf before *Limerick*, where he had certain Intelligence, that the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* (who upon notice of the Enemies being at *Athlone*, march'd with conſiderable Forces towards its Relief, if any thing ſhould have been attempted) had retaken the two Caſtles, and laid Siege to the *Burr*, to whoſe Relief Colonel *Axtell*, Governor at *Kilkenny*, (having made a conjunction at *Rocrea*, with the *Wexford* and *Tipperary* Forces) reſolutely marched; whereupon the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*'s Forces under their chief Commander, (he being gone with the other part of his Army towards *Limerick*) retreated to *Meleake* Iſland, (a ſtrong Faſtneſs) but were beaten thence the 25. of *October*, with the loſs of near 1500 Men, 200 Horſe, Waggons, and Baggage: Upon this ſucceſs, the *Iriſh* quitted all their adjacent Garriſons, and *Ireton* (the Winter coming hard on) drew off from *Limerick*, (having

1650. (having ſettled the Garriſons round about it) with about 1200 Men, and took in *Neanagh*, (a ſtrong Caſtle) in *Low Ormond*, upon whoſe ſurrender, *Caſtleton* and *Dromaneer*, yielded alſo, whence (endeavouring to gain *Killalough* Paſs, though without effect) he went to his Winter Quarters about the 10*th*. of *November*, at *Kilkenny*. To provide for whom, and the Forces in *Ireland*, the Parliament was at a great ſtand, (the Proſecution of the War in *Scotland*, having exercis'd the uttermoſt Force they could raiſe) ſo as they now began to caſt about, which way might be moſt likely to disburthen themſelves of ſome part of that Charge; And for this purpoſe, they appointed Commiſſioners to be ſent into *Ireland*, which were four Members of Parliament, Mr. *Corbet*, Colonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *Jones*, and Mr. *Weaver*; The main Errant they went upon, was, to find out ſome means in that Kingdom, for the raiſing of certain ſums of Money yearly, towards the maintenance of the Army; Theſe were deſigned about the beginning of *October*, and were to be in readineſs to imoark at *Milford-Haven*, by the midſt of *December*, 1650.

But to return to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, (whoſe endeavours could not work the Confederates to any reaſonable reſiſtance, though they ſaw their Cities and Towns won on every ſide,) who towards the end of *July*, receiv'd a Letter ſubſcribed by two Perſons, who Stiled themſelves Archbiſhops of *Dublin* and *Tuam* in theſe words.

May it pleaſe your Excellency.

THis Nation (become of late the Fable and Reproach of Chriſtianity) is brought to a ſad Condition, notwithſtanding the frequent and laborious Meetings and Conſultations of Prelates; we find jealouſies and fears deep in the hearts of men, thorns hard to be plucked out; we ſee moſt men contributing to the Enemy, and rendring their Perſons and Subſtance uſeful to his malice, and deſtructive to Religion, and the Kings Intereſts: This Kind of men (if not timely prevented) will betray ir-remediably themſelves and us. We find no Stock or Subſiſtance ordered for maintaining the Souldiery, nor is there an Army any way conſiderable in the Kingdom, to recover what is loſt, or defend what we hold; So, as humanely ſpeaking, if God will not be pleaſed, for his Mercies ſake, to take off from us the heavy Judgment of his Anger, we are fair for loſing Sacred Religion, the Kings Authority, and Ireland; *The four Archbiſhops, to acquit their Conſciencies in the eyes of God, have reſolved to meet at* Jamestown *about the* 6th. *day of the next month, and to bring along as many of the Suffragans, as may repair thither with ſafety. The end of this Conſultation is, to do what in us lies for the amendment of all Errors, and the recovery of this afflicted People; if your Excellency ſhall think fit in your Wiſdom, to ſend one or more Perſons to make Propoſals for the ſafety of the Nation, we ſhall not want willingneſs to prepare a good Anſwer, nor will we diſpair of the Bleſſings of God, and of his Powerful Influence, to be upon our Intentions in that Place: Even ſo we conclude, remaining,*

The Confederate Clergies Reſolution, to meet at *Jamestown*.

24. *July* 1650.
For his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Your Excellencies moſt humble Servants,
Fra. Tho. Dub. Joh. Archbiſhop *Tuamen.*

Whoſoever

Whoſoever reads this Summons or Intimation, will believe it to be *Satis pro Imperio*; and that ſuch a Direction, *To ſend one or more Perſons to make Propoſals unto them, for the ſafety of the Nation*; and ſuch a negligent expreſſion, *That we ſhall not want willingneſs to prepare a good Anſwer*, could not proceed but from a Superior to an Inferior Dependant: However as the Marqueſs knew it would be to no purpoſe to inhibite their Meeting, ſo he thought fit to write to them in this manner. 1650.

The Lord Lieutenants Reply to the Clergies inſolent Letter.

After our hearty Commendations, we received yours of the 24th. *of* July, *on the firſt of this month, and do, with much grief acknowledge, that this Nation is brought into a ſad Condition, and that by ſuch means, as when it ſhall be known abroad, and by ſtory be delivered to Poſterity, will indeed be thought a Fable; For it will ſeem incredible, that any Nation ſhould ſo madly affect, and violently purſue the Ways leading to their own Deſtruction, as this People will appear to have done; And that, after the certain ruine they were running into, as evidently and frequently diſcovered unto thoſe, that in all times and upon all occaſions, have had Power to compel or perſwade them to what-ever they thought fit; and it will be leſs credible, when it ſhall be declared, as in truth it will be, that the Temporal, Spiritual, and Eternal Intereſt, and Safety, even of thoſe that had this Power, and that have been thus forewarn'd, did conſiſt in making uſe of it to reclaim the People, and direct them into the ways of Preſervation. To be plain, it cannot be denied, but the Diſobedience we have met with, (which we at large declared unto many of you, who with divers others of the Nobility and Gentry, were aſſembled at* Loghreogh, *in* April *laſt*) *were the certain ready ways to the Deſtruction of this Nation, as by our Letters of the firſt of* May, *to that Aſſembly, we made apparent. Antient and late experience hath made evident, what Power thoſe of your* Function *have had, to draw the People of this Nation to what they thought fit; whether your Lordſhips have been convinced that the Obedience which we deſired, ſhould be given to his Majeſties Authority, in us, purſuant to the Articles of Peace, was the way to preſerve the Nation, we know not; or whether your Lordſhips have made uſe of all the means at other times, and upon other occaſions, exerciſed by you, to procure this neceſſary Obedience, we ſhall not now determine: Sure we are, that ſince the ſaid Aſſembly, not onely* Limerick *hath perſiſted in the like Diſobedience, for want of due Compliance from thoſe Places, but principally from* Limerick, *it hath been impoſſible for us to raiſe or imploy an Army againſt the Rebels, for to attempt it any where on the other ſide of the* Shannon; *but near* Limerick, *and without the abſolute command of that City to ſecure it, could be no other then the certain Ruine of the Deſign, in the very beginning of it, the Rebels Power being ſuch, as to diſſipate with eaſe, the foundation that ſhould be laid there; and to have done it on the other ſide of the* Shannon, *was impoſſible, ſince the groundwork of the Army muſt be raiſed and ſupported from thence, which while it was in forming, would have exhauſted all the ſubſtance of thoſe Parts, and not have effected the work, for want of ſuch an Army, (which with Gods aſſiſtance) might certainly have been raiſed long ſince, if* Limerick *had obeyed our Orders. The Rebels have without any conſiderable Reſiſtance from abroad, taken in* Clonmel, Tecroghan, Catherlagh, *and reduced* Waterford, *and* Duncannon, *to great, and we fear irrecove-*

1650. *rable Diſtreſs; The loſs of theſe Places, and the want of any viſible Power to protect them, have doubtleſly induced many to contribute their Subſtance, and perſonal aſſiſtance to the Rebels; from which, whither they might have been with-held by Church cenſures, we know not, but have not heard of any ſuch which iſſued againſt them; and laſtly, for want of ſuch an Army, the Rebels have taken to themſelves the Contribution, which might conſiderably have aſſiſted to ſupport an Army, and preſerve the Kingdom. If therefore the end of your* Conſultation at Jamestown, *be to acquit your Conſciencies in the eyes of God, the amendment of all Errors, and the recovery of this afflicted People, as by the Letter, giving us notice of your Meeting, is profeſſed, we have endeavoured briefly to ſhew, that the ſpring of our paſt loſſes, and approaching* Ruine, ariſeth from Diſobediencies, *and it will not be heard to ſhew, that the ſpring of thoſe Diſobediencies ariſeth from the Forgeries invented, the Calumnies ſpread againſt the Government, and the incitement of the People to Rebellion, by very many of the Clergy. That theſe are Errors frequently practiſed, and fit for amendment, is no more to be doubted, than without they be amended, the affection of the People will continue, and (as it is to be feared) end in their utter Deſtruction; which if prevented, by what your Conſultation will produce, the happy effect of your Meeting will be acknowledged, without queſtioning the Authority by which you meet, or expect Propoſals from us, which other then what we have formerly, and now by this our Letter made, we hold not neceſſary. And ſo we bid your Lordſhips heartily farewel. From* Roſcommon, *the* 2d. *of* Auguſt, 1650.

To our very good Lords, the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, met at Jamestown.

Your Lordſhips very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter the ſeveral Biſhops who met at *Jamestown*, ſent the Biſhop of *Dromore*, and Doctor *Charles Kelly*, to the Lord Lieutenant with this Letter of Credit.

May it pleaſe your Excellency.

The Clergies Anſwer.

WE received your Letter of the ſecond Currant, where to our grief and admiration, we ſaw ſome expreſſions, that ſeem meant for caſting a blame upon us of the preſent ſad Condition of the Kingdom, which we hope to Anſwer to the ſatisfaction of your Excellency, and the whole Nation; In the mean time we permit this Proteſtation, as we are Chriſtian Catholick Prelates, that we have done our Endeavours with all Earneſtneſs and Candor, for taking away from the hearts of the People, all Jealouſies and Diffidencies, that were conceiv'd the occaſion of ſo many diſaſters that befel the Nation: And that in all occaſions, our Actions and Co-operations were ready to accompany all your Excellencies Deſigns, for the preſervation of all his Majeſties Intereſts in this Kingdom; whoſe State being in the preſent deſperate Condition, we thought it our Duty to offer unto your

your Excellency our ſence, of the onely poſſibility we could deviſe for its Preſervation; And that by the Intervention and Expreſſion of my Lord of Dromore, *and Doctor* Charles Kelly, *Dean of* Tuam, *who ſhall clearly deliver unto your Excellency, our thoughts and good intentions, as to this effect: Praying your Excellency to give full Credit, to what they will declare in our Names in this Buſineſs, which will be ſtill own'd as our Command laid upon them, and the Declaration of the ſincere hearts of* 1650.

Jamestown 10. Aug. 1650.

Your Excellencies moſt humble Servants,

H. Ardmagh, Jo. Archiep. Tuam, Jo. Rapotenſis, Nico. Fernenſis & Procurator Arch. Dublin, Eug. Kilmore, Walt. Clonfert & Procurator Leghlin, *&c.*

When (*viz.* the 12. of the ſame) the two Perſons had delivered their Credential Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he wiſhed them, in regard of the importance of the Matter they were intruſted with, to ſet down what they had in Command in Writing; whereupon they preſented him the 13*th.* with this following Letter.

May it pleaſe your Excellency.

The Biſhop of *Dromore*, and Doctor *Kelly*'s Negotiation with the Lord Lieutenant.

WE being intruſted by the Clergy met at Jamestown, *to deliver a Meſſage unto your Excellency, importing their advice, what the onely means is, as they conceive, that may ſerve to free the Nation from the ſad Condition, whereunto it is reduced at preſent, do in obedience to your Excellencies Commands, ſignified for giving in the Subſtance of the ſaid Meſſage in Writing, humbly preſent the ſame as followeth. That whereas they doubt not your Excellency hath labour'd by other hands, to bring the beſt Aids that poſſibly could be had from abroad, for the Relief of this gaſping Nation, yet finding now in their Conſciencies no other expedient Remedy for the preſervation thereof, and of his Majeſties Intereſts therein, more prevalent then your Excellencies ſpeedy repair to his Majeſty, for preventing the Ruine and Diſſolution of all, and leaving the Kings Authority in the hands of ſome Perſon or Perſons faithful to his Majeſty, and truſty to the Nation, and ſuch as the affection and confidence of the People will follow, by which the Raze and Fury of the Enemy may receive Interruption; They humbly offer this important Matter, of the Safety or Deſtruction of this Nation, and the Kings Intereſt, to your Wiſdom and Conſideration, hoping the Kingdom by your Excellencies Preſence with his Majeſty, and intruſting ſafely the Kings Authority, (as above) may with Gods bleſſing, hold out until reliev'd with Supplies from his Majeſty; The Prelates will in the mean time, do what lies in their Power to aſſiſt the Perſon or Perſons ſo intruſted. The great Truſt his Majeſty doth repoſe in your Excellency, the vaſt Intereſt in Fortune, Alliance, and Kindred, you have in this Nation, and your experience in the management of Affairs of greateſt Conſequence, will, (we doubt not) added to other the Reaſons propoſed by us, induce you to embrace this Advice, as proceeding*

1650. *ceeding from our pious Intentions, that look onely on the preſervation of the Catholick Religion, the ſupport of his Majeſties Authority, and the Eſtates, Liberties, and Fortunes, of his Subjects of this Kingdom, which we humbly offer, as*

Aug. 13*th.* 1650. *Your Excellencies moſt humble Servants,*

Fr. Oliver Dromore, Charles Kelly.

Though the Marqueſs did not expect, that the Meeting of the Biſhops and Clergy in that manner at *Jameſtown*, would have produced any better effect, than their former Meetings in other Places had done, yet he could not imagine, that their Preſumption would have been ſo great, as it appear'd by this Meſſage to be. And when he communicated it to the Commiſſioners of Truſt, they were no leſs ſeemingly ſcandalized at it, and believ'd, that upon ſerious Conference with the Biſhops, they ſhould be able to reform their Underſtandings and their Wills, and therefore deſired the Marqueſs, that inſtead of ſending a particular Anſwer to the Matter of the Meſſage, he would write to them, *To give him a Meeting at* Loghreogh, *on the 26th. of the ſame month, to the end, that upon a free Conference, they might be induced to underſtand how pernicious a thing they had adviſed, in order to their own ſecurity.* And the Biſhop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, return'd with this Propoſition, and the Marqueſs, making no doubt of their Compliance, ſo far as to meet at the Place appointed, went thither at the day aſſigned; but they, inſtead of meeting him themſelves, ſent their Biſhops of *Cork* and *Clonfert*, (no otherwiſe intruſted then) to receive his Anſwer to the Propoſition they had made, for his leaving the Kingdom: To which, when he ſaw he could not draw them to a Conference, he, the 31. of *Auguſt*, return'd, *That they might well remember, that upon the Diſobediences he had formerly met with, he had obtain'd leave from his Majeſty to have departed the Kingdom, and that if themſelves the Biſhops, Nobility and Gentry, met together, had not in* April *laſt, in Writing and Diſcourſe, given him aſſurance, that they not only deſired his ſtay, but would endeavour to procure ſuch obedience to him, as might enable him with hope of ſucceſs to have gone on in the War, he would have made uſe of the liberty given unto him by his Majeſty, to have freed himſelf from the vexation which he had ſince endured, and the diſhonour which he fore-ſaw he ſhould be ſubject to for want of Power, without which (as he then told them) he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable for the King or the Nation: That he had tranſmitted thoſe Aſſurances to his Majeſty, with his own reſolution to attend the Effects: That he plainly obſerved, that the Diviſion was great in the Nation under his Government, yet it would be greater upon his removal, of which, in a free Conference, he would have given them ſuch pregnant Evidence, as he held it not fit to declare to them by writing. For theſe and other Reaſons he told them, That unleſs he was forced by in-evitable neceſſity, he was not willing to remove out of the Kingdom, and deſired them to uſe all means within their Power, to diſpoſe the People to that Dutifulneſs and Obedience that became them.*

The Meſſage from the Biſhops being juſtly reſented by the Lord Lieutenant, he writes to them to meet him at *Loghreoh*, but they augment their Contempts.

This wrought nothing on the Temper of thoſe Men, who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied with any thing the Marqueſs could ſay unto them: Inſomuch that (within few days after they had receiv'd his Anſwer from

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Loghreogh, at the time when the Parliamentarians were ſtrong in the Field, and had then paſſed the *Shannon*, if they had not been reſtrained by the few Troops the Marqueſs ſtill kept on foot) they publiſhed an Excommunication againſt all thoſe, of what Quality ſoever, who ſhould feed, help, or adhere unto the Lord Lieutenant; in which, this Circumſtance is obſervable, That though they did not publiſh this Excommunication until the 15th. of *September*, it was enacted in their Aſſembly at *Jamestown* the 12th. of *Auguſt*, which was within two days after they had ſent the Biſhop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, to perſwade the Marqueſs to leave the Kingdom, and the day before they delivered their Meſſage: So that they thought any thing that the Lord Lieutenant ſhould return to them, would be impertinent to the Matter in hand; or if they were not ſo delighted with their own Proceedings, that they have themſelves carefully publiſhed to the World in Print, would it be believ'd, that Perſons, who in the leaſt degree pretended the care of the Peoples welfare and ſecurity, could at ſuch a time, when a potent Enemy was in the Field, ſet all Men looſe from all Government, Civil and Martial, and not direct them whom they ſhould follow and obey: For if it be ſaid, That they were adviſed to return to their Aſſociation, and until a General Aſſembly of the Nation could be conveniently called, unanimouſly to ſerve againſt the common Enemy, ſince no Perſons were named or appointed to conduct them, it muſt be acknowledged, that they were left without any direction at all, to the rage and fury of thoſe, who intended nothing but their Reduction.

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The Biſhops of *Jamestown* (inſtead of what might have been offered with Reſpect to the Lord Lieutenant) inſolently publiſhed an Excommunication.

Together with their Excommunication, they publiſhed, in the head of the Army, a Declaration, entituled, *A Declaration of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates and Dignitaries of the Regular and Secular Clergy of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *againſt the continuance of his Majeſty's Authority in the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *for the miſ-government of the Subjects, and the ill conduct of his Majeſty's Army, and violation of the Articles of Peace.*

A malicious Declaration from the Biſhops of *Jamestown*, with Animadverſions thereupon.

If the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Secular and Regular Clergy of *Ireland*, will take upon them to declare againſt the King's Authority, where his Majeſty hath placed it, and will make themſelves Judges of his ſupream Miniſter, for the government of the Subjects, and the ill conduct of his Majeſty's Army, they aſſume an Authority to themſelves, that no other Chriſtian Clergy ever pretended, and ſufficiently declare to the King, *how far they are from being Subjects, or intending to pay him any Obedience, longer than they are govern'd in ſuch Manner, and by ſuch Perſons, as they think fit to be pleas'd with.* If the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had miſ-govern'd the People, and conducted his Majeſty's Army amiſs, the Clergy are not competent Judges of the one or the other. And for the violation of the Articles of Peace, the Commiſſioners, nominated and appointed to provide for the due execution of them, were the only Perſons who could determine and remedy ſuch Violation, and who well knew there was no cauſe for their complaint. But on the other hand, (as hath been before mention'd) theſe Men obſtructed that concurrence and obedience in the People, without which thoſe Articles could not be obſerved, or the ſecurity of the People provided for.

The Preface of that Declaration (according to their uſual method) juſtified and magnified their Piety and Vertue, in the beginning and carrying on the War, extolled their Duty and Affection to their King, in ſubmit-

1650. ſubmitting to him, and returning to their Allegiance, when they ſaid, they could have better, or as good Conditions from the Parliament of *England*, intimated what a vaſt ſum of Money they had provided, near half a Million of *Engliſh* pounds, beſides ſeveral Magazines of Corn, with a fair Train of Artillery, great quantity of Powder, Match, Ammunition, with other Materials for carrying on the War, and many other Particulars of that nature, the monſtrous untruths whereof doth ſufficiently appear, in what hath been ſaid before. The Marqueſs having been forced to borrow thoſe little ſums of Money, out of the Pockets of his Friends, (and to ſpend all that he raiſed upon the ſail of a good quantity of his own Land, for the ſupport of his Wife and Children) to enable the Army to march, which was not then (what-ever hath been ſince) re-paid to him. And the Magazines of Corn and Ammunition, and other Materials for War, being ſo abſolutely un-furniſhed, that it was not poſſible for him to reduce thoſe ſmall Forts of *Maryburrough* and *Athy*, held by *Owen O Neal*'s Party, till he had by his own Power and Intereſt, procured ſome Supplies before clearly mention'd, ſo far were theſe Men from making that Proviſion they brag of. What Conditions they might have had from the Parliament of *England*, may be concluded by the uſage they have ſince found, (nor if they were put to it, would they be able to prove their Aſſertions) divine vengeance having made that Party more mercileſs towards them, whoſe forwardneſs, obſtinacy, and treachery againſt the King's Authority, contributed moſt to their Service, than thoſe who worthily oppoſed them, and were moſt enemies to their Proceedings.

They endeavour'd by all imaginable Reproaches and Calumnies, to leſſen the Peoples Reverence towards the Lord Lieutenant, laying ſuch Aſperſions on him in the ſaid Declaration, as might moſt alienate their Affections, though themſelves knew them to be un-true, and without colour. They complained that he had given Money, Commiſſions for Colonels, and other Commands, unto Proteſtants, and upon them conſumed the ſubſtance of the Kingdom, who moſt of them either betrayed or deſerted the Service; whereas they knew well, that there was not one Proteſtant Officer, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave a Commiſſion, who betrayed any Place committed to him, or otherwiſe treated in order to their ſupport, than all the other Officers of the ſame condition in the Army; nor did they quit the Service, until many of them had gallantly loſt their Lives, and that the Clergy had ſo far incenſed the People againſt them, only for being Proteſtants, that the Marqueſs was compelled to give them leave to depart the Kingdom, or otherwiſe to diſpoſe of themſelves; and the Parliament Commanders gave Paſſes to ſuch as would depart the Kingdom, and gladly entertain'd ſuch as went over to their Party.

They accuſed him of Improvidence in conducting the Army, after the defeat at *Rathmines*, of not relieving *Tredath*, of permitting Play, Drinking, and Licentiouſneſs in the Camp, and as bold Aſperſions, as, without Excommunication, might gain credit with the People, and reflect upon his Honour, where he was not enough known. Whereas the Action at *Rathmines* is before ſet down at large, and the taking of *Tredath* by a Storm, when it was ſcarce apprehended: And it is notoriouſly known, that in his Perſon he was ſo ſtrict and vigilant, that he gave not himſelf freedom and liberty to enjoy thoſe Pleaſures, which might very well have conſiſt-

conſiſted with the Office and Duty of the moſt ſevere General; and that in above three months time, (which was from his firſt drawing the Forces to the Rendezvous, till after the misfortune at *Rathmines*) he never ſlept out of his Souldier's Habit. So that the malice and craft of thoſe unreaſonable and ſenſleſs Calumnies, are eaſie enough to be diſcerned, and can only make an impreſſion upon vulgar minds, not well informed of the Humour and Spirit of the Contrivers. 1650.

They magnified exceedingly the Merit of the Prelates, the Declaration they had made at *Cloanmacnoiſe*, their frequent expreſſions of their Sincerity; and moſt blame the Marqueſs, for not making uſe of their Power and Diligence, toward the advancing the King's Intereſt; but rather, for ſuſpecting and blaming them by his Letter to the Prelates at *Jameſtown*, (before-mention'd) and they ſaid, words were heard to fall from him, dangerous as to the Perſons of ſome of the Prelates. To all which, little need be ſaid, ſince there is before ſo juſt and full mention of their fair Declarations, Profeſſions and Actions, which accompanied them: And for the danger the Perſons of ſome Prelates were in, they will be aſhamed to urge, when it is known, that their Biſhop of *Killalough* was brought to him in cuſtody, even after he had ſign'd this Declaration and Excommunication, and ſet at liberty by him, and whom the Biſhops themſelves, in their Letter (of the 12th. of *September*, 1650.) to the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, &c. do acknowledge to be preſerved by the Marqueſs; and for which many will rather expect an Apology, than for any Jealouſie he could entertain of the Perſons, who behaved themſelves in that manner towards the King's Lord Lieutenant.

They charge him with having repreſented to his Majeſty, that ſome Parts of the Kingdom were diſ-obedient, which abſolutely deny any Diſ-obedience by them committed; and that thereby, he had procured from his Majeſty a Letter, to withdraw his own Perſon, and the Royal Authority, if ſuch diſ-obedience was multiplied, and ſo leave the People without the Benefit of Peace. This was the Reward his Excellency (out of his Envy to a Catholick Loyal Nation) prepared for their Loyalty and Obedience, ſeal'd by the ſhedding of their blood, and the loſs of their ſubſtance. Whether the obſtinate and Rebellious carriage of *Waterford*, *Limerick*, and other Places, (which brought deſtruction upon themſelves) did not deſerve and require ſuch a Repreſentation to be made unto the King, may be judged by all men, upon what hath been before truly ſet down of thoſe Particulars; and if the Places themſelves had not acknowledged that diſ-obedience, yet the Prelates ſeemed to lament thoſe Acts of Diſ-obedience, and moſt earneſtly diſſwaded him from leaving the Kingdom, promiſing all their endeavours to reduce the People to Obedience, (which was onely in their Power to have done) elſe the Marqueſs would not ſo long have expoſed Himſelf and his Honour to thoſe Reproaches, or ſuffered his Perſon with the Impotent Title of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to have remained in that Kingdom; and every day to hear of the rendring and betraying of Places to the Enemy, which he could no more remedy, then he could infuſe a Spirit of Obedience, Unity, and Underſtanding, into that unhappy infatuated Nation; Yet he was ſo far from wiſhing, that his Majeſty ſhould abſolutely withdraw his Royal Authority from them, (how unworthy ſoever they made themſelves of it) that he offered to leave the Kings Power, in the Perſon of the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, as he afterwards did,

1650. did, hoping, that ſince their great exception was to him for being a Proteſtant, they would with all Alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a moſt zealous *Roman Catholick*, yet a great Royaliſt.

They reproach'd him, That while he was an Enemy to the Catholicks, he had been very active in unnatural executions againſt them, and ſhedding the blood of poor Prieſts and Churchmen: But ſince the Peace, he had ſhewed little of action, keeping himſelf in *Connaght*, and *Thomond*, where no danger was, or the Enemy appear'd not. Here you ſee, they would neither ſuffer him to have an Army to oppoſe the Enemy, nor be content that he ſhould retire into thoſe Places where the Enemy could leaſt inteſt him, and from whence with thoſe few Troops which remained with him, he defended the *Shannon*, and kept the Enemy from getting over the River, while he ſtaid there. And for the former activity and ſucceſs againſt them, which they were content to impute to him, it was when he had a free election of Officers, an abſolute Power over his Garriſons, where he cauſed the Soldiers continually to be exerciſed, their Arms kept in order, and from whence he could have drawn his Army together, and have march'd with it to what place he would: which advantages he was now without, and the Enemy poſſeſſed of; and therefore it was no wonder, that they now obtain'd their Victories, as eaſily as he had done formerly; But ſince they were ſo diſingenious and ungrateful, (there being many amongſt them, whoſe lives he had ſaved, not without ſuſpicion of being favourable to them, when he ſhould have been juſt) to charge him with being active in unnatural executions againſt them, and in ſhedding the blood of poor Prieſts and Church-men; and for the Improvement and Propagation of Calumny, it hath pleaſed ſome Perſons, to cauſe that Declaration to be Tranſlated in *Latin*, and Printed, thereby to make him odious to the *Roman Catholicks*, and have named two Prieſts, who they ſay were by his order Executed, and put to death in cold blood, and after his promiſe given to ſave their lives, whoſe names were Mr. *Higgins*, and Mr. *White*. It will not be impertinent to ſet down at large the Caſe of theſe two Perſons, that from thence, men who have no mind to be deceived and miſlead, may judge of the Candor and Sincerity of thoſe Perſons, who would obtrude ſuch Calumnies to the World.

It muſt therefore be known, that when theſe two Prieſts were put to death, the War was conducted and carried on by the two Houſes of Parliament; that the Government of *Ireland* was in the hands of the two Lords Juſtices, who upon the inhumane and barbarous Cruelties firſt practiſed by the *Iriſh Catholicks*, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had forbidden any quarter to be given to thoſe whom they found in Arms, and principally againſt all Prieſts, known Incendaries of that Rebellion, and prime Actors in exemplary Cruelties; and the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was then onely Lieutenant General of the Army, and received all Orders from the Lords Juſtices and Council, who having intelligence that a Party of the Rebels intended to be at ſuch a time at the *Naas*, order'd him to draw ſome Troops together, with hope to ſurprize them; And the Lieutenant General marching all night, came early in the morning into the Town, from whence the Rebels (upon notice) were newly fled; In this Town ſome of the Souldiers found Mr. *Higgins*, who might it's true have eaſily fled, if he had apprehended any danger in the

the ſtay; When he was brought before the Marqueſs, he voluntarily acknowleged that he was a Prieſt, and that his Reſidence was in the Town, from whence he refuſed to fly away with thoſe that were guilty, becauſe he not onely knew himſelf very innocent, but believ'd he ſhould not be without ample Evidence of it, having by his ſole Charity and Power, preſerved very many of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, from the rage and fury of the *Iriſh*, and therefore he onely beſought the Marqueſs to preſerve him from the violence of the Souldiers, and to put him ſecurely into *Dublin*, to be tried for any Crime; which the Marqueſs promis'd to do, and perform'd it, though with ſo much hazard, that when it was ſpread abroad amongſt the Souldiers, that he was a Prieſt, the Officer into whoſe Cuſtody he was intruſted, was aſſaulted by them, and it was as much as the Marqueſs could do to relieve him, and compoſe the mutiny. When he came to *Dublin*, he informed the Lords Juſtices and Council of the Priſoner he had brought with him, of the good Teſtimony he had receiv'd of his peaceable Carriage, of the pains he had taken to reſtrain thoſe with whom he had Credit, from entring into Rebellion, and of very many charitable Offices he had perform'd, of which there wanted not Evidence enough, there being many then in *Dublin*, who own'd their Lives, and whatever of their Fortunes was left, purely to him, ſo that he doubted not, but that he would be worthy of their Protection: Within few days after, when the Marqueſs did not ſuſpect the poor man to be in danger, he heard that Sir *Charles Coot* (who was Provoſt Martial General) had taken him out of Priſon, and cauſed him to be put to death, in the morning before or aſſoon as it was light; of which Barbarity, the Marqueſs complained to the Lords Juſtices, but was ſo far from bringing the other to be queſtion'd, that he found himſelf to be upon ſome diſadvantage, for thinking the proceeding to be otherwiſe then it ought to have been: This was the Caſe of Mr. *Higgins*, and this the Marqueſs's part in it; and the poor man was ſo far from complaining of his breach of Promiſe at his death, (how confidently ſoever it be aver'd) that he exceedingly acknowledged the Favour he had receiv'd from his Lordſhip, prayed for his Proſperity, and lamented his want of Power to do that, which the World ſaw his inclination prompted him to. 1650.

The proceeding againſt Mr. *White*, was very different, and in this manner; The Marqueſs being upon his march with his Army, he quarter'd one night at *Clonin*, an houſe of the Earl of *Weſt-Meaths*, who was reſiding there with his Wife and Family; when he was at Supper, (many of the Officers being at the Table) the Lady of the Houſe (upon ſome whiſper ſhe receiv'd from a Servant) expreſſed ſome trouble in her Countenance, which the Marqueſs (who ſate next her) perceiving, asked her what the matter was, ſhe told him in his ear, that ſhe was in great apprehenſion of an honeſt man who was in her houſe, and much fear'd the Souldiers, confeſſing he was a Prieſt; The Marqueſs replied, that if he was in the houſe, and kept himſelf there, he was in no danger; for, as the Souldiers would attempt nothing while the Marqueſs ſtai'd there, ſo he would leave a Guard at his departure, that ſhould ſecure it againſt Straglers, or any Party that ſhould ſtay behind; which he did accordingly. In the morning when he was ready to march, he receiv'd information, that the Rebels were poſſeſſed of a Paſs, by which he was to go; whereupon he ſent ſome Troops to get

1650. a Foard, three miles from the way the Army was to march, and by that means, to come upon the Rear of the Rebels by the time the Army ſhould come to the Paſs; which being done, after a ſhort Encounter, in which many were killed, the Rebels were put to flight, and the Paſs gain'd: In this action, Mr. *White* was taken on Horſe-back with a Caſe of Piſtols, who deſired to be brought to the Marqueſs, which being done, he told him he was the Perſon, for whom the Counteſs of *Weſt-Meath* had beſought his favour the night before, and that his Lordſhip had promiſed that he ſhould be ſafe; The Marqueſs told him, if he were the ſame Perſon? it was his own fault that he was not ſafe, if he had ſtaid in the houſe he was in, this had not befaln him? that it was now out of his Power to preſerve him, himſelf being bound to purſue thoſe Orders which the Lords Juſtices had given him; Nevertheleſs, he did endeavour to have ſaved him, at leaſt till he might be brought to *Dublin*: But the whole Army poſſeſſed with a bitter ſpirit againſt the *Romiſh* Clergy, mutinied upon it, and in the end compelled the Marqueſs to leave him unto that Juſtice, which they were authoris'd to execute, and ſo put him to death. Who can now upon theſe two Inſtances, and no other can or have been given, reaſonably and honeſtly ſay, that the Marqueſs hath had his hands defiled with the blood of Prieſts? And from the time that he had the chief Power committed to him, there was not one Prieſt (how Maliciouſly, Rebelliouſly, or Treacherouſly ſoever, they behaved themſelves againſt the Kings Service, and the Perſon of the Lord Lieutenant) who ſuffered death, but alſo all other acts of Blood and Rage, which are not neceſſary, though hardly avoidable in the moſt juſt War, were declined and diſcountenanced by him; nay! for his Reſpect to affairs of this nature, (that they might be evenly, and without paſſion carried on) did he not often undergo (even with his own Party) a ſuſpicion of not being ſufficiently faithful? The Conſequences of which had many Cenſures: The truth is, the Rebellion was odious to him, yet his deſire (often to reclaim the *Iriſh* by Mercy) palliated, what otherwiſe might have finiſhed (ſome thought) the War, ſooner then it had its Determination.

I ſhall paſs over the many Tautologies, and impertinent Calumnies in the ſaid Declaration, all which are ſufficiently anſwer'd and clear'd, by what is already contain'd in this Narrative, and ſhall * onely inſert their concluſion in their own words, as followeth.—For the prevention of theſe Evils, and that the Kingdom may not be utterly loſt to his Majeſty, and his Catholick Subjects, this Congregation of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates and Dignitaries of both Clergies of this Kingdom, found our ſelves bound in Conſcience (after great deliberation) to declare againſt the continuance of his Majeſties Authority, in the Perſon of the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, having by his Miſgovernment, ill Conduct of his Majeſties Army, and breach of Publick Faith with the People, in ſeveral Particulars of the Articles of Peace, rendred himſelf incapable of continuing that great Truſt any longer, being queſtionable before his Majeſty, for the aforeſaid Injuries and ill Government, to which effect, we will joyn with other Members of this Kingdom, in drawing a Charge againſt him: And we hereby manifeſt to the People, that they are no longer obliged to obey the Orders and Commands of the ſaid Marqueſs of *Ormond*, but are, until a General Aſſembly of the Nation can be conveniently called together, unanimouſly

*In that *Walſh* is at large in his Append. of Inſtruments, *Fol.* 99.

unanimouſly to ſerve againſt the common Enemy, for the defence of the Catholick Religion, his Majeſties Intereſt, their Liberties, Lives, and Fortunes, in purſuance of the Oath of Aſſociation, and to obſerve in the mean time the form of Government the ſaid Congregation ſhall preſcribe, until otherwiſe ordered by an Aſſembly, or until upon Application to his Majeſty, he ſettle the ſame otherwiſe. And we do Fulminate the annexed Excommunication of one date, with this Declaration againſt all oppoſers of the ſaid Declaration. 1650.

The obſtinate obedience of the People to the Clergy, and the miſerable reſult thereupon.

Here we are arrived at one of the moſt fatal Concluſions of a deſperate People any Hiſtory ever mention'd; yet (as the caſe ſtood) it was not poſſible for his Excellency to chaſtiſe their folly and madneſs; ſuch a reverence and eſteem this unhappy Nation hath ever had of their Clergy, that a ſeditious Frier (and he happily none of their higheſt Order neither) could take the Colours in the head of a Regiment, and (pronouncing damnation to thoſe who ſhould preſume to march) contrary to the General's command, cauſed the Soldiers to throw down their Arms, and disband, as fell out in an Expedition at *Kilkenny*. Nor was it poſſible for the Marquis of *Ormond* to procure Juſtice to be inflicted in a Civil or Martial way upon an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, let his crime be what it would: ſince even they whoſe zeal and affection to his Majeſties Service was unqueſtionable, and who were as highly offended at the intolerable carriage and proceedings of the Biſhops and Clergy as they ought to be, and whoſe duty was not in the leaſt degree ſhaken by their Declaration and Excommunication, were yet ſo tender of thoſe Immunities and Priviledges which were ſaid to belong to the Church, and ſo jealous of the behaviour of the People in any caſe, which ſhould be declared a violation of thoſe Priviledges, that they would by no means have an hand in inflicting capital puniſhment upon any Church-men, without the approbation and co-operation of the Biſhops, who were not like to be ſo hard-hearted as to conſent unto any judgment upon the Acceſſories in thoſe crimes, in which themſelves were the Principal: So that he muſt not onely have determined by his own ſingle will and judgment, what was to be done in thoſe Caſes, but he muſt have executed thoſe determinations with his own hand. And this conſideration obliged the Marquis to all thoſe condeſcenſions and ſufferings, and upon all occaſions to endeavour to diſpoſe and perſwade thoſe Prelates from any obſtinate and ruinous reſolutions, rather than to declare them to be enemies, whom he could neither reform or puniſh.

Upon the Excommunication, People (being abſolved from the Lord Lieutenant) think of agreeing with the Parliamentarians.

The Excommunication was no ſooner publiſhed by the Congregation, and conſented and approved by the other part of the Biſhops and Clergy, ſitting at *Galway*, but they quickly diſcerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably they had proceeded in order to their own ends; and that they had taken care onely to diſſolve and disband all their Forces, without making any kind of proviſion for the oppoſition of the Parliaments Forces, who had quickly notice of their ridiculous madneſs, and were thereupon advancing with their whole Power upon them; the people generally, who foreſaw what muſt be the iſſue of that confuſion, thought of nothing but compounding with the Enemy upon any condition; the Nobility, prime Gentry, and the Commiſſioners of Truſt, who ſaw their whole Power and Juriſdiction wreſted from them, and aſſumed and exerciſed by the Congregation, continued their application to the Lord

1650. Lieutenant, and deſired him not to leave them expoſed to the confuſion which muſt attend his departure. The graveſt and moſt pious Clergy lamented the unskilful ſpirit of the reſt; and even ſome of the Biſhops, and others, who were preſent at the Congregation, and ſubſcrib'd to the Excommunication, diſclaim'd their having conſented to it, though they were oblig'd to ſign it for conformity: So that they found it neceſſary within leſs than three days after the publiſhing it, to ſuſpend that dreadful Sentence; and yet that it might appear how unwillingly they did thoſe acts of ſobriety and gentleneſs, it will not be amiſs to ſet down the Letter it ſelf, which the Titular Biſhop of *Clonfert*, and Doctor *Charles Kelly* writ to the Officers of the Army, under the Command of the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard* to that purpoſe, which was in theſe words.

SIRS,

The Biſhop of *Clonfert* and Dr. *Kelly*'s Letter to the Officers of the Army, giving them reaſons why the Excommunication ſhould be ſuſpended.

YEſterday we received an Expreſs from the reſt of our Congregation at Galway, *bearing their ſenſe to ſuſpend the effect of the Excommunication proclaimed by their Orders, till the ſervice at* Athlone *be performed, fearing on the one ſide a diſperſion of the Army, and on the other ſide have received certain intelligence of the Enemies approach unto that Place, with their full force and number of fighting men, and thereupon would have us concur with them in ſuſpending the ſaid Excommunication. As for our part, we do judge that ſuſpenſion to be unneceſſary, and full of inconveniencies, which we apprehend may enſue, becauſe the Excommunication may be obeyed, and the ſervice not neglected, if the People were pleaſed to undertake the ſervice in the Clergies name, without relation to the Lord of* Ormond: *Yet fearing the cenſure of ſingularity in a matter of ſo high a ſtrain againſt us, or to be deem'd more forward in Excommunicating then others; alſo fearing the weakneſs of ſome (which we believ'd the Congregation fear'd) we are pleas'd to follow the major Vote, and againſt our own opinion concur with them, and do hereby ſuſpend the ſaid Cenſure as above; provided always, that after the Service perform'd, or the Service be thought unneceſſary by the Clergy, or when the ſaid Clergy ſhall renew it, it ſhall be preſently incurred, as if the ſaid Suſpenſion had never been interpoſed. And ſo we remain,*

Corbeg. Sept. 16. 1650.

Your aſſured loving Friends in Chriſt,

Walter Biſh. of *Clonfert*, *Charles Kelly*.

If this Authentick Truth (of which there is not room for the leaſt doubt) were not inſerted, who could believe it poſſible, that men endu'd with common underſtanding, and profeſſing the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, and Allegiance of Subjects, could, upon deliberation, publiſh ſuch Decrees? And who can wonder that a People, enſlaved to, and conducted by ſuch Spiritual Leaders, ſhould become a Prey to any Enemy, though ſupplied with leſs power, vigilance, and dexterity, than the Parliaments Forces always were, who have prevailed againſt them, and who

who by all kind of reproaches, rigour, and tyranny, have made that froward and unhappy Congregation pay dear Intereſt, for the contempt and indignity with which they proſecuted their Sovereign and his Authority. 1650.

His Majeſty that now is, being about this time in *Scotland*, in proſecution of the recovery of his Kingdoms, was by the *Kirk* Party, which poſſeſs'd the Power of that Kingdom forced to ſign a Declaration, *By which the Peace concluded with the* Iriſh Catholicks *in* 1648. *by Authority of the late King of ever glorious memory, and confirmed by himſelf, was pronounced and adjudged void, and that his Majeſty was abſolved from any obſervation of it*: And this not grounded upon thoſe particular Breaches, Violations, and Affronts, which had been offered to his Majeſties Authority, and contrary to the expreſs Articles, Proviſo's, and Promiſes of that Treaty; but *upon the ſuppoſed unlawfulneſs of concluding any Peace with thoſe Perſons, who were branded with many ignominious reproaches.* And though this Declaration in point of time iſſued after the Excommunication at *James-town*, yet the notice of it came ſo near the time of the publication of the other, that the Clergy inſerted it in their Declaration, as if it had been one of the principal Cauſes of their Excommunication, thereby deluding the People, as if that expedient of their Excommunication had been the onely foundation of ſecurity to the Nation, and their particular Fortunes.

His Majeſties Declaration (being then in *Scotland*) againſt the Peace of 1648. concluded with the Rebels, they being infamous

Auguſt 12.

When the Marquis firſt heard of that Declaration in *Scotland*, he did really believe it a Forgery, contrived either by the Parliament, or the *Iriſh* Congregation, to ſeduce the People from their Affection and Loyalty to the King; but ſoon after, *viz.* the 13*th.* of *October*, being aſſured of its authenticknes, he immediately (with the advice of the Commiſſioners of Truſt) iſſued his Orders, (*viz.* the 24*th.* of *October*) for the meeting of an Aſſembly at *Loghreogh*, on the 15*th.* of *Novemb.* and in the mean time, on the 23*d.* of *Octob.* for the better compoſing of the minds of men, and preventing thoſe diſtempers and jealouſies which might be infuſed, he writ from *Enis* to the Commiſſioners of Truſt, and took notice of that Declaration which was publiſhed in *Scotland*, and told them, That however the affronts put upon his Majeſty had been many, and were obſtinately perſiſted in to that day, and in ſuch Places, whereupon evidently depended the preſervation or loſs of the whole Kingdom, whereof he had ſeveral times given notice to them, and followed the ways adviſed by them for the reclaiming the ſaid Places without ſucceſs; yet conſidering the Declaration gain'd from his Majeſty, was without hearing what could be ſaid by the Nation in their own defence, and ſuch as involved it generally (without exception) in the guilt of Rebellion; he thought it fit to let them know, *That (ſince the Declaration was by undue means obtain'd from his Majeſty) he was reſolved, by all the means it ſhould pleaſe God to offer unto him, and through all hazards in the behalf of the Nation, to inſiſt upon, and inſert the lawfulneſs of the concluſion of the Peace, by vertue of the aforeſaid Authority, and that the ſaid Peace was ſtill valid and of force, and binding unto his Majeſty and all his Subjects: And herein he told them he was reſolved, by the help of God, to perſiſt, until both himſelf, and ſuch as ſhould in that behalf be intruſted and authoriſed by the Nation, ſhould have free and ſafe acceſs to his Majeſty; and until, upon mature and unreſtrained conſideration of what might on all ſides be ſaid, his Majeſty ſhould have declared his Royal pleaſure upon thoſe Affronts*

The Lord Lieutenant (upon the certainty of the Kings Declaration) ſummons an Aſſembly at *Loghreogh*, to clear the doubts ariſing on the King's Declaration.

1650. *fronts that had been put upon his Authority. Provided, that in the mean time, and immediately,* First, *That all the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunications iſſued by the Biſhops (met at* James-town *in* Auguſt *laſt) againſt his Majeſties Authority in him, and the Peoples giving obedience thereunto, ſhould be by them revoked; and ſuch aſſurance given, as ſhould be agreed by him and the Commiſſioners of Truſt, that they nor any of them ſhould attempt the like for the future; and that they ſhould contain themſelves within the bounds preſcribed by the Articles of Peace, whereof they are Parties.* Secondly, *That it ſhould be immediately declared by the Commiſſioners of Truſt, that the ſaid Declaration, Excommunication, and other Proceedings of the ſaid Biſhops, was an unwarrantable uſurpation upon his Majeſties juſt Authority, and in them a violation of the Peace: And that in caſe the Biſhops ſhould not give the aſſurance before expreſſed, or having given it, ſhould not obſerve the ſame, that they would endeavour to bring the offenders to condign puniſhment, purſuant unto, and as is preſcribed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as diſturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and obſtructors of the means of preſerving the ſame.* Thirdly, *That the like Declaration ſhould be made by all that derive Authority from his Majeſty, Civil or Martial, and by the reſpective Mayors, Aldermen, Common-Councils, Burgeſſes, and other Magiſtrates in all the Corporations of the Kingdom.* Fourthly, *That the Lord Lieutenant ſhould be permitted to make his free and ſafe Reſidence in any Place he ſhould chooſe, within the Limits not poſſeſſed by the Parliament.* Fifthly, *That he ſhould be immediately ſuffered to Garriſon ſuch Places, and in ſuch manner, according to the Articles of Peace, as he ſhould find neceſſary for the defence of the Kingdom. In the* laſt place *he wiſh'd them, That ſome preſent courſe might be taken for his ſupport, in ſome proportion anſwerable to his Place, yet with regard to the Kingdom; which laſt, he ſaid, he ſhould not have propoſed, but that he was deprived of all his own Fortune, whereupon he had wholely ſubſiſted ever ſince his coming into the Kingdom.*

The Commiſſioners reply to the Lord Lieutenant's preceding Letter.

The Commiſſioners of Truſt received this Letter with all demonſtrations of reſpect and ſatisfaction, and the very next day return him an Anſwer, in which, after they had lamented the iſſuing out of that Proclamation in *Scotland*, they ſaid, *It greatly comforted them to underſtand, that his Excellency was reſolv'd through all hazards in behalf of the Nation to inſiſt upon, and aſſert the Peace, and perſiſt in ſo doing, until he, or ſuch as ſhould be intruſted and authorized by the Nation, ſhould have free and ſafe acceſs unto his Majeſty: And as to thoſe Proviſo's which were expreſſed as neceſſary Conditions for the continuing amongſt them his Majeſties Authority, which (notwithſtanding the Declaration) they ſaid, they did ſtill reverence and embrace (beſide their general profeſſion to act what lay within their power in the ways of his Majeſties ſervice) for his Excellencies ſatisfaction, they return'd theſe enſuing Anſwers. As to the* firſt, *concerning the revocation of thoſe Acts, Declarations, and Excommunications iſſued by the Biſhops, and aſſurance demanded, that nothing in that kind ſhould be attempted for the future. They ſaid, That his Excellency, to whom they had often expreſs'd their reſentment of their proceedings, might be confident, they would labour as far as in them lay to ſee his Excellency ſatisfi'd in that particular; and to that end they would all, or ſome of them, with his allowance, and as he ſhould think fit, repair to* Galway *to treat with the Prelates on that Subject.*

1650.

Subject. Unto the ſecond, *they anſwered, That albeit they knew by thoſe Cenſures of the Biſhops his Majeſties Authority was invaded, and an unwarranted Government ſet up, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and that they were aſſured, no Subject could be juſtly warranted by that Excommunication, to deny Obedience to his Majeſties Authority in his Excellency; yet being of opinion, that a publick Declaration of that kind in that conjuncture of Affairs, ought properly, and would with more countenance and Authority move from an Aſſembly than from them; and that by ſuch a publick Declaration than from themſelves, they ſhould wholely obſtruct the way to prevail with the Prelates to withdraw thoſe Acts, which was deſired by the former Propoſition, and likewiſe endanger the Union that was neceſſary at preſent in oppoſing the common Enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a more perfect Union for the future, wherein the preſervation of the Nation would principally conſiſt. They did therefore humbly beſeech his Excellency to call an Aſſembly of the Nation, from whom ſuch a Declaration as might be effectual in that behalf, and might ſettle thoſe Diſtractions could onely proceed: Yet if in the mean time, and before the meeting of that Aſſembly, thoſe Cenſures then ſuſpended ſhould be revived, they would endeavour to ſuppreſs their influence upon the People by ſuch a Declaration as ſhould become Loyal Subjects, and men entruſted to ſee all due obedience unto his Majeſties Government over the whole Kingdom. To the* third *they anſwered, That they would, at all times, and in ſuch manner as his Excellency ſhould think fit to preſcribe, invite all his Majeſties* Roman Catholick *Subjects to ſuch a Declaration, which yet, until they ſhould underſtand the Clergies ſenſe upon the firſt Proviſo, they ſaid, they did humbly as fit for a time to forbear. To the* fourth, *they anſwered, That whatſoever his Excellency ſhould find to be within their power, and would direct to be done concerning the Place of Reſidence for his Perſon, they would readily obey his Lordſhips command therein. To the* fifth *they anſwered, That upon conference with his Excellency of the Places fit to be Garriſon'd, and the number of Men fit to be put in them, they would, according to the Articles of Peace, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to have ſuch Garriſons, ſo agreed upon, admitted. And to the* laſt *they ſaid, They had at all times been ready and willing, that his Excellencies Charge ſhould be ſupported out of the Revenue of the Kingdom; and that they were now ready to concur in aſſigning any of the Dues already accrued, or ſuch as ſhould grow due hereafter, or to impoſe any new Allotment upon the Subject towards his maintenance.*

When the Lord Lieutenant perceived, that the temper and deſire of the Commiſſioners of Truſt was ſo different from that of the Congregation, and that in truth they were afflicted and ſcandalized at the exorbitancy of the other; and that they thought they ſhould be able to reduce them from the deſtructive Counſels they were engaged in: He would not, upon any experience or judgment of his own, reſtrain them from attempting what was not impoſſible to compaſs, and which many would have concluded would be compaſſed if attempted, and which, what other effect ſoever it had, would make evident, that there was not a concurrence in the Nation in thoſe Acts which were likely to deſtroy the Kingdom: And therefore he willingly conſented, that the Commiſſioners ſhould go to *Gallway*, where the Committee of the Congregation reſided, whereof the Biſhop of *Ferns* was one, to whom they ſhewed

The Commiſſioners of Truſt go to the Committee of the Congregation at *Galway*, but could not reduce them to reaſon.

1650. ſhewed the Letter they received from the Lord Lieutenant, and deſired them to conſider the ſtate of the Kingdom, and to know from them what they conceiv'd remain'd, that might beſt tend to the preſervation of the Nation, without keeping the Kings Authority amongſt them; for that many of the moſt conſiderable would inſtantly make their conditions with the Enemy, if the Kings Authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that Authority, but by revoking the Excommunication and Declaration: For the Lord Lieutenant would not ſtay to keep it, nor would he leave it, nor the Marquis of *Clanrickard* undergo it, but on theſe terms: And hereupon they uſed all thoſe Reaſons and Arguments which cannot but occur to all men, who are not blinded with Paſſion and Prejudice, to induce them to ſuch a Retraction, as could onely advance the happineſs, or indeed the ſubſiſtence of the Nation.

The Biſhops grew high, alledging the Lord Lieutenant had ſuggeſted the grounds for his Majeſties late Declaration. Motions to return to their former Confederacy.

But the Biſhops were inexorable, and inſtead of abating any of that fury they had formerly expreſs'd, (that added new contumelies and reproaches to all the Authority of the King) they ſaid, They obſerv'd by the Lord Lieutenants Letter, that he had informed his Majeſty of the Diſobediences and Affronts that had been put upon his Authority, and conſequently, that he had ſuggeſted matter unto his Majeſty, for making that *Declaration againſt the Peace*: That they had peruſed the Declaration which had been publiſhed in *Scotland*, diſavowing the Peace: And that they were of opinion, for ought appeared to them, *That the King had withdrawn his Commiſſion and Authority from the Lord Lieutenant*: That in the ſaid Declaration, *the Iriſh Nation (as bloody Rebels) were caſt from the protection of the Kings Laws and Regal Favours.* And therefore it might be preſum'd, that he would not have his Authority kept over ſuch a Nation to govern them; whereas they had been of opinion, (and all their endeavours had been employ'd) to keep the Kings Authority over them: But when his Majeſty throws away the Nation as Rebels from his protection, (withdrawing his own Authority) they could not underſtand the myſtery of preſerving the ſame with them, or over them, nor how it could be done: That they believed the beſt remedy (the Kings Authority being taken away by that Declaration) of meeting the Inconveniency, of the Peoples cloſing with the Parliament, is the returning to the Confederacy, as they ſaid was intended by the Nation, in caſe of the breach of Peace on his Majeſties part; that, they ſaid, would keep an union amongſt them, if men would not be precipitately guilty of the breach of their Oath of Aſſociation, which Oath, by two ſolemn Orders of two ſeveral Aſſemblies, was to continue binding, if any breach of the Articles of Peace ſhould happen on his Majeſties part: That the Kings Authority and the Lord Lieutenants Commiſſion being recalled by that Declaration, they were of opinion, that the Lord Lieutenant had no Authority to delegate his Authority to any other. And if they muſt expoſe their Lives and Fortunes to the hazard of fighting to the making good of that Peace, ſeeing the danger was alike to defend that, or get a better Peace, why ſhould they bind themſelves within the limits of thoſe Articles ſo diſowned? And ſo with ſeveral Tautologies, *urged the Declaration in* Scotland, *as a ground and excuſe for all their proceedings*, when what they had done (as we have before took notice of) was before the iſſuing forth of that Declaration. In fine, they concluded, they could not conſent with ſafety of Conſcience to the revoking their

their Declaration and Excommunication demanded by the Lord Lieutenant, nor to give aſſurance to him, or the Commiſſioners of Truſt, for not attempting the like for the future. And to manifeſt their inveterate malice againſt him, (being in *Galway*) the Captain of the Guard of the Town, commonly called, *The Captain of the Guard of the young men*, did make ſearch for him in the ſaid Town as after a criminal perſon, or a fugitive, thereby endeavouring to bring contempt and ſcorn upon him, and his Majeſties Authority placed in him. 1650.

The Committee's Reaſons why they purſued their Declaration againſt the Lord Lieutenant, &c. and his reply.

And now you muſt know, they would not make this Declaration in caſe of Conſcience of ſo vaſt an extent and importance, without (forſooth) ſetting down their Reaſons under their hands, which (for the Doctrine ſake) I would not conceal from the world, that it may better judge of thoſe Spiritual Guides, who made themſelves guilty of that maſs of miſchief and ruine that flowed from thence.

Their firſt Reaſon was, Becauſe the Kings Authority was not in the Lord Lieutenant, nor was then (they ſaid) power in them to confer a new Authority on him, which would be deſtructive to the Nation if it continued in him, and preſervative in another; and that, they ſaid, was their ſenſe when they declared againſt the Kings Authority in his Perſon; ſo that though they had preſumption enough to take the Kings Authority out of his Lieutenants hands by their Declaration and Excommunication, and to inhibit all men to ſubmit unto it, they had now modeſty to confeſs, they had not power to confer any new Authority on, their Faculty of deſtroying being more prevalent than that of preſerving.

Their ſecond Reaſon was, They feared they ſhould loſe the few Churches remaining under his Government, as they had loſt under him all the Churches in the Cities of *Waterford*, *Kilkenny*, *Wexford*, *Roſs*, *Clonmel*, *Caſhel*, *Featherd*, *Kilmallock*, and the reſt; in which, they ſaid, they agreed with the *Maccabees*, *Maximus vero & primus pro ſanctitate timor erat Templi:* By whoſe ill Government thoſe Cities were loſt, appears by what hath been ſaid before, and how well the few that were then left were kept, after they had forced the Marquis to depart the Kingdom, is well known to the World.

The third Reaſon they thought fit, was, Becauſe the Lord Lieutenant had declared at *Cork*, that he would maintain, during his life, the Proteſtant Religion, according to the example of the beſt Reformed Churches; which might be the ſame with the Covenant for ought they knew. They ſaid, They could not expect from him the defence of the Catholick Religion, which was a ſtrange objection againſt a Proteſtant Lieutenant of a Proteſtant King, under whoſe Government they pretended to be deſirous to live: And whatſoever had been declared by the Lord Lieutenant at *Cork* in that particular, before the concluſion of the Treaty of Peace, and Publiſhed and Printed the *6th.* of *October*, 1648. and well known to the Biſhops, who after the ſame, and notwithſtanding that Declaration, with all demonſtrations of cheerfulneſs gave their conſents to that Peace, which they now think fit to break, becauſe of that Declaration.

The fourth Reaſon was caſt in the ſame mould, The ſcandal over the World, to make choice of one of a different Religion, eſpecially in *Rome*, where his Holineſs expected, that a Catholick Governour ſhould be placed over them, (according to his Agreement or Articles (as it was reported)

1650. ported) with the Queen of *England*, which the Marquis knew to be an aſperſion) and they ſaid, They did fear the ſcourges of the War, and the Plague that had faln ſo heavy upon them, were ſome evidence of Gods anger for putting Gods Cauſe and the Churches under ſuch an hand; whereas that truſt might have been managed in a Catholicks hand, under the Kings Authority. Which Reaſon indeed had moſt ingenuity in it; and whenſoever they digeſted their malice and their prejudice in thoſe Perſonal Reproaches and Calumnies, which they knew to be moſt untrue, if they had frankly declared and excepted againſt him for being a Proteſtant, they had more complied with the dictates and integrities of their hearts. And yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent ſuggeſtion, to make the humour of the Court of *Rome*, the Rule of obedience to their Sovereign, and to diſcourſe of chooſing a Perſon of what Religion they thought fit to be his Vice-gerent; as if they, not he, were to be conſulted in it, which would adminiſter much cauſe of jealouſie unto a Proteſtant King, and to his Proteſtant Subjects, if it were not well known to them, that ſome of the Catholick Nobility and Gentry of the Nation were Enemies (at leaſt ſeemingly) to thoſe reſolutions, that unhappy part of the Catholick Biſhops did broach and propagate, which alone have reduced that Nation to the calamities it then and ſince underwent.

The fifth Reaſon, that they ſhould find no favour nor countenance, but reproach and diſgrace from any Catholick Prince, Church, or Laity, while the Marquis Governed; when in truth, ſince that time, and that their proceedings have been taken notice of, the Catholick Princes have looked upon them as incapable of any ſuccour or countenance, and have accordingly left them to the rage of their Perſecutors. Their other Reaſons were more Vulgar, and too often before recited; exceptions to his Perſon, in reſpect of the ill ſucceſs of his Conduct, and the prejudice the People had to him in regard of the ſame: And the too conſiderable Corporations remaining (which were *Limerick* and *Galway*) were at ſo great diſtance with the Lord Lieutenant, that they were reſolved to appear (as in their intentions and actions they conceiv'd they were) faithful to the Crown, and obedient to the Kings Authority, if placed in another Perſon. To which ſuggeſtions, nothing need to be added to what hath been ſaid in this Diſcourſe, of the demeanor of thoſe particular Places; nor can the obſervation be avoided, *That it was the natural practice of this Congregation, to uſe all their induſtry and artifice to infuſe jealouſie and ſedition into the People, and diſtruſt and obſtinacy into the Corporations; and then to urge that jealouſie, prejudice, and indiſpoſition of the People and Corporations, to countenance any thing they thought fit to do or oppoſe.* They concluded, that the event of War being uncertain, if the Nation ſhould be reduced to a condition of agreeing with the Enemy, the Lord Lieutenant would not be a fit man to agree for the exerciſe of their Religion, for their Churches, Altars, or any thing concerning the ſame. And therefore they ſaid, That the beſt way that occurred to them in this preſſing exigency, for the union of the Nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the Enemy, was, *That the Marquis of Clanrickard*, (in whom, according to the ſenſe of the Congregation at *Jannes-town*, they deſired the Kings Authority ſhould be left) that he might Govern the Nation, with the conſent of all Parties, and the Kings Authority be taken away from the Lord Lieutenant until an Aſſembly: And to that

that end, that a free and lawful Aſſembly might be made, to ſit to judge upon the Peoples preſervation, and to decree and order what ſhould be beſt and ſafeſt for the defence of the Nation. Touching the Kings Authority to be kept over them, and the Peace to be aſſerted and made good, or to renew the Aſſociation, or any thing elſe they ſhould find beſt and moſt expedient, and unto that they would willingly ſubmit; for they ſaid, they never intended to hinder an Aſſembly, or to give Laws to the People; all that they endeavour'd was, to defend the Altars, and Souls entruſted to them: And as they were of opinion, that the Soldiers would follow the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, and the People obey him, ſo they would contribute their beſt endeavours to that effect. They further gave aſſurance, that if any free and lawful Aſſembly (upon due conſideration of their own ſtate and condition) ſhould find it the beſt way, for their own ſafety and preſervation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, as they intended never, by the grace of God, to grant away from them by an Affirmative conſent to the Churches and Altars, (if forced from them, they were blameleſs) ſo would they not hinder the People from compounding with the Enemy for the ſafety of their Lives and Eſtates, when no way of offence was appearing, though, upon ſuch an Agreement, they ſaw, that they alone ſhould probably be loſers of Lives, States, Churches, Altars, Immunities, and Liberties: But in ſuch Contracts with the Enemy, if any ſhould happen (which they wiſhed God would avert) they ſhould pray and conjure the *Romiſh* Clergy of *England*, that that of the *Maccabees* might be recorded of them to future Ages, *Erat pro uxoribus & filiis pro fratribus & cognatis minor ſolicitudo, maximus vero & primus pro ſanctitate erat timor Templi.* And this was the Anſwer delivered to the Commiſſioners of Truſt, upon the *5th.* day of *November*, 1650. at *Galway*, by the Biſhops of *Killala*, *Ferns*, *Kilmacduogh*, *Clonfert*, *Kilfinara*, and *Dromore*, (after ſeveral and long Conferences, with the Commiſſioners of Truſt, who were Authoriſed by the Nation) unto the Propoſals preſented by the Commiſſioners to the Committee of the Congregation, the *29th.* of *Octob.* 1650. 1650.

Here we cannot avoid obſerving, by the expreſs words of the Concluſion, upon their Reaſons in their Conference with the Commiſſioners, that though they ſeem'd to deſire, that the Marquis of *Clanrickard* (whoſe zeal to the *Romiſh Religion*, and Intereſt in the Nation, was ſo notorious and confeſſed, that they durſt not publickly repine at his known affection and integrity to the King) might govern the Nation with the conſent of all Parties, and that the Kings Authority in the Lord Lieutenant might be left in him; yet they declared, they meant it ſhould onely be until an Aſſembly (which they well knew, by the expreſs terms of the Articles of Peace, could be onely lawfully conven'd by the Lord Lieutenant) and then that Aſſembly ſhould judge of the Peoples preſervation, and to decree and order what ſhould be the beſt and ſafeſt for the defence of the Nation; touching the Kings Authority to be kept over them, the Peace to be aſſerted and made good, or to renew the Aſſociation, or any thing elſe they ſhould find beſt and moſt expedient: So that they intended no other Honour to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, than that by his countenance and reputation they might perſwade the Lord Lieutenant to leave the Kings Authority behind him, and that he ſhould call an Aſſembly (which they would otherwiſe do themſelves) which they were ſure ſhould be conſtituted, for the moſt part, of ſuch men,

The Confederates violent for an Aſſembly, that their Affairs might be ordered by them.

1650. Men, as would follow their Dictates, by which himſelf ſhould be diveſted of that Power, and the King depoſed from any further Dominion over them, when they perſwade any foreign Prince to take them into his Protection; which practice they quickly ſet on foot. And for the further manifeſtation of their Affection and Loyalty to the King, which they cannot endure ſhould be called yet in queſtion, it is obſervable, that theſe Men, who had ſo often contradicted and controuled the expreſs Acts of every Aſſembly, that had been convened ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles, and now commanded the People, under pain of damnation, not to yield any obedience to the King's Authority in his Lieutenant, and declared, that they could not (with the ſafety of their Conſciences) conſent to the Propoſitions which he had lately made, for the uniting the Nation in defence of the Peace, ſo advantagious to their Liberty and Religion, which the Commiſſioners, intruſted by and for the Nation, thought ſo reaſonable: Theſe Men, I ſay, made no ſcruple of profeſſing and declaring, that if an Aſſembly, upon due conſideration of their ſtate and condition, ſhould find it the beſt way for their ſafety and preſervation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, they would not hinder the People from compounding with them, for the ſafety of their Lives and States: Which being ſeriouſly conſidered, we cannot ſufficiently wonder, at the ſtrange ſtupid reſignation of their Underſtandings, who believed (or rather at the wonderful contempt of thoſe Underſtandings, which would be perſwaded to believe) that this Congregation had loyal Purpoſes toward the King, or that they never intended to hinder the Aſſembly, or give Law to the People, when they cancell'd all fundamental Laws, broke through all Acts of their own Aſſembly, and forbad the People to pay any obedience to the King's Vicegerent, who had only the lawful Power of Government over them.

After all, the Confederates agree, that if compounding with the Enemy ſhould be beſt for the People, that ſhould be conſented to.

The more extravagant and unreaſonable theſe Proceedings were of the Congregation and Clergy, the more confident many honeſt and wiſe Men were, that the Aſſembly of the Nation would regulate and controul that il-limited Power, and utterly diſ-avow all that they had done; and therefore they who were exceedingly offended and enraged againſt the Congregation, were ſolicitous and importunate with the Lord Lieutenant to call an Aſſembly: And though he had too much experience of the Nature and Temper of the People, and of the tranſcendent Power the Clergy ſhould ſtill have over any Aſſembly, or at leaſt over the People, when the Aſſembly had done what it could, to hope for any good effect from it: And though he ſaw, he ſhould thereby the more expoſe his own Honour, and (which he conſidered more) the Dignity of his Maſter, to new Inſolencies; yet ſince he reſolved to leave the Kingdom himſelf, and was only un-reſolved, whether he ſhould leave the King's Authority behind him, liable to the ſame Indignities and Affronts, in the Perſon of the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, which it had been ſubject to in his own, and could have no kind of aſſurance that it ſhould not, but by the Profeſſions and Proteſtations of an Aſſembly, he did reſolve to call one, and iſſued out his Letters for their meeting upon the 15th. of *November*, 1650. at *Loghreogh*, where they met accordingly. And the Biſhops, for removing (as they ſaid) of any Jealouſies that any might apprehend of their Proceedings, declared and proteſted, *That by their Excommunication and Declaration at* James-town, *they had no other aim, than the preſervation of the Catholick Religion, and the People; and that they did not purpoſe to make*

The Aſſembly at *Loghreogh*, before-mention'd, meets: the Reſult thereupon.

1650.

make any viſible Uſurpation on his Majeſty's Authority, nor on the Liberty of the People, confeſſing, that it did not belong to their Juriſdiction ſo to do. With which Proteſtation (ſo contrary to what they had done, and which in truth they had ſo often made, even at the time they did all things contrary to it) the Aſſembly was ſatisfied, and did not ſo much as make another Proteſtation, that the Biſhops had done what they ought not to do, nor exact a Promiſe from them, that they would not do the like in time to come. So that the Lord Lieutenant was reſolv'd to look no more for ſatisfaction from them, nor expoſe the King's Authority any further, by leaving any Deputy behind him, but prepared for his departure.

When the Aſſembly underſtood his Reſolution, and ſaw plainly that he was even ready to depart, his Goods and many of his Servants being on Ship-board, they ſent four Members, the Lord *Dillon*, *Clanrickard*, &c. of their Houſe, to him at *Kilcogan*, with an Inſtrument in writing, (bearing date from *Loghreogh*, the 7th. of *December*) in which they repeated, (concerning the Excommunication and Declaration) what the Biſhops had proteſted in that Aſſembly; and of his Excellency's Letter, dated the 16th. of *November* laſt, recommending to them, as the chief End for which that Aſſembly was called, the removing of all Diviſions, as the beſt way to their Preſervation. *They the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Gentry met in that Aſſembly, conceiv'd, That there was not a better Foundation or Ground for their Union, than the holding to and obeying his Majeſty's Authority, to which they owed and ought to pay all dutiful Obedience: And they did thereby declare and proteſt, That their Allegiance unto his Majeſty's Authority was ſuch, and ſo inherent in them, that they would not be withdrawn from the ſame, nor was there any Power in the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Gentry or People, Clergy or Laity of the Kingdom, that could alter, change, or take away his Majeſty's Authority, they holding that to be the chief Flower of the Crown, and the ſupport of the Peoples Liberty, which they did thereby proteſt, declare and avow, and that they did eſteem the ſame, and obedience thereunto, eſſentially, inviolably, and juſtly due from them, and the chiefeſt means under God, to uphold their Union and Preſervation: And they ſaid, They did unanimouſly beſeech his Excellency, in his great affection to the advancement of his Majeſty's Service, and his hearty deſires of the Nations Preſervation, to which, they ſaid, he had Relations of the higheſt Concernment in Blood, Alliance, and Intereſt, to leave that Authority with them, in ſome Perſon faithful to his Majeſty, and acceptable to the Nation: To which Perſon, when he ſhould be made known to them, they would not only afford all due obedience, but would alſo offer and propoſe the beſt ways and means, that God would pleaſe to direct them to, for the preſervation of his Majeſties Rights, and the Peoples Intereſts and Liberties, and for the begetting a ready obedience in all Places and Perſons, unto his Majeſty's Authority.*

Though the Lord Lieutenant had been ſo uſed, as not to be confident of the Confederates obedience to his Majeſty's Authority, he yet at their Requeſt deputes the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* Deputy, at the ſame time charging their Crimes home.

This Advice (though it carried with it a particular Reſpect from the Aſſembly unto the Lord Lieutenant, and an acknowledgement of the faithful and hearty Affections he had always had, for his Majeſty's Intereſt and Service in that Kingdom, contrary to the ſcandalous Declaration) gave not the Marqueſs the leaſt confidence, that his Majeſty's Authority could find more reſpect in the Perſon of another, than it had met with in him: Therefore he writ to them by the ſame Meſſengers, *That he had ſent* the Authority *to the Lord Marqueſs of* Clanrickard, *to govern that his*

1650. *his Majeſty's Kingdom and People, provided, that their Declaration might be ſo far explain'd, as to give the Marqueſs of* Clanrickard *full ſatisfaction, that the expreſſions they made, touching the obedience they owed and reſolved to pay unto his Majeſty's Authority*, was meant, the Authority placed in his Lordſhip, or any other Governour, deriving or holding his Authority from his Majeſty: *And that they eſteem it not in the power of any Perſon, Congregation, or Aſſembly whatſoever, to diſcharge or ſet the People free from obeying his Lordſhip, or any other ſuch Governour, during the continuance of the ſaid Authority in him; without which, he ſaid, he could not (in Duty to his Majeſty) leave his Authority, ſubject to be toſſed to and fro, at the uncertain Fancies of any Man or Men, and without any probability of ſaving the Nation, which could be no otherwiſe effected, than by an abſolute chearful obedience of the People, unto the Authority placed over them.* And ſo having directed the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, (who ſubmitted to that Charge out of pure obedience, and only that he might not decline the Service, which they would ſay would have preſerv'd the Nation) not to aſſume the Charge, except the Aſſembly gave him full ſatisfaction in the Particulars required by him, the Lord Lieutenant (followed by the Lord *Inchiquin*, Colonel *Vaughan*, Colonel *Wogan*, Colonel *Warren*, and ſome 20 more Perſons of Honour) about the middle of *December* embarqued himſelf at *Galway*, (in a ſmall Frigat called the *Elizabeth*, of 28 Tuns, and 4 Guns) for *France*, after he had refuſed to receive a Paſs from *Ireton*, who offer'd it, chooſing rather the Seas and Winds, in that rough and bluſterous ſeaſon of the year, than to receive an obligation from him, having upon the moſt abſtracted Conſiderations of Honour and Conſcience, faithfully adhered to his Majeſty and the Crown of *England*, without any regard had to his own Eſtate and Fortune, as in the Act of Settlement, *fol.* 99. is at large expreſt. And after being toſſed at Sea for the ſpace of ſome weeks, and his other Ships, in which his Servants and Goods, and many other Paſſengers were loſt, he arrived in *January*, at St. *Malos* in *Britany*; from whence he went to *Paris*, and ſoon after into *Flanders*; thence he was imployed in a Service anſwerable to his Fidelity, touching the Duke of *Glouceſter*, (then in the Talons of the Jeſuits) whom with ſingular Prudence and Succeſs he recovered: Afterwards he was imbarqued in many Concerns of the Crown, to the hazard of his Perſon; whilſt the Lord *Inchiquin*, who had run the Gantlet on all ſides, retired into *Holland*, a Perſon certainly of much Valour and good Conduct, ſhewing both in an exemplary manner, whilſt he engaged for either Party: Nor can his change of Sides (to which ſome ſay he was too mutable) be ſo properly imputed to any defect of Judgement, as the unhappy Criſis of the Times; his own expreſſions making it clear, *That had all things been the ſame they were pretended to be, he would have continued as he was; but Impoſtures being diſcovered, he thought it ill to perſiſt in their Fellowſhip.* Afterwards indeed he chang'd his Religion, and thereby gave a ſuſpicion, that though he fought againſt his Countreymen, he had a reverence for their Idea. Certain it is, he affected much to be Preſident of *Munſter*, nor could any thing have barr'd him of it, ſince his Majeſty's happy Return, wherein *his Servants* had the fruits of their Fidelity, but his change of Religion, which equally prejudiced the Lord *Dillon*, in the Preſidency of *Connaght*, truely obſervable in them both.

The Lord Lieutenant departs the Kingdom, Lord *Inchiquin*, &c.

We

We have before ſpoken of four Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament, who as ſoon as they arrived in *Ireland*, (it is neceſſary to tell you) preſently applied themſelves to the Work afore-mention'd; they ſet out ſome Proclamations, and travelled into the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom, uſing the beſt means they could to raiſe Moneys by Sequeſtrations, and other ways; but by reaſon of the multitudes of Rebels which infeſted all the Garriſons, and came up ſo continually about them, little was to be done in that way. 1650.

The Condition the Confederates were in, when the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* accepts of the Government.

The Lord Lieutenant was no ſooner under ſail, than the Aſſembly applied themſelves to the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, who was then at his Houſe at *Loghreogh*, and beſought him to aſſume the Government, as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, according to the Power left with him by the Lord Lieutenant: But the Marqueſs abſolutely refuſed to do it, *except they ſatisfied the Proviſo that was left in the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to them, and that he ſaw ſuch an union amongſt them, as might free the King's Authority from the Affronts it had been expoſed unto.* Hereupon the Aſſembly unanimouſly profeſſed all obedience to his Majeſty's Authority, as it was veſted in him, and petition'd him to aſſume it, *without which they ſaid the Nation would be expos'd to utter ruine.* And the Biſhop of *Ferns*, (hitherto averſe to the Royal Authority) more particularly importuned him, in the Name of the Clergy, not to decline *a Charge, which could only preſerve the King's Power in that Kingdom, and the Nation from deſtruction, promiſing ſo entire a ſubmiſſion and co-operation from the whole Clergy, that his Authority ſhould not be diſputed.* In further aſſurance of which, the General Aſſembly iſſue forth this Declaration.

By the General Aſſembly of the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

ALthough this Aſſembly hath endeavour'd by their Declaration, of the 7th. of this month, to give full teſtimony of their Obedience to his Majeſty's Authority, yet for further ſatisfaction, and for removal of all Jealouſies, we do further declare, That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Gentry, or People, Clergy, or Laity of this Kingdom, ſhall not attempt, labour, endeavour, or do any Act or Acts, to ſet free or diſcharge the People, from yielding due and perfect Obedience to his Majeſty's Authority, inveſted in the Lord Marqueſs of Clanrickard, *or any other Governour or Governours of this Kingdom.*

And in caſe of any ſuch Labour, Act, or Endeavour, by which any miſchief might enſue, by ſeducing the People, we declare, That no perſon or perſons ſhall or ought to be led thereby, but by their diſobedience on any ſuch grounds, are liable and ſubject to the heavy cenſures and penalties of the Laws of the Land in force, and practis'd in the Reign of Henry *the 7th. and other Catholick Times.*

Nevertheleſs it is further declared, That it is not meant or intended by any thing herein contained, that this Nation will not inſiſt upon the performances of the Articles of Peace, and by all juſt ways and means provide againſt the breach and violation of the ſame.

And

1650. *And inaſmuch as his Majeſty is at preſent (as we are informed) in the hands of a Presbyterian Party of the* Scots, *who declared themſelves Enemies to this Nation, and vowed the extirpation of our Religion, we declare, That it is not hereby intended to oblige our ſelves to deceive, obey, or obſerve any Governours that ſhall come, and duely nominated or procured from his Majeſty, by reaſon of, or during his being in an un-free condition, that may raiſe a diſturbance in the preſent Government, eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty's Authority, or the violation of the Articles of Peace.*

Loghreogh, 23*d. of* Decemb. 1650.

Copia vera Joh. Comyn, *Dep. Cler.*

There was then in the poſſeſſion of the *Roman Catholicks*, the entire Province of *Connaght*, in which they had the ſtrong Caſtle of *Athlone*, the ſtrong and important Town and Harbour of *Gallway*, *Sligo*, and many other leſſer Forts and Places of ſtrength. They had alſo a good part of the Province of *Manſter*, and in it the City of *Limerick*, which by the ſtrong ſituation of it, and the advantages it might have from Sea, could alone (with the help of *Gallway*) have maintain'd War againſt all the Parliaments Forces in *Ireland*. They had many Parties of Horſe and Foot in *Leimſter*, *Munſter* and *Ulſter*, under *Clanrickard*, *Caſtlehaven*, *Dillon*, *Muskery*, the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, *Hugh O Neal*, *Dungan*, *Moor*, *Preſton*, and others, which being drawn together, would have conſtituted a greater Army than the Enemies were Maſters of. And the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* had argument enough of hope, if he could have been confident of the union of the Nation; and that he might reaſonably have promiſed himſelf, if he could have been confident of the Affection and Integrity of the Clergy, which at length they promiſed with that ſolemnity, that if he had not confided therein, the fault would have been imputed to him, for they could do no more (on their part) to create a belief in him. He was therefore content to take the Charge upon him, and obliged them preſently to conſider of the way to keep all the Forces together, when he ſhould have drawn them together, and to ſecure the two Towns of *Gallway* and *Limerick* with ſtrong Garriſons, which was the firſt Work concluded on all hands neceſſary to be performed.

The Confederates, notwithſtanding the good Condition they were in, and their Promiſes to the Deputy, think of treating with *Ireton*. *Vide* Carue *Annal. Hib. p.* 339.

Very few days had paſſed, (after the Lord Deputy had upon ſuch their Importunity and Profeſſions, taken the Government upon him) when it was propoſed in the Aſſembly, (before their Condition was impaired by any other progreſs, or new ſucceſs of the Enemy) *That they might ſend to the Enemy, to treat with them, upon ſurrendring of all that was left, into their hands*; an Inclination the *Nuncio* was long before inclin'd to, perſwading the ſupream Council (when there was but ſo much as a ſpeech of Truce) to joyn rather with the Parliamentary *Scots*, than the Royaliſts, and pray'd for the ſucceſs thereof, in hopes, that thence much good might accrue to the Catholick Religion. And when the ſame was oppoſed with indignation, by the major part of the Aſſembly, the Biſhop of *Ferns* himſelf (who had ſo lately importuned the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, to aſſume the Charge of Lord Deputy, and made ſuch ample promiſes in the Name of the Clergy) ſeem'd to concur with thoſe who were againſt treating with the Enemy, but inſtead of it very earneſtly preſſed, *That they might* (in order to their better defence) *return to their ancient Confederacy*,

deracy, and ſo proceed in their Preſervation, without any reſpect to the King's Authority. And this Motion found ſuch concurrence in the Aſſembly, from the Biſhops, Clergy, and many others, that many of the Officers of the Army, and ſome of the principaleſt of the Nobility and Gentry, found it neceſſary to expreſs more than ordinary paſſion in their contradiction: *They told them, They now manifeſted, that it was not their Prejudice to the Marqueſs of* Ormond, *nor their Zeal to Religion, that had tranſported them, but their diſlike of the King's Authority, and their reſolution to withdraw themſelves from it: That they themſelves would conſtantly ſubmit to it, and defend it with their utmoſt hazard, as long as they ſhould be able; and when they ſhould be reduced to Extremity, (that treating with the Enemy could no longer be deferred) they would (in that Treaty) make no proviſion for them, but be contented that they ſhould be excluded from any benefit thereof, who were ſo forward to exclude the King's Authority.*

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Others offer to return to their Confederacy, without reſpect to the King.

Some yet ſeem'd affectionate to the King.

Upon theſe bold though neceſſary Menaces, to which they had not been accuſtomed, the Clergy and their Party ſeem'd to acquieſce, and promiſed all concurrence; inaſmuch as from this very time, all the Factions and Jealouſies which had been before amongſt them, ſeem'd (outwardly) quieted, though the *Iriſh* (in all Quarters of which the Enemy were poſſeſſed) not only ſubmitted and compounded, but very many of them enter'd into their Service, and marched with them in their Armies; and the Lord Deputy grew as much into their diſ-favour, as the Lord Lieutenant had been; and his being a Friend to the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, deſtroyed all that Confidence, which his being a Papiſt had merited from them.

The Lord Deputy hereupon, and in conſideration of many reſorting to the Parliaments Quarters, iſſued forth this Proclamation.

By the Lord Deputy, General of *Ireland.*

CLANRICKARD.

WHereas divers of the Tradeſmen, and other Inhabitants, have formerly lived in the Quarters, in obedience to his Majeſty, within this Kingdom, have of late withdrawn themſelves from their reſpective Habitations there, and be-taken themſelves into the Garriſons and Quarters, under the Power of the common Enemy, for their particular and private advantage, thereby to avoid contributing to his Majeſty's Army, to the great diſ-advantage thereof, and the ſupport of the adverſe Party, which probably might be deſtroy'd, had it not receiv'd this Relief.

For Reformation whereof, we do hereby publiſh and declare, That whoſoever of the ſaid Inhabitants or Tradeſmen, ſhall not within 14 days after publication hereof, withdraw themſelves and their Goods, from the Garriſons and Quarters of the Enemy, wherein they now remain, to the Quarters in obedience to his Majeſty: And whoſoever, after the time aforeſaid, ſhall preſume to live within a Mile to any of the ſaid Garriſons, ſhall be liable to the Confiſcation of their Goods and Chattels, and ſhall be proſecuted againſt, as adhering in all reſpects to the Enemy, and Traitors to his Majeſty.

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For prevention whereof, we do hereby publiſh and declare, That any Perſon or Perſons, of that Condition or Nature, who within 14 *days after publication hereof, ſhall not in-liſt themſelves in his Majeſty's Army, ſhall be un-horſed and diſ-arm'd, where-ſoever taken or found, and in their Perſons proceeded againſt as Traitors. And we require and command the Commanders in chief of his Majeſty's Army, to take Order, that this our Proclamation receive due execution.*

And to the end that no Man may plead ignorance thereof, we require all Mayors, Sheriffs, Soveraigns, Portiffs, and Bayliffs, in whoſe hands theſe ſhall come, on receipt thereof, within the reſpective Liberties, in the moſt publick Places, to cauſe it to be proclaimed. Given under our Hand and Seal at Arms, the 2d. *day of* January, 1650.

God ſave the King.

But to return to the Parliaments Forces, who (whilſt the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was thus variouſly treated by the Confederates) took in the Caſtle of *Carlow*, as the 27th. of *July*, *Caterlagh*, and the 10th. of *Aug.* *Waterford*, commanded by General *Thomas Preſton*, and the ſtrong Fort of *Dungannon*, under *Giles Smith*, the 14th. of *Aug.* as in the North, *Charlemont*, that nothing indeed they attempted, but reſigned to their Power.

Ireton's Service from *Kilkenny*.

Ireton this Winter continued at *Kilkenny*, becauſe the Plague (which the Summer before had ſo exceedingly raged at *Dublin*, as 'tis reported, there died thereof, 17000 Perſons) was not yet ceaſed, whence he cauſed ſeveral Parties to be ſent abroad, which did notable Service in divers Parts of the Countrey; as in taking in *Balimoy*, in the *Kings County*, and in chaſing back into *Thomond*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, as alſo in frighting the Lord *Muskery* to his Faſtneſſes in *Kerry*, who (whilſt the Army was proſecuting the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*) had burnt the Town and Parts near *Mackrump*, whilſt the Rebels ſurprized two Troops of Horſe, and a Company of Foot, belonging to Colonel *Zanckey*, about the midſt of *February*.

About the 21. of *February*, Colonel *Huſon*, with 1600 Foot and 700 Horſe, march'd to the County of *Weſtmeath*, to reduce ſome Garriſons, and to prevent the Rebels raiſing of Forces there. When he came to *Tecrogham*, he heard Colonel *Preſton* and Sir *John Dungan* had beſieged a Caſtle of theirs, in the *Kings County*, to whoſe Relief he marched as far as *Terrills Paſs*, where he heard that Colonel *Reynolds* had diſperſed them; thence turning towards *Mullingar*, he took in *Kilbridge*, wherein he found 200 Barrels of Corn, and the next day enter'd *Mullingar*; whereupon the Enemy quitted *Tuets-town*, *Ledwicks-town*, and *Diſert*, where he heard that Colonel *Reynolds* had taken in *Donore*, in which was found 500 Barrels of Corn; and having garriſon'd *Ballimore*, thence march'd to *Ballimallock*, (a Paſs upon the *Aine*) and took it, and Sir *Thomas Nugent*'s Caſtle, in one day: Thence drawing towards *Finagh*, he encamped

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camped againſt *Tough*'s Caſtle, which (after the third ſhot) was delivered him, where hearing that *Phelim Mac Hugh* with 1500 Foot, was marching on the other ſide of the River, to the re-enforcement of *Finagh*, he ſent Sir *Theophilus Jones* with 400 Horſe, and his own Regiment of Foot, to encounter him, who fell upon them, killing *O Cahan*, and divers conſiderable Officers, with about 400 private Souldiers, and taking Priſoners Colonel *Mac Donel* his Lieutenant General, 1 Major, 12 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 15 Enſigns, the Quarter-Maſter, and about 376 private Souldiers, and *non*-Commiſſion Officers, Sir *Theophilus* performing in this, as in all other Expeditions, excellent Service; whilſt Colonel *Huſon* ſtormed *Finagh*, but was repulſed with ſome loſs, though he had it ſurrendred the next day upon Conditions, bearing date the 14th. of *March*, 1650. which Surrender brought in five adjacent Caſtles.

Finagh taken by Colonel *Huſon*.

Sir *Theophilus Jones*'s excellent Service.

About *May*, 1651. Order was taken in *England*, for ſending over Recruits of Foot, and Money to pay and raiſe Men; but by reaſon of the numbers ſent into *Scotland*, there could not many or much be ſpared; but what could be procured, came over very opportunely to re-inforce the Army, then ready to march to the Siege of *Limerick*; *Ireton* having appointed Sir *Charles Coot* with 2000 Horſe, and as many choice Northerly Foot, to march into *Connaght*, by the way of *Sligo*, which he did, ſeating himſelf before that ſtrong Fort, as though he would have beſieged it; but perceiving that the *Iriſh* from all Parts were drawing to its Relief, he drew off, and paſſing (not without difficulty) the *Curlew* Mountains, enter'd *Connaght*, and had *Athlone*, (by the Lord *Dillon*) *Portumna*, with ſome other Places of no great ſtrength, delivered to him: whilſt *Ireton*, with the main Army, paſſed the River *Shannon*, about *Killalow*, where the Rebels were gathered together, but made little reſiſtance, and preſently fell down before *Limerick*, where he entrenched himſelf, and made a formed Siege.

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Ireton ſits down before *Limerick*.

During which, he and others intercepted frequent Intelligence from the Biſhop and Mayor of *Limerick*, *That unleſs they were effectually reliev'd* (*and that ſpeedily*) *the Commonalty would force them to deliver the City upon Conditions to the Enemy*; Upon which the Lord *Broghil* (by orders from *Ireton*) drew all the Forces of the County together, to impede the Lord *Muskery*, then marching out of the County of *Kerry*, with a conſiderable Force; and though he made many halts, (ſeeming as if he intended another Deſign, then the Relief of *Limerick*) yet (being narrowly watched) the Scouts brought certain Intelligence about the 22. of *June*, that his Body of Horſe marched from *Dromagh*, towards *Caſtleliskin*, one of the faſteſt Places in *Ireland*, and directly in the way to *Limerick*; upon which the Lord *Broghil* haſtned towards them, and about midnight (in a horrid ſtorm of rain and wind) fell upon their Horſe-Guards, and beat them in; upon which their Camp took ſo hot an alarm, as he drove them ſoon to the Place from whence they came, thereby ſecuring the Army before *Limerick*; The Enemy in the interim getting over the *Blackwater*, and afterwards were purſued by the Lord *Broghil*, till (finding a convenient ground to draw up their Battle in) they were faced by him, who kept the Right Wing, Major *Wally* the Command of the Left, and Major *Cuppage* the Foot, ſo happily on each part ſecured, that though indeed the *Iriſh* never more reſolutely, and in better order maintain'd their Station, they were at laſt wholly routed; Bogs and Woods (uſually their ſafety) being not

The Lord *Broghil* routs the Lord *Muskery*, coming to relieve *Limerick*.

1651. near them. The chief Priſoners that day taken, were Lieutenant Colonel *Mac Gillacuddy*, Commanding young *Muskeries* Regiment, a man more Popular then *Muskery* himſelf, Major *Mac-Gillariagh*, an old *Spaniſh* Souldier, Major *Mac-Finine*, and ſome conſiderable Commanders of Horſe.

The Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* thought to have engaged Sir *Charles Coot*, but by a misfortune on the Earl of *Caſtlehaven's* men, he and his Army were ſcattered.

But to return to the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*; who (notwithſtanding all the fore-mention'd Diſcouragements, ſome whereof he expected not,) hearing of Sir *Charles Coot*'s intentions of entring *Connaght*, iſſued out his Orders to all the Forces, (which for conveniency of Quarter, and the more to infeſt the Enemy, were ſcattered over the Provinces) that they ſhould meet at the General Rendezvous, at the time and place appointed; Reſolving with as much expedition as he could, to engage the Enemy; where hearing that Sir *Charles Coot* (to whom *Ireton* had left the Care of that Province) was marched towards *Athlone*, he made all poſſible haſte to fall in his Rear, or to wait his Motion; but after he had gone two days march towards that Place, he received certain Intelligence, that Sir *Charles* had taken *Athlone*, and (being furniſhed with all neceſſary Guides) was marched towards *Gallway*, to block it up; whereupon he made what haſte he could back the ſame way he came, and ſent Orders to the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, (General of the Horſe) to meet him with the Forces under his Command, at a certain Village, where the Deputy would expect him. The Enemy being then within leſs then a Mile, with their main Body, and onely a narrow Paſs between them, which the Lord Deputy doubted not to defend, until all his Forces ſhould come up, and then reſolved to fight them, which was the onely thing he deſired, and thought himſelf to be in a very good poſture to do it: But the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, before he would advance to the Lord Deputy, thought it convenient to ſecure a ſingle Paſs over the River *Shannon*, whereby the Enemy might poſſibly get over, that ſo the Enemy might be entirely engaged, where the Lord Deputy was without any danger in the Rear; But by the time the Earl had marched ſome miles, he heard the report of Muskets, and looking back, he ſaw the two Troops of Horſe he had left to ſecure that Paſs, and the 60 Foot, running, and diſperſing, without being purſued; for the Enemy having Intelligence of the Earl's march, ſent over 2 or 3 Boats with Musketiers from the other ſide of the River, and landed without oppoſition at the Caſtle ſcituate on the Paſs. Upon which news (notwithſtanding the Earl's Commands or Intreaties) his Army in that Conſternation, (without the ſight of an Enemy) fled and disbanded; inſomuch, that of 4000 which in the morning the Body conſiſted of, the Earl brought not with him to the Place where the Lord Deputy was, above 40 Horſe; whereupon the Lord Deputy ſaw he was in no caſe to engage the Enemy; that he ſhould be quickly attacked in the Rear, by that part of the Army which had already, and ſpeedily would paſs the River; and that the ſame fright poſſeſſed his men, who had hitherto kept the Bridge, and who now began to yield ground; and that in truth, very many of his Souldiers had that night run away; And thereupon he drew off, and marched away, both Horſe and Foot: (when they were gotten out of danger of the Enemies purſuit,) And from this time, the Lord Deputy could never draw any conſiderable and firm Body into the Field, nor make any oppoſition to the Enemies Progreſs; The *Iriſh* in all Places ſubmitting to, and compounding with them,

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them, murmuring as much now againſt the Lord Deputy, as they had before againſt the Lord Lieutenant.

Before the Lord Lieutenant had left the Kingdom, he had ſent the Lord Viſcount *Taaff*, who had been an Eye-Witneſs of all his Proceedings, and had in vain labour'd to compoſe and diſpoſe the minds of the Clergy to the Kings Service, to give the King an Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and how impoſſible it would be to preſerve his Authority in that Kingdom, without ſome more then ordinary Supplies from abroad; which joyning with the moſt conſiderable and Loyal Part of the *Iriſh*, might have kept the Refractory in awe. His Lordſhip landed in *Flanders*, the King being then in *Scotland*, and quickly underſtood how unlikely his Journey into that Kingdom was, to advance the Buſineſs upon which he came, or indeed that he ſhould be admitted to the Preſence of the King, from whom moſt were remov'd that attended him thither; and thereupon he ſtaid in *Flanders*, and found an opportunity to preſent the Condition of the Papiſts of *Ireland*, in ſuch manner, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, (who being nearly Allied to the King always, profeſſed ſingular affection to his Majeſty and his Intereſt) as in the end, he prevail'd with him to ſend them ſome Relief; And aſſoon as it was known that the Lord Lieutenant was landed in *France*, the Duke ſent a Perſon of Principal Truſt about him (the Abbot of St. *Katharines*) into *Ireland*, with a Credential, as his Ambaſſador to the Clergy, and Catholick Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, to treat with them, in order to their receiving Aid and Supplies from the Duke; and to the end, that his Highneſs might in truth underſtand in what Capacity they were to be relieved, and how much they could themſelves contribute thereunto; it being not then known that the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had left the Kings Authority behind him, but rather conceiv'd, that upon thoſe many Provocations and Affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn (with his Perſon) the Countenance and Authority they had ſo much undervalued, and ſo little deſerved. When the Abbot landed in *Ireland*, which was about the end of *February*, (and within little more then 2 months after the Lord Lieutenant departed thence) he heard that the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* was the Kings Deputy, and thereupon he gave him preſently notice of his arrival, addreſſed himſelf to him, ſhewed his Commiſſion and Credentials, and aſſured him, *That the Duke his Maſter had ſo entire an Affection to the King of* England, (*the preſervation of whoſe Intereſt in that Kingdom, was the chief Motive to him to offer his Aſſiſtance*) *that if he had known any Perſon had been intruſted there with his Majeſties Authority, he would have addreſſed himſelf unto him, and no other; And that he finding his Lordſhip inveſted with that Power, did* (*what he knew his Maſter expected at his hands*) *apply himſelf unto him, with, and by whoſe Direction, he would alone ſteer himſelf, through that Negotiation: He told him the Duke had already diſburſed* 6000 *Piſtols, for the ſupplying them with thoſe things he heard they ſtood moſt in need of, which were brought over by a Religious Parſon who came with him, and that he was ready to be informed, of what they would deſire from his Highneſs, that might enable them to reſiſt their Enemy, and that he would conſent to any thing that was reaſonable for him to undertake.* Hereupon, the Lord Deputy appointed a Committee of the Commiſſioners of Truſt, together with ſome Prelates, to confer with the Ambaſſador, to receive any Overtures from him, and to preſent them with

The Lord *Taaff* intended to have gone to the King, but being prevented enters into a Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraign*.

The Duke of *Lorraign*'s Agent lands.

The Lord Deputy impowers a Committee to treat with *Lorraign*'s Agent.

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The Deputies honourable Reply to the Agent.

When the Prelates ſaw that no obſtinacy in the Ambaſſador, nor Importunity from them, could prevail with the Lord Deputy, to ſhew what influence they had upon that Treaty, they perſwaded the Ambaſſador to conſent to the ſame Propoſitions he had formerly (no doubt by the ſame Advice) rejected; and thereupon to make the ſum formerly diſburſed by the Duke at his coming out of *Flanders*, full 20000 *l.* and the Lord Deputy ſent a couple of Gentlemen * into *Flanders*, to Treat further with the Duke of *Lorraign*, according to ſuch Commiſſions and Inſtructions as he gave them. The Biſhop of *Ferns* * about the ſame time left *Ireland*, and came likewiſe to *Bruxels*; and having (without the Privity of the Lord Deputy) receiv'd ſome ſecret Truſt and Delegation from the Prelates of *Ireland*, and Credit from them, to the Duke of *Lorraign*, he quickly intereſſed himſelf in that Treaty, and took upon him the greateſt part in it, and that which he ſaid was the ſence of the Nation: He reproach'd the Perſons imployed and truſted by the Lord Deputy, with all the Proceedings which had been in *Ireland*, by the conſent of the Confederate Catholicks, inveighed againſt their oppoſing the Nuncio, and appealing againſt the Excommunication iſſued out by him, he told them (and all this by a Letter under his hand) that he was clearly of opinion, *That the Excommunication was juſt and lawful, and*

* Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, *Jeffrey Brown* Eſquires.

* *Nicholas French.*

Part of the Biſhop of *Fern's* inſolent Letter againſt the Lord Deputy.

1651.

and that the greateſt Statesmen, Souldiers, Citizens, and People diſobeying, and now obſtinate, are and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forſaken of God, and unworthy of Victory, and of his Holy Bleſſing; And thereupon he ſaid, he did with all ſincerity and charity offer his own humble opinion what was to be done by them, which was to the end, the Agreement they were making with his Highneſs the Duke of Lorraign, *might become profitable to the Nation, and acceptable in the eyes of God, that they would immediately with humble hearts, make a Submiſſion unto his Holineſs in the name of the Nation, and beg the Apoſtolical Benediction, that the light of Wiſdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Vertue, Grace, Succeſs, and the Bleſſing of God, might return again to them: He told them the neceſſity of doing this was the greater, for that the Perſon from whom they came with Authority, (the Marqueſs of* Clanrickard *the Lord Deputy) was for ſeveral cauſes Excommunicated,* a jure & Homine, *and that he was at* Rome *reputed the great Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Churchmen, and a Perſecutor of the Lord Nuncio, and ſome Biſhops, and other Churchmen; And after many rude and bitter reproaches againſt the Deputy, he uſed theſe words, Do you think God will proſper a Contract grounded upon the Authority of ſuch a man? and ſhortly after, he ſaid that if the Duke of* Lorraign *were rightly informed of the Buſineſs, he would never enter upon a Bargain to preſerve or rather reſtore Holy-Religion in the Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority from a withered curſed Hand: And then concluded for my part (upon the denial to hear my humble Prayers, which I hope will not happen) I will withdraw my ſelf as a man diſpairing of any fruit to come from an unſound Trunk, where there is no Sap of Grace: And am reſolved to communicate no more with you in that Affair, but rather to let the Prince know, he was building his Reſolutions of doing good upon an unhallowed foundation, and that God therefore (unleſs himſelf will undertake to obtain an Abſolution for the Nation) will not give him the Grace to lay down the* Lapis Angularis *of his own houſe again, in that Kingdom.* This Letter bare date at *Bruxels* the 20*th.* of *July*, 1651. the Perſons to whom it was directed, being then in the ſame Town.

What the iſſue of that Treaty was, and what regard there was had therein to the King's Honour, we have (in the next Place) reaſon to mention; And the rather for that thoſe, whom the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* authorized to Treat with the Duke of *Lorraign*, had moſt perfidiouſly wav'd his Inſtructions, reſuming to themſelves a Deputation and Authority from the People and Kingdom of *Ireland*; An Inſolency ſo great, as the Lord Deputy reſents it with a juſt Indignation. Firſt we ſhall give you their Agreement, then his Letter.

An

1651.

An Agreement betwixt Charles *the 4th. Duke of* Lorrain, *and* Theobald *Lord Viſcount* Taaff, *Sir* Nicholas Plunket, *and* Jeffrey Brown, *deputed and authorized by the People and Kingdom of* Ireland.

1. THe moſt Illuſtrious Duke is to be veſted with Royal Power, under the Title of Protector Royal of *Ireland*.

2. Becauſe Religion is the prime End and Subject of the Treaty, all is to begin with an Imploring Application to the Pope, for his Paternal Benediction and Help, That he will not be wanting in things Spiritual or Temporal; in conſideration whereof it is Proteſted, that conſtant perpetual Obſequiouſneſs of Duty and Faithfulneſs, ſhall be paid to his Holineſs, and the Apoſtolick See.

3. In conſideration of this Royal Protector's Power granted, the Duke is by War to proſecute the Kings Enemies, and afford him all poſſible Aſſiſtance.

4. The ſaid Duke is to do nothing in Derogation of the Kings Authority or Juriſdiction in *Ireland*, but rather to amplifie it: And having reſtored the Kingdom and Religion to its due priſtine Eſtate, he is to reſign cheerfully the Kingdom to the King.

5. Before Reſignation as aforeſaid, the Duke is to be re-imburſed all by him pre-impended in this Buſineſs; and for this Re-imburſment, a general and exact Obedience to the Duke, in Faith and Fidelity from the Kingdom and People, is made and to be obſerv'd, without reſervation to any other Superiority whatſoever.

6. The Duke is not to fail on his part, to expel out of *Ireland*, Hereticks, Enemies to the King and his Religion, and to recover and defend all things belonging to the faithful Subjects of *Ireland*.

7. The Duke is Solely and Abſolutely to exerciſe all Military Power for the preſent and future in *Ireland*, as to the nomination of all Commanders, and guiding all Martial Proceedings at his own Pleaſure, and in his own Perſon, unleſs he in his abſence ſubſtitute ſome other Catholick Perſon.

8. The Duke is to introduce no Innovation in the Towns, *&c.* to him aſſigned, repugnant to the Securities, Priviledges, Immunities, Proprieties, Lands, Eſtates, or antient Laws of the *Iriſh*, reſerving onely to himſelf, Authority to apply Remedies to any thing accruing, wherein publick prejudice may be concern'd.

9. The Duke is not to interpoſe in Adminiſtration of Judicial or Civil Affairs, but leave them to be proceeded in, according to the Fundamental Laws, and publick Form of the Kings chief Governor, and the Aſſembly inſtituted.

10. The manner of calling Aſſemblies to be as formerly, unleſs complaint ariſe againſt their Government, or other extraordinary Emergencies hinder; And then according to the antient Laws, the cutting off the Aſſembly, is to be at the Pleaſure of his Highneſs.

11. When

11. When the work is done in *Ireland*, by conſent of a General Aſſembly, the Duke promiſes to afford Agents to the King againſt Rebelling Adverſaries in other Kingdoms. 1651.

12. In caſe the Duke cannot go in Perſon into *Ireland*, it is free in his Choice and Pleaſure to depute any other man of Catholick Piety, who ſhall be independent on the Militia, and in Civil Matters ſhall be received to all manner of Councils, in the ſame right as any other Counſellor or Commiſſioner.

13. All Cities, Caſtles, Lands, taken from the *Engliſh*, ſhall revert to the Owners, if Catholicks, who have conſtantly perſevered in the Catholick Quarters under the Duke; Yet the Duke's Military Power ſhall be intire over the ſame, to Garriſon and diſpoſe of them for publick Security, at his Pleaſure.

14. All Pay to the Souldiers, is to paſs from the Duke, as well out of the publick Revenues, as the Duke's Coffers when that fails; Provided that the Duke diſburſes of his proper Money for publick uſes, for the future to be repaid him, as his former Diſburſements.

15. All Goods of Enemies and Delinquents, are to be converted to the publick Military Charges, and towards rewarding great Merits by the Duke, with advice of the General Aſſembly.

16. The Duke, beſides 20000 *l.* already contributed, promiſes all further Accommodations and Supplements for War, together with his Power and Induſtry, what is not above the reach of his Faculties, and beneath the neceſſities of the War, towards the repayment whereof, as well principal as the annual provenue and uſe thereof, the whole Nation of *Ireland* is to be liable until the laſt penny be paid; And for Caution in the mean time, the Duke is to be ſeized and poſſeſſed in his own hands, of *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Athenry*, the Caſtle and Town of *Athlone*, and *Waterford*, and the Royal Fort of *Duncannon*, (when recovered from the Enemy) and theſe are to remain to him and his Heirs until full and intire ſatisfaction receiv'd, and to pay juſt Obedience, and be garriſon'd and commanded at his Pleaſure.

17. In laying of publick Taxes, and levying the ſame for the Dukes ſatisfaction, the Duke do proceed by Advice of the General Aſſembly, and all aggrieved Parties in caſe of inequality, to ſeek Redreſs from the General Aſſembly.

18. For liquidating and ſtateing the Dukes Diſburſements, a certain Method ſhall be agreed on between the Duke and the ſaid Tranſactors, but for the Perſons to be intruſted in that Charge, the General Aſſembly is to alter them at their Pleaſure.

19 The Duke ſhall make no Peace nor Ceſſation, without the Lord Deputy or General Aſſembly.

20. The Lord Deputy and General Aſſembly, ſhall make no Peace without the conſent of the Duke.

July 22. 1651.

Signed,

Charles of *Lorraign.*

1651.

The Lord Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, his Letter to the Duke of *Lorraign*, *Octob.* 20th. 1651.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs.

I *Had the Honour on the* 12th. *of this inſtant, to receive a Letter from your Highneſs, dated the* 10th. *of* September, *wherein you are pleaſed to expreſs your great zeal for the advancement of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, your great affection to the King my Maſter, and your good opinion of this Nation, and your compaſſion of their ſufferings, and your great readineſs to afford them aid and aſſiſtance, even equal with your own neareſt concernments; and that your Highneſs received ſuch ſatisfaction from the Queen and Duke of* York, *as did much ſtrengthen thoſe reſolutions, ſo as they might ſooner appear, but for the ſtay made here of Monſieur* St. Catherin, *and his long Northern Voyage upon his return, and referred what concerned the agreement, to the relation of thoſe Commiſſioners I had imployed to your Highneſs, to treat upon that ſubject of Aſſiſtance and Relief for this Kingdom. I with much alacrity congratulate your Highneſs pious intentions, for the preſervation of the* Catholick Religion, *your great and Princely care to recover his Majeſties Rights and Intereſts, from his Rebel Subjects of* England, *and the high obligation you put upon this Nation, by your tender regard of them, and deſire to redeem them from the great miſeries and afflictions they have endured, and the eminent dangers they are in; And it ſhall be a principal part of my ambition, to be an uſeful inſtrument to ſerve your Highneſs, in ſo famous and glorious an enterprize. And that I may be the more capable to contribute ſomewhat to ſo religious and juſt ends; Firſt, in diſcharge of my conſcience toward God, my duty to the King my Maſter, and to diſ-abuſe your Highneſs, and give a clear and perfect information, ſo far as comes to my knowledge, I am obliged to repreſent unto your Highneſs, that by the title of the Agreement and Articles therein contained, made by thoſe Commiſſioners I imployed to your Highneſs, and but lately come into my hands,* They have violated the truſt repoſed in them, by having caſt off, and declined the Commiſſion and Inſtructions they had from me, in the King my Maſters behalf, and all other Powers, that could by any other means be derived from him, and pretend to make an agreement with your Highneſs, in the name of the Kingdom and People of *Ireland*, for which they had not, nor could have any warrantable Authority; and have abuſed your Highneſs, by a counterfeit ſhew of a private Inſtrument, fraudulently procured and ſigned (as I am informed) by ſome inconſiderable and factious Perſons, ill-affected to his Majeſties Authority, without any knowledge or conſent of the generality of the Nation, or Perſons of greateſt Quality or Intereſt therein, and who under a ſeeming zeal and pretence of ſervice to your Highneſs, labour more to ſatisfie their private ambitions, then the advantage of Religion or the Nation, or the proſperous ſucceſs of your Highneſs generous undertakings; *And to manifeſt the clearneſs of mine own proceeding,*

ceedings, and make ſuch deceitful Practices more apparent, I ſend your Highneſs herewith an authentick Copy of my Inſtructions, which accompanied their Commiſſion, when I imployed them to your Highneſs, as a ſufficient evidence to convince them. And having thus fully manifeſted their breach of publick Truſt, I am obliged in the King my Maſters name, to proteſt againſt their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all the Agreements and Acts whatſoever concluded by thoſe Commiſſioners, to be void, and illegal, being not derived from, or conſonant to his Majeſties Authority, being in duty bound thus far to vindicate the King my Maſters Honour and Authority, and to preſerve his juſt and undoubted Rights from ſuch deceitful and rebellious Practices; as likewiſe with an humble and reſpective care, to prevent thoſe prejudices that might befal your Highneſs, in being deluded by counterfeit ſhews, in doing you greater Honour; where it is apparent, that any undertaking laid upon ſuch falſe and ill-grounded Principles, as have been ſmoothly digeſted and fixed upon that Nation, as their deſire and requeſt, muſt overthrow all thoſe Heroick and Prince-like Acts, your Highneſs hath propoſed to your ſelf, for Gods glory and ſervice, the reſtauration of oppreſſed Majeſty, and the relief of his diſtreſſed Kingdom, which would at length fall into inteſtine broils and diviſions, if not forceably driven into deſperation; I ſhall now with a hopeful and chearful importunity upon a clear ſcore, free from thoſe deceits, propoſe to your Highneſs, that for the advancement of all thoſe great ends you aim at, and in the King my Maſters behalf, and in the name of all the Loyal Catholick Subjects of this Nation, and for the preſervation of thoſe important cautionary Places, that are ſecurity for your Highneſs paſt and preſent diſburſements, you will be pleaſed to quicken and haſten thoſe aids and aſſiſtances, you intended for the relief of Ireland; *and I have with my whole power, and through the greateſt hazards, ſtriven to defend them for you, and to preſerve all other Ports, that may be at all times of advantage and ſafeguard to your Fleets, and Men of War, having yet many good Harbours left; but alſo engage in the King my Maſters name, that whatſoever may prove to your ſatisfaction, that is any way conſiſtent with his Honour and Authority, and have made my humble applications to the Queens Majeſty, and my Lord Lieutenant, (the King being in* Scotland) *further to agree, confirm, and ſecure, whatſoever may be of advantage to your Highneſs; and if the laſt Galliot had but brought* 10000 l. *for this inſtant time, it would have contributed more to the recovery of this Kingdom, then far greater ſums delayed, by enabling our Forces to meet together, for the relief of* Limerick, *which cannot but be in great diſtreſs after ſo long a Siege, and which if loſt, (although I ſhall endeavour to prevent it) will coſt much treaſure to be regained. And if your Highneſs will be pleaſed to go on chearfully, freely, and ſeaſonably, with this great work, I make no queſtion, but God will give ſo great a bleſſing thereto, as that my ſelf, and all the Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, may ſoon and juſtly proclaim, and leave recorded to poſterity, that your Highneſs was the great and glorious reſtorer of our Religion, Monarch, and Nation; and that your Highneſs may not be diſcouraged or diverted, from this generous enterprize, by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a neceſſary duty in me, to repreſent unto your Highneſs, that the Biſhop of* Ferns (*who as I am informed, hath gained ſome intereſt in your favour*) *is a Perſon, that hath ever been violent againſt, and malicious to his Majeſty's Authority and Government,* 1651.

1651. *and a fatal Inſtrument in contriving and fomenting all thoſe diviſions and differences that have rent aſunder this Kingdom, the introduction to our preſent miſeries, and weak condition: And that your Highneſs may clearly know his diſpoſition, I ſend herewithal a Copy of part of a Letter written by him*, directed to the Lord* Taaffe, *Sir* Nicholas Plunket, *and* Jeffery Brown, *and humbly ſubmitted to your judgment, whether thoſe expreſſions be agreeable to the temper of the Apoſtolical Spirit, and conſidering whoſe Perſon and Authority I repreſent, what ought to be the reward of ſuch a crime. I muſt therefore deſire your Highneſs, in the King my Maſters behalf, that he may not be countenanc'd or intruſted in any Affairs, that have relation to his Majeſties Intereſt in this Kingdom, where I have conſtantly endeavoured, by all poſſible ſervice, to deſerve your Highneſs good opinion, and obtaining that favour to be a moſt faithful acknowledger of it, in the capacity, and under the title of,*

* Which was part of that Letter mentioned before, giving his Character of the Lord Deputy.

Your Highneſs moſt humble and obliged Servant,

Athenree, 20*th*. Octob. 1651.

CLANRICKARD.

Thus the Lord Deputy very faithfully diſcharged his duty; and great cauſe there was to proteſt againſt ſuch proceedings of the Confederates, they putting his Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland* into the hands of a Foreign Prince, and in that, aſſuming to themſelves the name of *The Kingdom and People of Ireland*, as if there had been no other Party or People in the Kingdom (or not conſiderable) but themſelves alone; and as if then in *Ireland* there had been no Power or Government but theirs onely, his Majeſties Authority in the hands of his Deputy not regarded or conſulted. They alſo (the Confederates) in that giving up the Kingdom into the Power of a Stranger, colouring their Treaſon with a flattering Clauſe, and an empty and inſignificant Title to their Natural Prince in Reverſion, and by Reſignation, when the new Protector, commanding all, ſhould pleaſe to do it; he being firſt ſatisfi'd of all Diſburſments, Charges, and Claims whatſoever, he himſelf being Auditor: A Concern of that importance, as we ſeldom find, where others have been called in upon Aſſiſtance (eſpecially on ſuch Encouragements) that they have quitted their hold without effuſion of much blood, or an abſolute dis-inherizon of the right Owner: And therefore the Lord Deputies foreſight of ſuch an Evil, doth commend him faithful to his Prince, and juſt to his Nation. Nor can it be doubted, that the Atteſtation of this Peer (one that hath run the hazard of his Countreys ſafety) ſhould be further credited than what the Biſhop of *Ferns*, or any obſcure looſe Frier (how prodigal ſoever in their Calumnies) ſhould or can publiſh in the bitterneſs of their ſpirit, a crime incident to their Faculty, being ill affected to his Majeſty, worſe to his Governours.

One of the principal Motives, which induced the Marquis of *Clanrickard* to ſubmit to that Charge, and to undertake a Province which he knew would be very burthenſome and grievous in ſeveral reſpects, was the joynt promiſe, *That the City of* Limerick, *and the Town of* Galway, *would pay all imaginable duty to him.* The Clergy obliged themſelves in that particular with all confidence, and the Deputies of the Places promiſed

miſed all that could be deſir'd: But when the Lord Deputy found it neceſſary to ſettle that buſineſs, they would neither receive a Garriſon or Governour from him; and when he offered himſelf to ſtay in *Limerick*, (when *Ireton* was drawing before it) and to run his Fortune with them, they refuſed it, as peremptorily as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant. It is true, both *Limerick* and *Galway* were contented to receive Soldiers; but they muſt be ſuch onely as were of their own chooſing, not ſuch either in number or quality as the Lord Deputy would have ſent to them, or as were neceſſary for their ſecurity: They choſe likewiſe their own Governour, or rather kept the Government themſelves, and gave the Title to one, whom they thought leaſt like to contradict them; and, in a word, behaved themſelves like two Commonwealths, and obey'd the Deputy no farther than they were inclined by their own convenience; they who compounded with the Enemy in the Countrey, correſponded with them in the Town, and thereby gave the Enemy intelligence of all that paſſed: Wonderful diligence was uſed to make it be thought, that the *Independents* were not uncharitable unto *Papiſts*, and that they wiſhed not any compulſion ſhould be uſed in matter of Religion; and when the acts of cruelty and blood, of putting their Prieſts and Prelates to an ignominious death, (of which there were new inſtances every day) were mentioned: It was anſwer'd, Thoſe proceedings were carried on by the power of the *Presbyterians*, very much againſt the Nature and Principles of the other Party. 1651.

The Confederates cheriſh'd in a good opinion of the *Independents*.

This licenſe of Communication, and the evil conſequences that muſt attend it, was enough underſtood by the Lord Deputy, but could no more be prevented, reformed, or puniſhed, than he could infuſe a new heart or ſpirit into the People; one inſtance will ſerve the turn: There was in the Town a Frier, *Anthony Geoghean*, who had always adhered to the *Nuncio*, and oppoſed the King's Authority to the utmoſt of his power, ſeveral Letters written by him into the Enemies Quarters were intercepted, and brought to the Lord Deputy, in which, though there were many things in Cypher, there appeared much of the preſent ſtate and condition of the Town; and in one of them, dated the 4*th.* of *Febr.* 1651. he thus writes, *If the ſervice of God had been as deep in the hearts of our Nation, as that Idol of* Dagon, (*a fooliſh Loyalty*) *a better courſe for its honour and preſervation had been taken in time.* The Lord Deputy believed the crime to be ſo apparent, and of ſuch a nature, that (what Complices ſoever he might have) none would have the courage to appear in his behalf: And that he might give the Clergy an opportunity to ſhew their zeal in a buſineſs, that concern'd ſo much their common ſafety, he referr'd the examination of the Frier unto the Biſhops (whereof there were three or four in Town) and to ſome other of the principal of the Clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the Cypher which he had uſed, and to examine him to whom the Letters were intended (they being directed to counterfeit and ſuppoſitious names.) The Cypher was accordingly produced, and thereby *many expreſſions* (*in the Letter*) *appear'd to be full of neglect and reproach to the King and others, of inſolence and contumely toward the Lord Deputy; they mention'd little hope was left of relief from the Duke of* Lorrain; *and that they reſolved to ſend one to treat with the Rebels, and had found private means of conveying one to that purpoſe: The Frier promiſed to uſe all his diligence to diſpoſe the Catholicks to have a good opinion of the Independents,*

Frier *Geoghehan's* carriage againſt the State.

1651. *dents, and made ſome requeſt concerning himſelf.* All that he alledged for his defence was, That the Letters written by him were to one who was employ'd by the Court of *Rome*; that he had no ill meaning againſt the King or Deputy, and that he had himſelf a Truſt from *Rome*, and Inſtructions from the Secretary of the Congregation, *De propaganda Fide*, and the Biſhops certifi'd that they had ſeen the Inſtructions, and that they did not relate at all to the Temporal State. And this was all the ſatisfaction and juſtice the Lord Deputy could procure, though he writ ſeveral Letters of Expoſtulation to the Biſhops thereupon: Whether this be a part of the Priviledges and Immunities of the *Catholick Roman Church*, and enjoy'd in any Catholick Countrey, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other Countrey where the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* is not ſubmitted unto, we muſt leave to the World to judge and determine. In the interim, If Proteſtant Kings and Princes are provident and ſevere for the prevention of ſuch practices, and for the eſtabliſhing their own ſecurity, this muſt not be imputed to an unreaſonable jealouſie of, or a prejudice to the *Roman Catholick* Religion, but to the confident preſumption of thoſe men, (under the vizard of univerſal obedience) who have pretended Religion for their warrant or excuſe, for the moſt unlawful and unjuſtifiable actions.

This was the obedience and ſubmiſſion they paid to the Kings Authority and Government: Let us ſee now what Government they provided for themſelves, and what courſe they (who were ſtill jealous of being betray'd by thoſe who were truſted by the King) took for their own ſecurity and preſervation; and what power the Biſhops and Clergy had to ſupport their own Intereſt and Dignity, after they appear'd to have enough to deſtroy or ſuppreſs that of the King. The City of *Limerick* was entirely govern'd by the Clergy. We have ſhewn you how the Herald (in proclaming the Peace of 1646.) was affronted there; as alſo of their contumelious behaviour towards the Marquis of *Ormond* in 1650. We muſt now take notice of their carriage to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, to whom (contrary to their obligation and ſolemn promiſe) they continued the ſame obſtinacy, refuſing to receive ſuch a Governour and Garriſon as he thought fit to give them, or to entertain him in the Town with the Power and Authority of Deputy, after he had aſſum'd that Place and Title upon their own importunity, and promiſe of obedience; however, he ſent thither ſuch men, both Officers and Soldiers, as they deſired, and no other.

During the Siege of *Limerick*, (now ſtraitly begirt by *Ireton*) Sir *Walther Dungan* ſtormed *Roſs-town* and *Caſtle Jordan*; and the notable Quarter-beater *Naſh* killed Colonel *Cook*, coming with a Party from *Cork*, but was ſlain in the onſet, though his Party was victorious; whilſt at *Limerick* the Beſieged made many fierce Sallies, to the loſs of the Aſſailants: for in one, of 1000 men, they killed above 300 of the Beſiegers; and upon *Ireton*'s attempt againſt the Iſland before the Town, the *15th.* of *July*, 1651. an hundred and twenty of his men were loſt, with their Leaders, Major *Walker*, Captain *Graves*, and Captain *Whiting*: *Ireton* notwithſtanding reſolved not to depart without it, though the Governour (*Hugh O Neal*, who had ſo gallantly defended *Clonmel*) refuſed to hearken to any Conditions, in hopes that the Winter would force him off, or that himſelf might receive neceſſary Supplies from without: But ſhortly after he perceived what he was to truſt to; for before *Ireton* had

cloſe

cloſe beſieged it a month, and ſooner than the Inhabitants were preſs'd with wants, the Commonalty began to diſcourſe of Treating with the Enemy, all the conſiderations of what they might undergo hereafter (through timerouſneſs occurred to them, and the improbability of their receiving any ſuccours proportionable to their wants: Yet it was very hard for them to Treat, it being notoriouſly known, that *Ireton* would except very many principal Perſons amongſt them, to whom no mercy ſhould be ſhown; nor could they expect any Conditions for the exerciſe of their Religion they had been hitherto ſo jealous of. The Governour had onely the Title and power to ſet Watch, but the Mayor kept the Keys, and had many of the principal Officers at his devotion; ſo that upon the 23*d.* of *October*, a mixed Councel of Officers, and of thoſe of the Civil Government, met in the Town-houſe, to conſult what was beſt to be done in order to the Treaty with the Enemy, (contrary to the intentions of the Governour, who was reſolved to hold it out to the laſt) and after a long debate, it was concluded by the major part, that they would proceed to a Treaty, and that they would not break it off upon the exception of any perſons, for Quarter or Confiſcation of their Goods: and the next day was appointed for the chooſing of the Commiſſioners to be ſent unto the Enemy. The reſult of the former days debate being known in the Town, they no ſooner met for the Election of the Commiſſioners for the Treaty, than the Biſhops of *Limerick* and *Emly*, with the Clergy, came to the Town-houſe, and threatned them to iſſue out an Excommunication againſt them, if they proceeded in thoſe Counſels, the effect whereof would be, to deliver up the Prelates to be ſlaughter'd; notwithſtanding which, they proceeded to the naming the Perſons who ſhould treat for them. Whereupon the Biſhops publiſhed their Excommunication, with a perpetual Interdict of the City, which was fixed on the doors of all the Churches and Chappels in the Town. But alas! thoſe Fulminations had been too looſely and impertinently uſed to retain any vertue in time of need; and as Catholick as the Town was, (and there was not one Proteſtant in it) the Excommunication wrought no effect. That very night Colonel *Fennel*, and the other Officers of the Combination that preſs'd on the Treaty, poſſeſs'd themſelves of St. *John*'s Gate, and *Cluam*'s Tower, driving the Guards from thence; and when the Governour came thither, and demanded by what Authority they were there, (he having given them Orders to Guard another Quarter of the Town) they anſwered, *The beſt of the Town knew, and approved what they did*: And it was very true, the Mayor *Thomas Strick* was of their Party, and delivered the Key of that Port to Colonel *Fennel*, though he denied it to the other Party that oppoſed the Treaty. The Governour called a Council of War, and ſent for Colonel *Fennel* to appear before them, who refuſed to come; and being ſupplied with Powder from the Mayor, he turned the Cannon upon the Town, and declared, *That he would not quit the place that he was poſſeſſed of, till the City ſhould be yielded to the Enemy.* The Commiſſioners were ſent out to *Ireton*, who would give no other Conditions than, *That the Garriſon ſhould lay down their Arms, the Officers retaining their Swords, and march to what Place they would, except thoſe exempted from mercy, (who of the Clergy, Soldiers, and Citizens amounted to the number of* 24.) *The Inhabitants had three months time aſſign'd them to tranſport their Perſons, and three months more to remove their Goods within any Place the Kingdom appointed, in which they might live.*

1650.

Hugh O Neal, M. G. *Patrick Purcel*, *David Roch*, Sir *Richard Everard*, the Biſhops of *Limerick* and *Emly*, Frier *Wolf*, *Dominick Fanning*, Alderman *Thomas Strick*, &c.

1651. *live.* In brief, theſe were their Conditions; but in reſpect of many things very conſiderable in the Articles themſelves, we ſhall here give them at large.

Articles agreed upon the 27th day of *October*, 1651. by and between *Henry Ireton*, the Deputy General, on the one Part; and *Barthol. Stackpoll*, Recorder of the City of *Limerick*, *Dom. White* Alderman of the ſame, *Nicholas Haly* Eſq; Lieutenant Colonel *Piers Lacy*, Lieutenant Colonel *Donnogh O Brion*, and *John Baggot* Eſq; Commiſſioners appointed by, and on the behalf of the Governour and Mayor of the ſaid City, to Treat and Conclude for the Surrender thereof, on the other Part.

THat the City of Limerick, *with the Caſtle, and all the Places of Strength in the City, be ſurrendred into the hands of the ſaid Deputy General of* Ireland, *for the uſe of the Parliament and Common-wealth of* England, *upon or before the* 29th. *of* Octob. *inſtant at Noon, together with all the Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, and other Furniture of War therein, and all the Goods of any kind, not allowed by the enſuing Articles, to be carried away, or kept by the Owners; and this without waſte, ſpoil, or imbezilment; and the full poſſeſſion of* Johns Gate *and* Priors Mill *ſhall be delivered unto the ſaid Deputy General, or ſuch Guards as he ſhall appoint, (not exceeding one hundred men for* Johns Gate *) this day by Sunſet; and for performance hereof, the above-named Lieutenant Colonel* Piers Lacy, *Lieutenant Colonel* Donogh O Brion, *Alderman* Dom. White, *and* Nicholas Haly *Eſquires, ſhall remain as Hoſtages with the ſaid Deputy General, until the ſurrender of the ſaid City.*

2. *That in conſideration hereof, all perſons now in the City, (except ſuch as are hereafter excepted) ſhall have Quarter for their Lives, liberty of their Perſons, their Cloathes, Money, and other Goods; ſo as to be free from Pillage, Plunder, or other hoſtile violence in their Perſons or Goods, during their continuance under the ſaid Deputies ſafe conduct or protection, by vertue of the enſuing Articles reſpectively. But whereas through the practices of ſome Perſons, more eminent and active than the reſt, both amongſt the Clergy, Military Officers, and Citizens, and other ſorts of men, which, in the large Conditions formerly tendred for ſurrender, have been rejected, the ſubſequent occaſions or opportunities for timely making of Conditions, neglected and avoided, the diſpoſitions and deſires of many Perſons within, to that purpoſe, oppoſed, reſiſted, and reſtrained, and the generality*

lity of the People partly deluded and deceived, (to the keeping of them in vain expectations of relief, from one time to another) and partly overawed, or enforced by their power, to concur and contribute thus long to the obſtinate holding out of the Place; therefore the Perſons hereafter named, with Major General Hugo O Neil *the Governour, Major General* Purcel, *Sir* Jeffery Gallaway, *Lieutenant Colonel* Lacy, *Captain* George Wolfe, *Captain Lieutenant* Sexton, *the Biſhop of* Emly, John Quillen *a Dominican Frier*, David Roch *a Dominican Frier, Captain* Laurence Welſh *a Prieſt*, Francis Wolfe *a Franciſcan Frier*, Philip O Dwine *a Prieſt, Alderman* Dom. Fanning, *Alderman* Thomas Stretch, *Alderman* Jordan Roach, Edmond Roach *Burgeſs, Sir* Richard Everard, *Doctor* Higgen, Maurice Baggot *of* Baggots-town, *and* Jeffery Barron, (*being, as aforeſaid, the principal, appearing in ſuch practices in this Siege, and the holding out ſo long*) *as alſo* Evan *the Welſh Soldier, who ran into* Limerick, *and all other perſons that have been employed, and come into the City as Spies ſince the fourth day of* June *laſt, ſhall be excepted and excluded from any benefit of this Article, or any Article enſuing; and ſuch of them as can be found within the Garriſon, ſhall be rendred up at mercy upon the ſurrender of the City: And any ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as ſhall be found to hide or conceal any of the ſaid excepted Perſons, or be privy to their concealment or attempt of eſcape, and not diſcover or do their beſt endeavour to prevent the ſame, ſhall thereby be underſtood to have forfeited the benefit of theſe Articles to themſelves; but otherwiſe, none ſhall loſe that benefit for other mens default, in their concealment or eſcape, or for the not rendring them up as aforeſaid.* 1651.

3. *That all Officers, Soldiers, and all other perſons now in the City, (not excepted in the laſt precedent Article) ſhall alſo have liberty to march away with their Clothes, Bag and Baggage, Money, and all other their Goods, of what kind ſoever, except Arms, Ammunition, and other Utenſils of War, (carrying nothing but their own) to what Place or Places they ſhall chooſe reſpectively within the Dominion of* Ireland, *not being a Garriſon for the Parliament, (all the Field-Officers of Horſe and Foot, and Captains of Horſe, with their Horſes, Piſtols and Swords, and other the Commiſſioned Officers with their Swords onely) and ſhall have three months time after the ſurrender, to remove any Goods of their own, that they ſhall not think fit ſoever to carry with them: And ſuch of them as ſhall chooſe to go to any Garriſon or Parties of the Enemy, ſhall have Convoy or ſafe Conduct for that purpoſe, for ſuch time as ſhall be requiſite for their march, at the rate of ten miles a day, and ſhall have Carriages and Proviſions allowed from the Countrey at the uſual Rates.*

4. *That ſuch of the Citizens and Inhabitants intereſted in the City, as are not excepted in the ſecond Article, and ſhall not preſently march, as aforeſaid, but deſire to continue longer in the City, ſhall (upon application for that purpoſe to the ſaid Deputy General, or the chief Officer commanding in* Limerick *after the ſurrender) have licenſe given them to ſtay, either for ſuch further time as the ſaid Deputy General, or the ſaid chief Officer preſent, ſhall find convenient; or until further warning given them to depart: and in caſe of ſuch licenſe given till further warning, ſhall have four months time allowed from and after ſuch warning, for the removal of themſelves and their Families, and ſix months for the removal of their Goods; and during ſuch further time limited, or in caſe of reference to further warning during their continuance there to the time of warning given; and for the ſaid four*

1651. *months, and ſix months after reſpectively, ſhall be protected in their Perſons, Families, and Goods, from all injury and violence; and at any time as they ſhall deſire, which in the ſaid ſpace or ſpaces reſpectively, ſhall have liberty and ſafe conduct for the removal of themſelves, their Families, and Goods, to any Place or Places within this Dominion, not being Garriſon'd for the Parliament, as aforeſaid; and if they ſhall not be admitted to reſide elſewhere in protection within this Dominion, they ſhall have liberty for themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Goods, to paſs beyond the Seas: Provided, that they pay their due proportion of what Taxes, and other Contribution, ſhall be charged upon the City, from the day of the ſurrender, to the day of the removal, in due proportion with other Places in* Ireland, *and behave themſelves as becomes: And ſuch of the ſaid Citizens and Inhabitants (as having not license to ſtay until further warning) ſhall, within a month after the ſurrender, be ordered to depart, ſhall have the ſame benefit of the third Article, as thoſe that march away immediately upon the ſurrender.*

5. *That all ſuch Perſons now in the City, as ſhall deſire to live peaceably, and ſubmit to the Parliament of* England, *(except the Perſons excepted in the ſecond Article aforegoing, and except all Clergy-men, Prieſts, and Friers of any Order) ſhall, upon their application to that purpoſe, have protection to live quietly, at any ſuch Place or Places, within this Dominion, as they ſhall deſire, and the ſaid Deputy-General find convenient to admit: But ſuch Protection ſhall not be underſtood to extend either to the aſſuring of them, either in the enjoyment of their Lands or other Hereditaments, or to the granting of other indempnity, or freedom from queſtion, or proſecution to Juſtice in a Judicial way, for any Crimes they may be guilty of, except to ſuch as ſhall be found fit to have that mercy and favour expreſly granted to them, or to others, for a certain time to be limited for that purpoſe; but to ſuch as ſhall have protection for a limited time, either Citizens or others, it is intended they ſhall be freed from any Suit or Cenſure in the Civil Judicature, for things done in relation to the War, during the time limited.*

Memorandum, *as to the fourth Article aforegoing, it is intended, That the Citizens not excepted againſt within a month, may tarry (without particular application) and have four months, after warning given, to remove themſelves and Families, and ſix months to carry away their Goods.*

Memorandum *alſo, That all Soldiers or other perſons (not excepted in the ſecond Article) who through ſickneſs are diſabled to remove themſelves at preſent, ſhall have liberty to march away when they ſhall recover, and have equal benefit with others in their conditions reſpectively. And that from twelve of the clock this day, there ſhall be Ceſſation of all acts of Hoſtility on either part. But the Perſons beſieged not to come without the Walls, except into the Iſland, and the way leading to it; nor the Beſiegers to come within the Walls or Iſland, ſaving into St.* John's *Gate, until the time limited for ſurrender, without license from the other Party reſpectively.*

And laſtly, it is agreed, That no Perſon ſhall be underſtood to forfeit the benefit of any the Articles, for another mans breach thereof, unleſs he be found to be conſenting thereto, or privy to it, without diſcovering or endeavouring to prevent it. Provided this extend not to indempniſie the Hoſtages in caſe of fail or of ſurrender.

In

In teſtimony whereof, the Parties firſt above-mentioned, have interchangeably ſet their Hands and Seals to, the day and year firſt above mentioned. 1651.

Bar. Stackpoll.	Pierce Lacy.
Don. O Brien.	Nich. Haly.
Dom. White.	John Baggot.

It cannot be believ'd, that theſe unequal and ſevere Conditions would have been accepted from any Army, not ſtrong enough to have impoſed upon a People unwilling to ſubmit to them, and in a ſeaſon of the year that alone would have ſecured a Place leſs provided for reſiſtance; but that Colonel *Fennel* (the ſame night theſe hard demands were ſent into the Town) received in St. *Johns Gate Tower* 200 men from *Ireton*, and the other were removed into another Fort, called *Price's Mill*, where after they had continued two days; and the People of the Town not yet agreeing what they would do, a Drum was ſent through the City, commanding all manner of Soldiers in pay within the Town, to repair to our *Ladies Church*, and there to lay down their Arms; which was preſently obeyed; and the Soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the Town, *Ireton*, the 29*th.* of *October*, marched in, and receiving the Keys, was without any contradiction quietly poſſeſſed thereof, cauſing as many of the excepted Perſons as could be found to be committed to Priſon, and made Sir *Hardreſs Waller* Governour of the City.

In this manner was *Limerick* defended by the *Catholick Iriſh*; and this obedience did the Prelates and Clergy, in their need, receive from thoſe, over whom they had power enough to ſeduce from the Duty they owed to the King, and from ſubmitting to his Authority; and now was the Harveſt that they gathered the fruit of all their labours: The Inſtances of ſeverity and blood which *Ireton* gave upon his being poſſeſs'd of this Place, were very remarkable: *Edmund O Duyr*, the Biſhop of *Limerick*, had the dexterity and good Fortune, that either by marching out amongſt the Common Soldiers, or by concealing himſelf with ſome faithful Friend in the Town, (which is not ſo probable) to eſcape their hands, and afterwards died at *Bruſſels*, purſued with the malice of the Nuncioniſt Zealots; whilſt *Ireton* manifeſted what his portion would have been, by the treatment they gave to *Terlagh O Brien*, the Biſhop of *Emly*, whom they took, and without any formality of Juſtice, and with all reproaches imaginable, cauſed him to be publickly hanged. This unhappy Prelate had, from the beginning, oppoſed with great paſſion the Kings Authority, and moſt obſtinately adhered to the Nuncio, and to that Party ſtill which was moſt averſe from returning to their Allegiance, and was thus miſerably and ignominiouſly put to death, even in that City, whence he had been a principal Inſtrument to ſhut out his Majeſties Authority.

It may be remembred in the former part of this Diſcourſe, that when the King at Arms proclaim'd the Peace at *Limerick* in 1646. one *Dominick Fanning* (a Citizen of the Town) rais'd a Mutiny, which Rabble affronted the Herald, and wounded the Mayor, and was himſelf, by the Nuncio, (for that good ſervice) made Mayor in the former's place: This man continuing the ſame bitterneſs of ſpirit againſt the King's

1651. Authority, always oppoſed the receiving of a Garriſon from the Lord Lieutenant. This *Dominick Fanning* being one of thoſe 24 which *Ireton* had excepted, found a way, amongſt the Common Soldiers, to get out of the Town, notwithſtanding all the diligence that was uſed to diſcover him: When he was free, and in ſafety, he returned to the Town to fetch ſome Money that he had privately hid, and to make ſome proviſion for his ſubſiſtance, which he had not time to do before: But going to his own houſe, his Wife refuſed to receive him, or to aſſiſt him in any thing; whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the ſtreets ſome time (the weather being extreme cold) he went to the Main-guard, where was a good Fire, and being diſcovered to be a Stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confeſſed that he was *Dominick Fanning*, for whom ſuch ſtrict ſearch had been made; he was thereupon apprehended, and the next morning carried before the Governour, and immediately hanged. The ſame Fate had Frier *Wolf*, and Alderman *Thomas Strich*, who (when the Lord Lieutenant would have entred that Town in 1650. for its preſervation) rais'd a Tumult, and ſhut the Gates againſt him. And this very Colonel *Fennel* (who by poſſeſſing himſelf of the Port, and turning the Cannon upon the Town, betray'd it to the Enemy) though he had for the preſent the benefit of the Articles, was within few months after taken by them, and (without any conſideration of his laſt merit) hanged as the reſt had been. In a word, All thoſe who had been the firſt cauſers and raiſers of the Rebellion, (or who with moſt malice and obſtinacy oppoſed their return to the Kings obedience) and had the misfortune to fall into the Enemies hands, as the Biſhop of *Roſs*, (whoſe Fate we have before told you) *Jeffery Baron*, (who kept *Waterford* from receiving the Lord Lieutenant, taken afterwards at *Limerick* and there hanged) and many others, were made examples of the like nature.

About the ſame time that *Limerick* was ſurrendred, Sir *Charles Coot* defeated a Party of the *Fitz-Patricks* and *O Duyr*'s Forces, (who had regain'd *Meleke Iſland* after the taking of it by Colonel *Axtel*) undergoing a reſolute defence thereof to the baffling of his Foot, which were worſted two or three times together; but the Gallantry of his Horſe recovered the Honour, making 300 reſolute *Iriſh* accept of Quarter for their Lives, ſome 300 being ſlain and drown'd.

This buſineſs of *Limerick* being over, *Ireton* within a few days, without drawing his Army nearer than the Caſtle of *Clare*, (which he and Sir *Charles Coot* joyntly took in) ſent a Summons to the City of *Gallway*, offering therein *Limerick*'s firſt Conditions, wiſhing them withall to put him to no more trouble, leſt they far'd as *Limerick* did through their ſtubbornneſs; adding ſuch other threats, as he thought moſt like to make impreſſions upon them; and a great impreſſion they did make. But *Ireton* dying at *Limerick* the *26th.* of *November*, having contracted a Feaver through his continual Watching and Services through the whole Siege of *Limerick*, they had a little reſpite; and being united under the Command of General *Preſton*, the Town of *Gallway* addreſs'd themſelves to the Lord Deputy, and deſired his aſſiſtance, promiſing all obedience to his Majeſties Authority in him: Nor was he ſo much diſcourag'd by their former carriage, and their having accepted the Articles made with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and their declaring him to be their Protector, without ever communicating it to the Lord Deputy, as to decline having further

further to do with them. But upon their firſt Addreſs to him, he ſent his Secretary to them with ſome Directions, and ſhortly after went himſelf thither, having ſummon'd ſuch of the Nobility, Prelates, and principal Gentry, as could with ſafety repair thither, to conſult what might yet be done for their defence, they having ſtill Men enough diſperſed in ſeveral Parties to reſiſt the Enemy, if they were drawn together, and united amongſt themſelves; and the Town of *Galway* was ſo good a Port, that any Supplies or Succours might come from abroad to them. 1651.

Ludlow made Commander in Chief on *Ireton*'s death.

Upon *Ireton*'s Death, the Commiſſioners (formerly mention'd to reſide at *Dublin*) made Lieutenant General *Ludlow* Commander in Chief, till the Parliament in *England* ſhould take further Order about that Concern. In the interim, Sir *Charles Coot* with his Party ſtraightned *Galway*, blocking up their Harbours, and approaching with his Fortifications nearer by Land, which wrought ſo far upon the Aſſembly there, that in *February* they importun'd the Lord Deputy, to give them leave to ſend to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, (who by this time was come to aid Sir *Charles Coot* in the Siege) for a ſafe Conduct for their Commiſſioners, to treat of Conditions for the ſettlement of the Nation; upon which they would ſubmit to the Government of the Parliament, profeſſing to the Lord Deputy, that they would in the mean time make ſuch preparation for their defence, that if the Parliament would not give them good and ample Conditions, they would ſell themſelves at ſuch a dear Rate, that ſhould make their Conqueſt of little uſe to their Enemy. Upon which, the Lord Deputy, the Marqueſs *Clanrickard*, the 14th. of *February*, 1651. writes to the Commander in chief of the Parliaments Forces, and in concluſion had no grateful Reply: Which when the *Iriſh* found, that they could not have ſo much as a ſafe Conduct ſent for their Commiſſioners, nor could be admitted ſo much as to treat for the Nation, but only that particular Places and Perſons might be admitted to compound for themſelves, as others had done, their ſpirits fail'd them; and after a very little deliberation, and before they put the Enemy to the trouble of ſtorming them, (without ſo much as conſulting the Lord Deputy, or asking his leave, though he was within leſs than half a days journey of the Town) they enter'd into a Treaty, and in a ſhort time after, *viz.* the 12th. of *May*, ſurrendred the Town to Sir *Charles Coot*, for the uſe of the Parliament of *England*, upon ſuch Conditions, as would not be yielded to by the Commiſſioners, or the Parliament: Though afterwards this Difficulty was compoſed, and many conſiderable Garriſons in *Connaght* followed the example, whilſt many were amazed, to ſee (upon what eaſie terms) they parted with their laſt important Town, (a Place of great ſtrength, and had they been reſolute, invincible) having ſtill (in looſe Parties over the Kingdom) more Men in Arms to have defended it, than the *Engliſh* could have brought againſt the Town. Upon which and other Circumſtances, the *Iriſh* in *Leimſter* and *Munſter*, being reduc'd to ſtraights, meditate a Compliance, ſome under the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, others under *Muskery*, but oppos'd by the *Ulſter* Confederacy.

Ireton's Funerals being over, (which were performed with great Solemnity, on the 6th. of *February* following, in *Henry* 7th's Chappel, ſince buried under *Tyburn*) the Parliament conſulted, whom they ſhould make Deputy (as they called it) in *Ireton*'s room: And Major General *Lambert* (a Commiſſioner in *Scotland*) was by *Cromwel* (the Parliaments Lord Lieutenant) nominated thereunto: Whereupon he preſently appeared,

1652. peared, but ſeem'd unwilling to accept of the Charge; a Difficulty ſoon removed, making in a little time all things ready for his departure, inaſmuch as Waggons with his private Proviſions, a recruit of Souldiers, and Money, were in readineſs to be ſent away. But *Cromwel*'s Commiſſion determining in the end of *April*, it came into debate in the Houſe, whether it ſhould be renewed again; but he offering to lay it down, it was accepted; ſo there being no Lord Lieutenant, they voted, there ſhould be no Lord Deputy, and that Major General *Lambert* ſhould be only Commander in chief of the Forces there: And about the 4th. of *July*, 1652. Colonel *Charles Fleetwood*, (who had lately married *Ireton*'s Relict) Lieutenant General of the Horſe, was made Commander in chief of the Forces in *Ireland*; he haſtned his Diſpatch, and uſed great diligence to get over to his Charge.

In the mean time, ſeveral things were under debate in the Houſe, for ſetling of *Ireland*: That great Act for Confiſcation of all the Rebels Lands, was paſſed the 12th. of *Auguſt*; and another appointed to be brought in, for ſetling the Adventurers Eſtates for *Ireland*, which paſſed the 26th. of *September*, 1653. and was confirmed, 1656. But theſe requiring much time, the Commander in chief went away about the midſt of *Auguſt*, and left them to receive a Diſpatch in his abſence. He had a very proſperous Paſſage, and arrived within few days after his departure: He ſetled his Reſidence at *Kilkenny*, by reaſon *Dublin* and the Parts adjacent were at that time much infected with the Plague. He found the War of *Ireland* drawing on to a concluſion, the Rebels being Maſters of few conſiderable Forts and Caſtles, throughout the whole Countrey, *Roſcommon-Caſtle* and *James-town* having yielded the 3d. of *April* to Colonel *Reynolds*, as the ſtrong Hold of *Roſs* in *Kerry* did, the 27th. of *June*, to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and the ſtrong Fort of *Inchlough*, the 1ſt. of *Auguſt*, to Colonel *Zanckey*: And their Forces were ſo weak, as they were not able to keep the Field, and ſo diſperſed, as they had already in Parties come in, (as did the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, the Lord *Muskery*, Colonel *Connor*, *O Roe*, Sir *William Dungan*, Sir *Francis Talbot*, and many others, to the number of 800.) upon the *Kilkenny* Articles, which were (in a manner) *to ſubmit unto diſcretion, and ſubject themſelves to a Trial, for the Murthers committed in the beginning of the Rebellion; all found guilty thereof were excepted from Pardon, their Eſtates confiſcated, and the others who had only aſſiſted in the War, were to forfeit two parts of their Eſtates, and be baniſhed*: And accordingly great numbers of them were tranſported into *Spain*, the latter end of this Summer.

Yet the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* did not leave the Kingdom in many months after the Surrender of *Galway*, but endeavour'd by all means poſſible to draw the ſcattered Forces together, that he might proſecute the War afreſh, according to his Majeſty's Letters, (in the years 1650, and 1651.) *encouraging him to his continuance in Arms, as advantagious (by way of Diverſion) to his then intended progreſs of promoting his Deſign in* Scotland, *and coming into* England. And to that end, the 16th. of *May*, the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, with the *Connaght* Forces, marched to *Balliſhannon*, which he took by ſtorm, and preſently after *Dungal-Caſtle*, where the *Ulſter* Forces under Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the *O Relie*'s, and *Mac Mahon*'s joyned with him; but upon intelligence that Sir *Charles Coot* and Colonel *Venables* were marched againſt him, he retired to *Armagh*, intending for *Raphoe*: Whilſt Sir *Charles Coot* (in his purſuit of him) retook

took *Balliſhanon* and *Dungal-Caſtle*, gaining alſo *Sligo*, *Ballymote*, and many other Garriſons; ſo as the Marqueſs was forced to ſhelter himſelf in the Iſle of *Carrick*. 1652.

And having receiv'd his Majeſty's Command, to take care of his own ſecurity, that he fell not into the Enemy's hands, he (having no Port to friend, where he might chooſe a Veſſel, and being ſo betrayed by the *Iriſh*, as not ſecurely to ſtay 24 hours in a Place) was compelled to have a Paſs from the Parliaments Forces, not excepting any other Conditions for himſelf, than that he might for ſome time remain ſecure in their Quarters, without taking the Oath uſually impoſed by them, and have liberty to tranſport himſelf, and 3000 *Iriſh* more, into any Prince's Countrey and Service, then in Amity with *England*; which was granted; and in *March*, 1652. he was tranſported into *England*, in a Veſſel belonging to the Parliament, after he had born the Title of the King's Deputy in *Ireland*, little more than two years, not with greater ſubmiſſion from the *Catholick Iriſh*, than had before been paid to the Lord Lieutenant; and ſo retired to *London*, where not long after he died, and was thence carried to *Summerhill*, (a pleaſant Seat of his own, which *Bradſhaw* had in Cuſtodium) near *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, and was buried in the Pariſh-Church. He was a Perſon much reſpected for his Integrity, and, though of a contrary opinion to thoſe then in Uſurpation, looked on as a Favourer of the *Engliſh*, and one that no ways indulged the Cruelties and Pretenſions of the *Iriſh*.

This was the Fate of that unhappy Nation, both under *Proteſtant* and *Roman Catholick* Governours, neither having had the credit to be Maſters of the *Iriſh* Temper, fomented by the Inſolencies of the Prieſts, and whatever might inſtigate them againſt the *Engliſh* Government.

Soon after the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*'s Departure, *the leſſer Concerns* of that Nation were (with little trouble and charge) brought in obedience to the Parliament, who declared, the 26th. of *September*, 1653. *That the Rebels were ſubdued, and the Rebellion appeaſed and ended*; and thereupon proceeded to the Diſtribution of their Lands, in purſuance of the Act for Subſcriptions, 17 *Carol.* 1. Some time before which, a High Court of Juſtice was ſetled in *Ireland*, a Name we have reaſon not to mention, without horrour and aſtoniſhment, conſidering who was ſummoned to ſuch a Tribunal, which certainly would never have been, how vain, how ambitious, how prodigious ſoever ſome mens Succeſs was, (a Strumpet often leading one to Attempts above their firſt thoughts) had not the Rebels of *Ireland* (for carrying on their pernicious Practices) avouched the ſacred Authority for their pretence and colour; that though theſe with *Pilate*, waſhed their hands from the Blood of this *Righteous One*, yet they have, as the ſhame, ſo the guilt of that Royal Blood on themſelves, who originally gave the occaſion of ſuch a Diſcourſe, which afterwards was made one of the pretended Cauſes, for the moſt barbarous and inhumane Act ever perpretated: *Inter tragicæ Fortunæ Exempla omnibus retro ſeculis memorandus.* Upon which, eloquent *Du Moulin*, one of the cleareſt Lights of the *French* Church, honouring me with a Letter on that Subject, thus paſſionately diſcovers his Reſentment; *La Morte de voſtre bon Roy d'une facon ſi indigne, & ſi horrible par les Maims des Independans, M'outre le Coeur de Douleur: C'eſt une action ſans Example, & un opprobre ineffacable a noſtre Religion; voſtre Nation tant Genereuſe a elle perdu tout Courage? Les Eſcoſſoes ſe taiſent ils la deſſue? Mais quoy! Il faut*

Hiſt. noſtr. Temp. p. 348.

1652. *faut Mettre le doigt ſur la bouche, & adorer les Conſeils de Dieu, qui ſont Inſcrutables.*

It is obſervable, (let ſome foam as they pleaſe) that there were none, (who ſo much as pretended to have a Reverence for the Church of *England*) that ever had the leaſt hand in this foul and ugly Buſineſs. An inſtance of that is in what the Lord Chancellor *Hide* acquainted the Parliament with, in expreſs words from his Majeſty, when he was imployed in an Embaſſy to *Spain*; That the Horrid Murther of his Royal Father, was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of *England*, but of a very wretched and little Company of Miſcreants in the Kingdom, *fol.* 41. Upon which, Monſieur *Moſes Amiraldus*, (the Excellent *French* Divine) hearing of the Proteſtant Religion aſperſed as ſeditious and treaſonable, writ a Piece in *French*, in vindication of the Proteſtant Religion, and dedicated it to our King (*Charles* the 2d.) in the time of his Exile, when *Militiere* and others, would have inforced the barbarous Martyrdom of his Royal Father, as a juſt Motive to his apoſtatizing, and not truſting his ſafety to the Proteſtant Religion; whereas all theſe bluſtering Storms, (as the Biſhop of *Derry* obſerves in his excellent Tract againſt *Militiere*) radicated him deeper in his Religion; that what theſe intended for his evil, proved his good. And certainly whatſoever conſpired to compleat ſo execrable a Deſign, as *the Murther of the King*, nothing contributed more than the *Iriſh*, deluding his Sacred Majeſty ſo long with their Promiſes of a competent Army, whereby he relying on them, (too confidently aſſured of their Ability and Power to perform it) deferred thoſe Agreements, which elſe he might have ſeaſonably compoſed at home.

And could there ever be an equaller Diſtribution of God's Vengeance, than that they by a parallel Court, ſhould ſuffer the loſs of their Eſtates, Lives and Fortunes? Which, though un-uſual, was the only Expedient; ſufficiently ſet forth in the enſuing Speech of the Lord *Lowther's*, a Perſon of that Gravity and Worth, as whatſoever may be ſaid by others, can never reach the State of the Queſtion, more fully (with leſs animoſity, and greater truth) than he hath done, at the Trial of Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in *February*, 1652. The firſt Court of this nature (whereof Juſtice *Donnelan* an *Iriſh* Native was Preſident, and Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, and Juſtice *Cook*, Aſſiſtants) was at *Kilkenny*, the 4th of *October*, where the Supream Council of the Rebels ſate in 1642.

The

1652.

The Lord Lowther's *Speech, at the Opening of the High Court of Juſtice, at the Trial of Sir* Phelim O Neal.

YOu have well underſtood, how that by this Commiſſion which hath now been read, the Right Honourable the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, of the Common-wealth of *England*, for the Affairs of *Ireland*, by vertue of the Power and Truſt committed to them, have here erected, conſtituted, and appointed, a High Court of Juſtice.

And have conſtituted and appointed Perſons therein nominated, or any 12 or more of them, to be Commiſſioners and Judges of the ſaid Court.

And have authorized them to make inquiſition for Blood, and that in three main Points.

1. To hear and determine all Murthers and Maſſacres, of any Proteſtant *Engliſh*, or other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, within this Nation, done or committed by any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, (both principal and acceſſaries) who ſince the 1ſt. day of *October*, 1641. have killed, ſlain, or otherwiſe deſtroyed any Perſon or Perſons in *Ireland*, which at the time of their being ſo killed, ſlain or deſtroyed, were not publickly entertained and maintained in Arms, as Officers or private Souldiers, for and on the behalf of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Iriſh*.

2. To hear and determine the Charges, Crimes and Cauſes, of all and every Perſon and Perſons, (both principal and acceſſaries) who ſince the ſaid 1ſt. day of *October*, 1641. have killed or deſtroyed any Perſon or Perſons, entertained or maintained as Officers or private Souldiers, for and on the behalf of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Iriſh*, the ſaid Perſon ſo killing or deſtroying, not being then publickly entertained and maintained in Arms, as Officers or private Souldiers, under the Command and Pay of the *Iriſh* againſt the *Engliſh*.

3. To hear and determine the Charges, Crimes, and Cauſes, of all ſuch Perſons, that have killed or ſlain, or otherwiſe deſtroyed any Perſon or Perſons, after Quarter given, contrary to the Rules of War: And to bring to Trial, Judgement, and condign puniſhment, the Principals and Acceſſaries to thoſe Crimes, that is to ſay, the Actors, Contrivers, Councellors, Adviſers, Promoters, Abettors, Aiders and Aſſiſters, of any the ſaid Murthers, Maſſacres, or killing after Quarter given, contrary to the Rules of War.

This Commiſſion doth likewiſe furniſh the Commiſſioners, with all neceſſary Powers requiſite for this great Service, and neceſſarily conducing to theſe Ends.

By this Commiſſion we may well obſerve, for the comfort of all the good and faithful People of this Land, the Juſtice and Wiſdom of the High Court of Parliament, of the Common-wealth of *England*, and of their Right Honourable Commiſſioners here for the Affairs of *Ireland*.

1652. 1. Their Juſtice, in bringing theſe Crimes to Trial.

2. Their Wiſdom, in ordering this honourable, juſt and equal form of Trial.

1. Their Juſtice and zeal of Juſtice appears in this, That in all their Treaties and Articles concerning *Ireland*, they would never admit of any the leaſt hope of impunity, for theſe barbarous and cruel Murthers and Maſſacres, and breach of Quarter, nor of any thing that might give impediment, unto the faithful and impartial inquiſition after all that innocent Blood, which the mercileſs Murtherers have wickedly ſhed in this Land.

2. Their Juſtice and zeal of Juſtice appears, in that they have omitted nothing too dear to them.

But have with admirable charge, reſolution and conſtancy, overcome all hazards and perils, and have with a vaſt expence of *Engliſh* Blood and Treaſure, proſecuted this War, (which was but an execution of Juſtice) to this concluſion, and effected this fair and impartial inquiſition for innocent Blood, to put away innocent Blood from the Land; for our righteous God, the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, hath revealed it in his holy Scripture, that he will not have ſuch wickedneſs to paſs without condign puniſhment.

For there are three things which the Lord hates, *viz. Oculos ſublimes, Linguam mendacem, Manus effundentes innoxium ſanginem*, Prov.6.17.

Their Wiſdom appears in this:

1. In that, as good Husbandmen, they prepare the re-plantation of the Land, by rooting out the noiſom Weeds, that always would over-grow and deſtroy the good Corn, as we have found by ſad Experience.

And certainly both in Religion and Prudence, it is undoubtedly neceſſary to clear the Land by Juſtice, of this innocent Blood, the innocent Blood of Chriſtians, moſt wickedly and cruelly ſhed upon the Land, againſt the Laws of God and Man, of Nature and of Nations, the Laws of the Land, and the Rights and Rules of War, and the Bonds of Humanity and humane Society.

2. In ordering this form of Trial by an High Court of Juſtice, for the impartial inquiſition, trial, and condign puniſhment, of theſe Murthers, Maſſacres, and breach of Quarter: For 'tis manifeſt to any Man of ſound judgement and right knowledge in the Law, That that ancient and excellent Trial at the Common Law by Juries, Freeholders of the proper Counties and Hundreds, or Baronies, where the Facts were done, was neither convenient nor poſſible for the deciſion of theſe Cauſes, as the preſent Conſtitution of the Common-wealth now is.

Where now can theſe numbers of indifferent Jurors be had, *Liberi & legales Homines*, free from all exceptions and challenges, out of which the Juries may be equally impannell'd, for the trial of the Priſoners, that are or ſhall be charged with theſe Crimes?

How can all the effectual Forms, abſolutely requiſite to that Trial, be obſerved in all theſe Caſes, if we do but conſider the legal Challenges, both for the Common-wealth and for the Priſoners, to the Array, to the principal Pannel, to the Pales, the peremptory Challenges, the Challenges for Cauſes, inducing favour or affection, hatred or enmity, or for Crime, and how in that courſe could rightly be the Trial of the Articles of War: So that that courſe of Trial, not being now apt for the deciſion of theſe Cauſes:

The

The Commiſſioners of Parliament have, in wiſdom and prudence, erected and conſtituted this Fair, Honourable, Equal, and Indifferent courſe of Trial, by erecting an High Court of Juſtice, for the hearing and determining of theſe Cauſes: 1652.

Wherein are Soldiers for the Articles, Rules, and Laws of War; Judges for the knowledge of the National Laws; others that have Cognizance of the Civil Laws, and other Men of great Experience, Reaſon, and Judgment; and all of them Men of Honour and Integrity, to be the Triers and Judges in theſe Caſes.

Having thus far opened the Commiſſion, and manifeſted this form and courſe of Trial to be Honourable, Juſt, and Equal, I conceive it requiſite a little to conſider the Laws againſt Murther, which are to be as Land-marks and Guides, to direct and lead us in the right way of Judgment in this great Work and Service.

Let us take a brief view of the Laws of God, held forth unto us in the holy Scriptures; and of the other Laws againſt Murther. And herein conſider, firſt,

The Law againſt Murther in the beginning, in the infancy of the World, before the Flood, a general Deluge over the World. .1

The Law againſt Murther immediately after the Flood. .2

The Moral Law of God. .3

The Judicial and Political Law of the Jews. .4

The Law under the Goſpel. .5

The Law of *England*. .6

The Law of *Ireland*. .7

Jus Belli, the Law of War. .8

This ſame horrid ſin of Murther, this Devil, crept into the World; it began in the beginning, what can expulſe this Devil?

We find in the holy Scriptures, that the Devil was the firſt Murtherer and Lyar, and that he is the Father of Murtherers and Lyars. The unbelieving Jews bragged they *had Abraham to their Father*, and yet they ſought to kill Chriſt; whereupon our Saviour tells them, that *they are of their Father the Devil, and the luſts of their Father they will do: He was a Murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, becauſe there is no truth in him: When he ſpeaketh a Lye, he ſpeaketh of his own.* So that from hence the Lyars and Murtherers take their beginning, and from hence theſe inſeparable Twins make and derive their Pedigree and Deſcent from the Devil; (*viz.*) *He was a Lyar and a Murtherer from the beginning*; and he is the Father of Lyars and Murtherers. .1

The firſt and eldeſt of theſe in the Stock and Progeny, was *Cain*: *Non ſicut Cain, qui ex maligno erat & occidit fratrem ſuum, & propter quid occidit eum, quoniam opera ejus maligna erunt fratris, autem ejus juſta.* 1 Joh. 3. 12.

And therefore *John* ſaith, *Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and ſlew his brother; and wherefore ſlew he him, becauſe his own works were evil, and his brothers righteous.*

Wo unto them, ſaith he, *for they have gone in the way of* Cain. This way of *Cain* is chalked out unto us in the beginning of the holy Bible, *Gen.* 4. 8. that he *talked with his brother Abel*; *and it came to paſs when they were in the field, that Cain roſe up againſt Abel his Brother, and ſlew him.* As ſoon as this innocent Blood was ſhed upon the Earth, the cry thereof aſcended up to Heaven. *And the Lord ſaid to Cain, What haſt thou done? the voice of thy Brothers blood crieth to me from the ground,* Jude ver. 11.

1652. *Gen.* 4. 10, 11. *And now thou art accursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy Brothers blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the Earth.*

The Learned Divines observe upon the Text, that whereas our Translation is, *The voice of thy Brothers blood crieth unto me*; the Original is, *The voice of thy Brothers bloods*, in the Plural Number; for in killing *Abel*, he did not onely kill him, but also all that posterity, the whole Line that should have descended from *Abel*; and therefore *thy Brothers bloods crieth unto me from the ground.* It is not the single blood, as one of the murthered that crieth for vengeance, but even the blood of all that Posterity, as should have descended from him, crieth to Heaven for Vengeance against the Murtherer.

We find this innocent blood of *Abel*, shed in the begining of the World, still in remembrance, uttering her voice in the highest strain, and crying against Murtherers even to the Worlds end.

Matth. 23. Our Saviour denouncing several woes against the Scribes and Pharisees, tells them, that *they should kill the Prophets that should be sent unto them, that on them may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, even from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom they slew between the Temple and the Altar.*

Heb. 11. 4. *By faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gift, and by it he being dead yet speaketh.*

Heb. 12. 24. *And we are come to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.*

The blood of righteous *Abel* is still in remembrance, and yet speaking. And in the latter end of the Bible, *Revel.* 6. 9, 10. we find the *Souls of them that were slain for the testimony of Jesus under the Altar, crying with a loud voyce, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not revenge our blood on them that dwell on earth.* So that the blood of righteous *Abel*, and all the innocent blood shed on the Earth, yet speaketh, and still crieth for vengeance and justice against the Murtherers. And, to conclude the Case of Murther before the Flood, we find, that one of the main causes which provoked Gods wrath, and brought that great destruction of the whole World by *Noah's* Flood, was, *because the earth was filled with violence*, *Gen.* 6. 11, 18. And will not that which destroyeth the whole World, over-whelm these Nations, if they be not purged by Justice?

☞ 2. ## *The Law against Murther after the Flood.*

Now because the Old World perished through violence, God, in his new re-establishment of the World, provided against violence, and for the preventing of Murther ordered this to be one of his first Fundamental Laws.

Gen. 9. 5. *Surely the blood of your lives will I require, at the hands of every beast will I require it, and at the hands of man, and at the hands of every mans brother will I require the life of man.* Ver. 6. *Whoso sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.*

☞ 3 The Moral Law of God delivered upon Mount *Sinai*, and written by God himself in Tables of Stone, and by his Spirit engraven in every mans heart, *Thou shalt do no murther*, *Exod.* 20. 13. *The*

1651.

The Judicial Law.

Next to the Moral Law of God, I come to the Judicial and Political Law of the Jews.

He that killeth any man ſhall ſurely be put to death. Exod. 21. 12 & 24. Levit. 17. Numb. 35.

There are ſeveral Caſes of Murther put, and upon every of them the Law is delivered, *That the Murtherer ſhall ſurely be put to death.*

Moreover you ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a Murtherer which is guilty of death, but he ſhall ſurely be put to death. Numb. 35. 31.

Ye ſhall not pollute your Land wherein you are, for blood defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleanſed of blood that is ſhed therein, but by the blood of him that ſheddeth it. Ver. 33.

Thine eye ſhall not pity, but life ſhall go for life. Deut. 19. 21.

Upon theſe Laws, I will onely put a caſe or two, which I conceive may be uſeful to us upon theſe points, in the diſcharge of this ſervice.

The caſe of *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, whoſe life *Saul* ſpared, being brought before *Samuel* the great Judge in *Iſrael.* 1 Sam. 15. 32.

And Samuel ſaid unto him, As thy ſword hath made women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy Mother be childleſs among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal. Chap. 15. 3.

The next caſe is that of *David*; *David* writes to *Joab*, by *Uriah*, to ſet *Uriah* in the fore-front of the hotteſt of the Battel, and to retire from him that he may be ſmitten and die: *Joab* did ſo, and ſo *Uriah* was ſlain. 1 Sam. 11. 15.

The Lord, by *Nathan* the Prophet, tells *David*, *That he had killed Uriah with the ſword of the children of Ammon, and therefore the Sword ſhall never depart from his houſe.* 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10.

The caſe of *Joab* is remarkable.

Joab was a kinſman to *David*, and he was Captain of his Hoaſt, he did many great Services, and grew old in his Service; yet for all this, *David* charges *Solomon*, that *he ſhould not let his hoary head go down to the grave in peace; becauſe he had ſhed the blood of war in peace*, in killing of *Abner* and *Amaſa*. And though *Joab* flies to the Tabernacle, and took hold of the horns of the Altar, yet *Solomon* commands him there to be ſlain, to take way the innocent blood which *Joab* had ſhed, in *killing Abner the ſon of Ner, Captain of the hoaſt of Iſrael; and Amaſa the ſon of Jether, Captain of the hoaſt of Judah.* 1 Kings 2. 5. 2 Sam. 20. & 10.

I will onely add *Ahab*'s caſe.

Ahab covets *Naboth*'s Vineyard, his Wife *Jezebel* undertakes the buſineſs; *Ahab* leaves the matter to her management, ſhe writes Letters in *Ahab*'s name, ſeals them with his Seal, and ſo carries the buſineſs, that *Naboth* is ſtoned to death, and *Ahab* takes poſſeſſion of the Vineyard.

The Lord ſends *Elijah* the Prophet unto *Ahab*, ſaying, *Thus ſaith the Lord, Haſt thou killed, and alſo taken poſſeſſion, &c. In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth ſhall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. And of Jezebel alſo ſaith the Lord, The dogs ſhall eat Jezebel by the walls of Jezreel.*

I have remembred theſe Caſes and Preſidents, becauſe they may be uſeful to us in this ſervice.

That of *Agag* and *Joab*, to admoniſh us not to ſpare Murderers.

That of *Ahab* and *David*, to inſtruct us, that the Authors, the Contrivers,

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☞ 5. I come next to the Law under the Goſpel.

Thoſe Laws againſt Murther are confirmed by our Saviour in the Goſpel, *Matth.* 26. 52. *Revel.* 13. 10. *He that killeth with the ſword, muſt be killed with the ſword.*

Matth. 5. 18. *Verily I ſay unto you, Till Heaven and Earth paſs away, one jot or tittle ſhall in no wiſe paſs from the Law till all be fulfilled.* And in *Verſe* 21. approves the Law againſt Murther; and alſo reproves the narrow and literal Gloſs and Expoſition of the Phariſees upon it, and gives us a larger and more ſpiritual ſenſe of it, (*viz.*) that *whoſoever is angry with his brother without cauſe, is in danger of judgment.*

☞ 6. The Law of *England.*

Murther, by the Law of *England*, is a Felony of death, without benefit of the Clergy or Sanctuary; and by the Law it is eſteemed ſo high and grievous a Crime, that it is prohibited by many Acts of Parliament to grant any Pardon for Wilful Murder. This Law of *England* anſwers to that of *Deuteronomy, Thine eye ſhall not pity, but life ſhall go for life.*

☞ 7. The Laws of *Ireland.*

By the Laws of *Ireland* Wilful Murther is High Treaſon, which is of a Temporal offence, eſteemed in Law to be the higheſt Crime, and hath been cenſur'd with the ſevereſt Judgment and Puniſhment; (*viz.*) for a man to be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there to be hanged by the neck, to be cut down alive, his Intrals and Privy Members to be cut forth of his Body, and burnt within his ſight, his Head to be cut off, and his Body to be divided into four Quarters or Parts, &c.

For a man to be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there his Bowels to be burned.

It is conſiderable, why, and upon what grounds or reaſons, Murther was made a more horrid and execrable Crime in *Ireland* than in *England*, and puniſhed with a greater ſeverity, (*viz.*) both with Torture and with Death, the Statute *Decimo Hen.* 7. in *Ireland*, which enacts it to be ſo, gave the reaſon of the difference.

Praying the Commons (ſaith the Law) *Foraſmuch as there have been unuſual Murthers, of malice prepenſe, uſed and had in this Land of* Ireland, *&c. contrary to the Law of Almighty God, without any fear of due puniſhment in that behalf: Therefore the Statute doth enact Wilful Murder to be High Treaſon.* That ſin was grown univerſal in *Ireland*, and therefore the puniſhment muſt be extraordinary; the univerſality of the crime cauſeth the increaſing of the puniſhment, or the ſeverity thereof; *Ut metus ad omnes pœna ad paucos perveniet.* But it will admit another *Quære*, How it came to paſs, that Malice and Murther was univerſal in *Ireland* more than in *England*? I conceive theſe two Reaſons may be given for it as new.

1. We

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1. We have been theſe many years weltring in blood, by the frequent Rebellions in *Ireland*, that have ſilenced the Laws.

2. Their was a main defect in their *Iriſh* Laws and Cuſtoms, (*viz.*) their *Brehowne* Law, which the *Iriſh* continued amongſt themſelves, and the degenerate *Engliſh* embraced it, notwithſtanding the introduction of the juſt and honourable Laws of *England*. Now by their *Iriſh* Cuſtome or *Brehowne* Law, Murther was not puniſhed with death, but onely by Fines, or a pecuniary Mulct, which they called an *Errick*. Therefore when Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, being Deputy, told *Mac-guire*, That he was to ſend a Sheriff into *Fermanagh*, (being lately before made a County) The Sheriff, ſaid *Mac-Guire*, ſhall be welcome, but let me know his *Errick*, the price of his Head aforehand, that if my People cut it off, I may put the *Errick* upon the County.

Now for the reformation of theſe grievous abuſes in the Land, in the 10*th.* year of King *Hen.* 7. in the Government of Sir *Edward Poinings* Knight, then Deputy of *Ireland*, there were three good and profitable Statutes made, which were called *Poinings Acts*, (*viz.*) the Statute of 10 *H.* 7. *cap.* 8. for the reviving, confirming, and putting in execution of the Statute of *Kilkenny*, held before *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*; by which Statute at *Kilkenny*, the *Brehowne Law* was aboliſhed, and decreed to be no Law, but a lewd Cuſtom.

The Statute of 10 *H.* 7. *cap. oct.* by which it was Enacted, That if any perſon took any money, or other amends, for the death of his Kinſman or Friend, then the Law would permit (meaning the Law of *England*) the ſame ſhall be Felony by this Law, the *Errick* was taken away.

The Statute of 10 *H.* 7. *cap. viceſſimo primo*, by which Murther is made High Treaſon in the Actor, Provoker, and Procurer of it. So that by theſe three Statutes, their *Brehowne* Law and lewd Cuſtom was aboliſhed, their *Errick* taken away, and Murther declared to be High Treaſon. And thus you ſee how it came to paſs, that Murther is a greater offence, and more ſeverely puniſhed in *Ireland* than in *England*; and by theſe good Laws, that horrid and execrable Crime and Monſter of Blood and Murder was chain'd up, or at leaſt fetter'd and reſtrain'd in *Ireland*, until its breaking looſe upon us in this laſt and moſt barbarous and cruel Rebellion, with that inhumane violence, and unſatiable thirſt of innocent Blood, with the ſavage Butcheries of Men, Women, and Children, without reſpect either of Age, or Sex, or Quality, as no Hiſtory or Age can parallel.

It appears by a Cloud of Witneſſes, the execrable Cruelties of the Murtherers were not ſatisfied with the variety of Tortures and cruel Deaths of the living, by Striping, Starving, Burning, Strangling, Burying alive, and by many Exquiſite Torments put to death the living; ſo that a preſent diſpatch by death was a great Mercy: So cruel are the Mercies of the wicked.

But their helliſh rage and fury ſtayed not here, but alſo extended it ſelf even unto the Babes unborn, ripping them out of their Mothers womb, and deſtroying even thoſe innocent Babes to ſatiate their ſavage cruelty. Nor ſtaid it here, but extended alſo to the ranſacking of the Graves of the Dead, dragging the dead Bodies of the Proteſtants out of their Graves, becauſe they might not reſt in their Hallowed Ground.

Nor did yet their execrable malice ſtay here, but became boundleſs, not onely to the devaſtation and the deſtruction of the Houſes, Caſtles, and

1652. and whole ſubſtance of the Proteſtants, and whatſoever tending to Civility, but alſo even to the utter extirpation of the *Engliſh* Nation, and Proteſtant Religion out of this Land of *Ireland*; all which the Murderers (for of them I ſpeak) acted with that bruitiſh outrage, as though Infidels, or rather the wild Beaſts of the Wilderneſs, Wolves, and Bears, and Tigres, nay, Fiends and Furies, had been brought into the Land.

If any think this Language too harſh, let them conſider, how the holy Ghoſt ranks and couples the Murderers with Dogs, *Rev.* 22. 15. *For without the holy City, the heavenly Jeruſalem, are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and whoſoever loveth and maketh a lye.*

No, no, Swans language to expreſs either the woful miſeries which the Proteſtants have ſuffered, or the abominable cruelties the Murtherers have committed, are here tolerable.

I have not words to declare, how the Murderers in this horrid Rebellion have violated all Laws of God and Man, all Faith, all Bonds of Charity and Humane Society, and how perfidiouſly they have broken all the Rules, and Rights, and Laws of War.

§ 8. ## *The Laws of War.*

In republica maxime ſunt obſervanda Jura belli.

By the Law, and Rules, and Rights of War, Quarter warrantably given, ought inviolably to be obſerved; it is a Fundamental Law of War, That Faith is to be kept with an Enemy, *Fides cum hoſte ſervanda*; this hath been obſerved among the Heathens, Infidels have kept this Faith, the *Turks* obſerved it; but, by the Popes Diſpenſation, the Chriſtians once broke their Articles with the *Turks*, whereupon the Lord gave a ſignal Victory to the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians; the Story is well known: The practice of the Murderers in this Rebellion hath been according to the old Popiſh Tenent, *Nulla fides cum Hæreticis.*

And ſo, contrary to the Laws of War, many Proteſtants were murdered after Quarter given, (of which Crime, both are ſaid to be guilty.) But, that which exceeds all that can be ſpoken, makes their ſin exceeding ſinful, and their wickedneſs moſt abominable, is, That they began this butchery and cruelty even then, when the Proteſtants were in perfect amity with them, and joyned to them not onely in peaceable Neighbourhood, but even in thoſe Bonds that they pretend to hold moſt inviolable, (*viz.*) Goſſiprick, Foſterage, and ſuch like Ties of Friendſhip and Alliance.

When they enjoyed ſo licentious a freedom of their *Romiſh* Superſtition, and free uſe of their Maſs, they had their Titular Arch-biſhops for every Province, their Titular Biſhop, with his Dean and Chapter, for every Dioceſs, and their Secular Prieſt for every Pariſh in the Land, beſides a monſtrous multitude of their Votaries and Regular Clergy: They had their Abbots, Priors, Monks, Nuns, Jeſuits, Frieries, Monaſteries, Nunneries, Religious Houſes, and Convents, in the principal Towns and Cities of the Land, even in this City of *Dublin*, the reſidence of the State; ſo that Father *Harris*, a Secular Prieſt of their own, publiſhed in Print, That it was as hard to find what number of Friers were in *Dublin*, as to count how many Frogs there were in the ſecond Plague of *Egypt*.

They

They did not onely exerciſe all their Superſtitious Rites and Ceremonies, but alſo the Papal Juriſdiction, as by Law they had Vicars General, and kept their Provincial Courts and Conſiſtories, and Excommunicated the People, delivering them to Satan: When they enjoyed the benefit of the ſame Laws with us; nay, the end and force of the Law was in ſome caſes abated as to them, which was not diſpenſed withall as to the Proteſtants: The Popiſh Lawyers were permitted to practice, and the Papiſts admitted to Sue forth their Liberties and *Ouſterlemains*, and to bear and execute the Office of Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, &c. without taking the Oathes of Allegiance or Supremacy, which was not permitted to the Proteſtants. And theſe Popiſh Lawyers, Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Friers, have been the principal Incendiaries and Firebrands of all thoſe horrible Flames which have thus conſumed the Land, and were the chief Ring-leaders of this horrid Rebellion, that the publick Burthens and Charges of the Common-wealth were born more by the Proteſtants than by them, conſideration being had to their numbers, and quality of Poſſeſſors of Inheritance. 1652.

And that of the Subſidy granted in *Decimo Car.* whereof they raiſed ſo great a clamour both in *Engl. nd* and *Ireland*, the Proteſtants paid above one third part of the whole, beſides the Clergy, though neither the Quantity or Quality of Lands of Inheritance, then holden of them in the Land, did amount to more than a fifth part; and beſides all this, the Proteſtants had contributed to the charge of their Committees, towards the obtaining of Grace in Bounties, in ſending Commiſſioners for them; and even then when the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants had improved the Lands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and enriched their Eſtates, and brought into the Land Husbandry, Trades, Manufactury, Traffick, Merchandize, &c. by which means, increaſe of Wealth grew in the Land to that abundance, that the *Iriſh* grew not onely Rich but Honourable; alſo they were made Earls, Viſcounts, Lords, Baronets, Knights, &c. And when they enjoyed all this, and much more (if time did permit to declare it) then, even then, without any provocation, ſuddenly to riſe up to this heighth of cruelty, to murder ſome hundreds of thouſands of theſe Proteſtants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, and that before they could take Arms in their hands for their defence; theſe things, I ſay, makes the ſins of Murder, Violence, and Cruelty, unmeaſurably ſinful and deteſtable.

But I fear I have been too long and too troubleſome, both to you and my ſelf, I will conclude. It is well known how the loud cry of innocent Blood of many thouſands of Chriſtians aſcending up to Heaven, and the devout and fervent prayers of many of Gods dear Saints and Servants, have ſolicited the Throne of Juſtice, that this happy and bleſſed day might come, wherein Juſtice might impartially be executed againſt thoſe Murderers, whoſe cruelties have made this Land a Field of Blood.

And now ſince the high and righteous Providence of God, by thoſe many and ſignal Victories given to the Arms and Forces of *Ireland*, hath ſent down from Heaven this day of Juſtice unto us in this Land; we ought to return him all praiſe and thankfulneſs for this unſpeakable mercy. And ſince the truſt of this great work, by the ſame Providence, is committed unto us, let us ſtir up his Grace within us, and faithfulneſs of our minds and Souls, to the faithful diſcharge and execution of

1660. this great trust. *Sedes Judicanda est quasi Thronus Dei*, saith old *Bracton*, that learned Chief Justice in *Henry* the Thirds time. I well remember, and have often thought upon the counsel of *Jethro* to *Moses*, *Exod.* 18. 2. *Thou shalt provide thee out of all thy people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and set them to judge the people.* Whereupon *Moses* having constituted Judges over the People, gave them this charge, (*viz.*) *Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great. Ye shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is Gods. Deut.* 16. 17.

Give me leave likewise to mind you of *Jehosaphat*'s charge to the Judges, 2 *Chron.* 19. 6, 7, 9, 11. *Take heed what you do, for you judge not for man but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it, for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts. This shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully, with a perfect heart, and shall judge the cause that shall come before you, between blood and blood, &c. Deal couragiously, and the Lord shall be with you.*

There is also an excellent Rule for Judicature, put in the case of the *Gibeonites* abuse of the *Levites* Wife, *Judg.* 19. 30. the Crime was horrid, the Case extraordinary; *There was never such a deed done, or seen before in Israel*; the Tribes were moved at it, and upon the Assembly, the Rule is given, (*viz.*) *Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.* This certainly is an excellent Rule of Judicature, (*viz.*) first,

1. Consider of it, consider well the Case, and consider all the Circumstances of it; beware that no guilty person escape, nor innocent person be condemned: *For he that justifieth the wicked, and condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord, Prov.* 17. 15.

2. Take advice and consult with others; *Lean not to thine own understanding*, saith the wise *Solomon, Prov.* 4. 5. *In the multitude of Counsellors there is safety.* Be not rash, nor sudden, or hasty to give judgment. *Qui festinat ad judicium properat ad pœnitentiam, Prov.* 11. 14.

And therefore right grave and ponderous are the Entries of the Judgments in the Common Law, *scil. Quibus lectis & auditis & per justiciarios his plenius intellectis & matura deliberatione me præhabita, &c. adjudicatur, &c.*

When we have patiently heard, and fully understood the Parties, and Proofs, the Witness, and whole Case, and have search'd into all the Parts and Circumstances of it, and when we have advisedly considered, debated, and consulted of it, and taken mature deliberation thereupon; then according to the charge of *Jehosaphat*, Let us deal couragiously, give Sentence, and fear not the face of man, for God is with us.

It is no less impiety to absolve the Guilty, than to condemn the Innocent.

Thus

Thus Sir *Gerrard Lowther*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, one principally imployed in the weightiest Affairs at *Oxford* and *Westminster*, by the Marquess of *Ormond*, with his Majesties Approbation; that it cannot be said, we have here presented you with the froth of a Fanatick, or one less interressed in the State, then one to whom the greatest Concerns thereof had been frequently communicated: Yet because his Speech (being spoke at the opening of the High Court of Justice) may be thought Apocryphal, and so not to be admitted for Doctrine, yet may be read for instruction of Manners, we shall soon present you with some thing Orthodox. 1652.

Many at *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Dublin*, and other Places, underwent the Censure of the High Court of Justice, though the number of those that suffered, exceeded not 200. for that the Sword, Plague, Famine, and Banishment, had swept away vast numbers; amongst whom one *Tool*, a notable Incendiary of *Wicklow*, was one, against whom *Edmund Reily* the *Irish* Priest, and Vicar-General, (afterwards Archbishop of *Ardmagh*,) appearing in 1653. as a Witness, was there accused for the chief Author of surprizing and burning (in Cessation time) the black Castle of *Wicklow*, and consequently too of murthering of all those were in it, upon which he was seized and committed; Yet, for his service in betraying the Royal Camp at *Rathmines*, suffered no further punishment. 1653.

In distributing of Lands, a course was thought of, how the *English* might enjoy them freely, without disturbance of the *Irish*, (for the future) ever ready to fall upon them; and therefore many of the Natives were transplanted into *Connaght*, and, according to the Extenuation of their Crimes, had more or less Land allotted them, which they enjoyed freely, and (in several respects) was a great conveniency to them, and not less security to the *English*; They (being now in a Body) might be better watched then several, where they would have been sure (on every opportunity) to have disturb'd the Peace.

One of the last Commanders amongst the *Irish*, which bore up against the Parliament, was *Moitogh O Brian*, who, being at last forced into his Fastnesses, obtain'd in *March*, 1653. the usual Articles of Transportation; By the favour of which, not less then 27000 Men, had that year been sent away; so as through the numbers that had been killed, died of the Plague, Famine, and had been Transported, the scarcity of People was very considerable; To supply which, *Fleetwood* writ that several Colonies might be sent over, offering very good Conditions to such Families that would Transport themselves; whereupon great numbers of all sorts of Sex flocked into *Ireland*, which *Fleetwood* much indulging; *Cromwel* thought requisite (for the greater strengthening of his own Party) to make his Son *Harry* Lord Deputy, which he did in 1655. and soon after Lord Lieutenant, a Person who openly shewed himself against the Anabaptists, (then raging) and countenanced the University, then in a low Ebb, bestowing upon it Bishop *Usher*'s Library, composed of the choicest and best picked Books, extant, carrying himself, so as some of the Rigour of his Father was thereby taken off, and that disordered Nation brought into the Condition of a flourishing State; Yet afterwards, (when he might have had many to have seconded him) he tamely yielded, in 1659. the Government to *Steel*, the Parliaments Lord Chancellor, and *Miles Corbet*, their Chief Baron of the Exchequer; 1654. 1655. 1658. 1659.

1659. his *Brother Richard* having ſurrendred the Protectorſhip in *England*, very meanly, with a ſubmiſſion (as he termed it) to Providence; So that Family expired.

And the Affairs of *England* growing every day full of change, *Ireland* (underſtanding what Sir *George Booth* had nobly attempted in *England*) grew thence early in its dutiful Addreſs to his Majeſty; And Sir *Theophilus Jones*, (further'd by his Reverend Brother) Colonel *Warren*, *Bridges*, *Thompſon*, *Liſle*, *Warder* and *Temple*, ſeized *Dublin* Caſtle; Sir *Charles Coot* about the ſame time, preferring an Impeachment of Treaſon againſt *Ludlow*, *Tomlinſon*, *Corbet*, and *John Jones*; and weighing the Conſequences of the preſent Diſtempers, he (together with the Council of the Officers of the Army, preſent at *Dublin*) the 16*th*. of *February*, 1659. made a Memorable Declaration concerning the Re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members; about the ſame time, ſending Captain *Cuffe*, to attend Colonel *Monk* into *England*, a General Convention being the 7*th*. of *February*, before Summon'd by the Vigilance and excellent Contrivance and Induſtry of Doctor *Dudley Loftus*, in which Sir *James Barry* (afterwards Lord Baron of *Santry*) was Chairman: Several Affairs (of greateſt Conſequence) came there to be conſidered. Firſt, the Arrears of the Souldiers, (they were to be faſtned to the Deſign, by their Intereſt, and by the diſcharge of what was due to them) then what was moſt popular, (and look'd leaſt to the mark they aim'd at) came under conſideration, in as much
1660. as they continued till *May*, 1660. having readily accepted of the Kings Declaration from *Breda*, of the 14*th*. of *April*, 1660. laying hold (by their Declaration, of the 14*th*. of *May*,) of his Condeſcentions; as the fitteſt expedient to cement the divided Intereſts in his three Kingdoms, which his Majeſty (in his Printed Declaration for the ſettlement of *Ireland*) takes eſpecial notice of, in theſe words, *That our good Subjects, the Proteſtants* (not Uſurpers, as the *Iriſh* in their Caſe entitle them,) *in our Kingdom of* Ireland, *have born a very good part in the Bleſſing of our Reſtitution, and that they were early in their dutiful Addreſſes unto Us, and made the ſame Profeſſions of a Reſolution, to return to their Duty and Obedience to Us, during the time of Our being beyond the Seas, which they have ſince ſo eminently made good, and put in practice.* And here I cannnot paſs over, that when the *Iriſh* Brigade came to aſſiſt *Lambert*, againſt Sir *George Booth*, (now Lord *Delameere*) and were in the North with him at that time, advancing to know what General *Monk* intended; they under *Redman*, and *Bret*, firſt drew back, though ſome of their Officers (in their canting mood) thought to have wheedled General *Monk* into a Compliance. The Convention gave his Majeſty 20000 *l*. the Duke of *York* 4000 *l*. and the Duke of *Gloceſter* 2000 *l*. and in *May* adjourned to the firſt of *November*, a ſtanding Committee remaining in the interim. And the 18*th*. of *December*, 1660. his Majeſty by his Letter, approved of this Convention, which met again the 22. of *January*, and Sir *William Dumvell* was appointed Chairman; it continued till *May*, 1661. Before they determined, they had by a Committee, very ſenſible and gallantly defended (at Court) the *Engliſh* Intereſt, againſt the *Iriſh*; who (by reaſon of the Peace which had been made with them in 1646. and 48.) thought they had very much to plead for his Majeſties favour, when upon the whole, it was proved, that if any of them were afterwards Loyal, the generality

diſobeyed

diſobeyed whatever had been indulged them; and the Contract was not to be underſtood to be made with a Party, but the Community; of which more in its due place. 1660.

His Majeſty was no ſooner ſetled in *England*, but (upon both Houſes of Parliaments apprehenſion of the late Rebellion, and the *Iriſh* flocking at his Return into *England*) he within few days publiſhed his ſence of that horrible Conſpiracy, in the enſuing Proclamation.

By

1652.

By the King.

A PROCLAMATION

Against the Rebels in *Ireland.*

C. R.

CHarles, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To all Our loving Subjects of* England *and* Ireland, *Greeting. We taking notice by the Information of the Lords and Commons, now Assembled in Parliament, That after the vast expence of Blood and Treasure for the suppressing of the late horrid Rebellion in* Ireland, *begun in* October, 1641. *There are yet many of the Natives of that Our Kingdom, deeply guilty of that Rebellion, who have of late broke out into new Acts of Force and Violence, some Murthering, Robbing, and Despoiling several of Our* English *Protestant Subjects there planted, and others of them by force Entring upon, and Disquieting the Possessions of several Adventurers and Souldiers there, to the great and manifest disturbance and hinderance of Our* English *Plantation. And being very sensible of the innocent bloud of so many thousands of Our* English *Protestant Subjects, formerly slain by the hands of those barbarous Rebels, and of new mischiefs of the same kind, likely to fall out, as the sad issue and consequents of so unhappy beginnings. Do therefore, by the advice of the said Lords and Commons, now assembled, as well to testifie Our utter abhorring of the said late Rebellion, as to prevent the like for the future; and for the present establishment of the Peace of that Our Kingdom, hold it Our duty to God and the whole Protestant Interest, to Command, Publish, and Declare, and do by this Our Proclamation, accordingly, Command, Publish, and Declare, That all* Irish *Rebels (other than such as by Articles have liberty to reside in these Our Dominions, and have not since forfeited the benefit thereof) now remaining in, or which hereafter shall resort to* England *or* Ireland, *be forthwith apprehended,*

ed, and proceeded againſt as Rebels and Traitors according to Law. And that the Adventurers and Souldiers, and other Our Subjects in Ireland, *their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns, who on the firſt day of* January *laſt paſt were in the Poſſeſſion of any of the Mannors, Caſtles, Houſes, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, of any the ſaid* Iriſh *Rebels, ſhall not be diſturbed in ſuch their Poſſeſſions, until We, by the advice of the Lords and Commons, now aſſembled as aforeſaid, or ſuch Parliament as We ſhall call in* England *or* Ireland, *ſhall take further Order, or that they be Legally evicted, by due courſe of Law: And all Our Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Officers, both Civil and Military, both in* England *and* Ireland, *are hereby required to be aiding and aſſiſting in the execution of this Our Proclamation, as often as occaſion ſhall require.*

Given at our Court at *Whitehal* the firſt day of *June*, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

Afterwards (aſſoon as ſuch matters for ſo great a Buſineſs could be brought about) his Majeſty, the 8*th.* of *May*, ſummon'd a Parliament at *Dublin*, in which paſſed the great Act of Settlement, after that his Majeſty had publiſhed, the 30*th.* of *November*, 1660. *His Gracious Declaration for the ſettlement of his Kingdom of* Ireland, *and ſatisfaction of the ſeveral Intereſts of Adventurers and Souldiers, and other Subjects there*; wherein as to the *Iriſh*; firſt, ſuch are conſidered, as came in upon the Ceſſation; ſecondly, thoſe who honeſtly and faithfully performed what they promiſed in the Peace; and thirdly, ſuch as being beyond Seas, cheerfully receiv'd and obeyed his Majeſties Commands abroad; all which are comprehended in ſeveral Articles, proceeding from theſe Heads; and the Souldiers and Adventurers, by themſelves. Theſe alſo who had the Fortune (whether through Loyalty or Suſpicion, that they were not able to bear up againſt the *Engliſh* Intereſt) to withſtand the Nuncio, have in the Act of Settlement their Fortunes, and themſelves ſecur'd memorable to Poſterity; who being fewer then thoſe that bowed not their knees to *Baal* in *Iſrael*, we cannot but mention, it being a Reward for their eminent Sufferings.

And becauſe the voice of a Parliament, next to the delivery of the Law from Mount *Sinai*, ought to impreſs the greateſt Reverence on the heart and affections of the People, I ſhall here preſent you with the Preamble to the Bill of Settlement in *Ireland*, 1662. which in brief commits that to Poſterity, no Paint can ever Palliate.

The Heirs of Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Knight.
Sir *Robert Talbot*, Baronet.
The Heirs of Sir *Valentine Blake*, Baronet.
Sir *Richard Blake*, Knight.
Doctor *Gerrald Fennel*,
Geffrey Brown.
John Brown of the *Neal*.
John Walſh,
Thomas Terril,
Edmund Dillon,
John Talbot of *Mallahide*.
Francis Coghlan of *Kilcolgan*, in the Kings County.
Robert Nugent of *Cartlanſtown*.
Sir *John Bourk* of *Derry Maclaghney*.
Thomas Arthur Eſquire, Doctor in Phyſick.
Gerrald Flemming of *Caſtle Flemming*.
Luke Bath of *Ackarn*.
Bartholomew Stackpoole, Eſquires.

An

An Act, 14 *Carol.* 2.

* At the paſſing of which Act, his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* enlarg'd ſo well and elegantly on the Subject, as his Speech cannot be omitted without a blemiſh to the Hiſtory. *Appendix* 15.

*WHereas an * unnatural Inſurrection did break forth againſt your Majeſties Royal Father, of ever bleſſed memory, his Crown and Dignity in this your Majeſties Kingdom of* Ireland, *upon the* 23. *of* October, *in the year of our Lord God,* 1641. *and manifeſt it ſelf, by the Murthers and Deſtruction of many thouſands of your ſaid Majeſties good and loyal Subjects, which afterwards univerſally ſpreading and diffuſing it ſelf over the whole Kingdom, ſetled into, and became a formed and almoſt National Rebellion of the* Iriſh *Papiſts, againſt your Royal Father of bleſſed memory, his Crown and Dignity, to the deſtruction of the* Engliſh *and Proteſtants inhabiting in* Ireland; *The which* Iriſh *Papiſts being repreſented in a General Aſſembly choſen by themſelves, and acting by a Council, called by them,* The Supream Council of the Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland, *did firſt aſſume, uſurp, and exerciſe the Power of Life and Death, make Peace and War, Levy and Coin Money, and many other Acts of Soveraign Authority; Treating with Foreign Princes and Potentates, for their Government and Protection, and afterwards acted under a Foreign Authority, by all the ſaid ways, diſowning and rejecting your Royal Fathers, and your Majeſties undoubted Right to this Kingdom, even while they treacherouſly uſed his, and your Majeſties Names; in the outward forms of their Proceedings; withal impiouſly ſeeming by words and ſhews to ſwear unto that, which by the whole Series of their Deeds, they denied; And moreover, preſuming to pretend his late Majeſties Sacred Authority, even for their worſt actions; all which they did (amongſt other their evil Deſigns) to frighten his good Proteſtant Subjects from their Loyalty, to blaſt his Majeſties Honour, and to widen the Breach between his ſaid Majeſty, and his ſeduced Subjects in* England; *The which Ends, by their ſaid wicked Stratagems, they did too ſucceſsfully and miſchievouſly effect.*

Before this Preamble (to the Act of Settlement) paſs'd, the *Iriſh* (by their Agents in *England*) had an unuſual Favour of inſpecting that Bill, and objecting what they thought fit; which they did in the preſence of the Commiſſioners ſent out of *Ireland*, by the Convention, and Lords Juſtices and Council, even before his Majeſty, his Council, and the Committee of Lords, for the Affairs of *Ireland*, to that end eſpecially appointed. The debate continuing (touching this grand Inſtrument) from the 8*th.* of *July*, 1661. till *March* following, in which the *Iriſh* moſt inſiſted againſt the Preamble, for that it ſeem'd to involve the whole Nation, in the firſt deſigning and raiſing of the late Rebellion in *Ireland*, and in the barbarous Circumſtance thereof: whereas they would pretend, it was onely the act of a few Perſons of broken fortunes, followed with the rude multitude, *&c.* Praying that nothing might be contain'd in that Preamble, in Derogation to his Majeſties Articles of Peace, or the blemiſh of his Majeſties Loyal Catholick Subjects, delivering in at the ſame time, their Reaſons againſt previous Repriſals, the variances between the Declaration, and Act of Settlement, and their defence for their Articles of Peace: Inſiſting much upon their Loyalty,

after

after the Lord Lieutenants departure, the Catholicks unanimouſly (in their Aſſembly) joyning (if you dare credit their reports?) with the Lord Deputy, to oppoſe the Uſurpers, as the beſt means to divert the Parliament, from preventing the Kings Deſigns in *England* and *Scotland*; for which his Majeſty (as they ſay) return'd them thanks, they rejecting then many advantagious offers from *Ireton*, though they were in a low Condition; and ſo continued faithful till the Lord Deputy was driven to the Mountains, and they at liberty to compound for themſelves, many of which went beyond-Sea to ſerve his Majeſty; All which they inſiſt on, as a great teſt of their Loyalty; whereas it can never be made evident, as is alledged, that Propoſals were made to that Aſſembly by the Uſurpers, and refuſed by them, for the enjoyment of their Rights, Priviledges, and Inheritances, alike with others under their Government; for indeed ſuch Propoſals were never made nor offered to them in their moſt flouriſhing Condition; but it is confeſſed, ſuch Terms were tendred and refuſed by them, as were agreeable *to a conquering Army to give*, as that of the Uſurpers then was, *and to a broken ſcattered Party to expect*, as the other was; being then reduced to Bogs and Woods, as their beſt Holts; and yet the Terms ſo offered and rejected by the Aſſembly together, were ſoon after embraced by all of them, divided into Parts, on which they ſubmitted and laid down Arms, having by their Conditions, liberty to tranſport themſelves into Foraign Parts, or to ſtay in the Kingdom: And therefore, it doth no more conſiſt with their Honour, then with Truth to ſay, they were forced by baniſhment, to an opportunity of ſerving his Majeſty beyond-Seas, from whence they date their Merits from him; which was more then his late Majeſty of bleſſed memory could obtain from them, although obliged thereunto by Allegiance, and Articles, when his Diſtreſs and their Power were ſublimated to the higheſt Pitch, and his Prerogative lay at the ſtake, as he did often complain of: The Commiſſioners from the Lords Juſtices and Council, beſides this, produced the Inſtructions of the Supream Council, to their Agents for *Rome*, *France*, *Spain*, (offering the Crown to either of them that would accept of it) together with the Excommunication of the Marqueſs, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the order of Publication thereof; whereupon Sir *Nicholas Plunket* (who ſubſcribed the ſaid Inſtructions, and principally inſiſted on the forementioned Particulars) was ſent for by the Committee of Lords, who had the Examination of that Affair, and acknowledging his hand-writing, Report thereof was made to his Majeſty and Council, by whom it was ordered about the 14*th.* of *March*, 1661. *That no more Petitions or Addreſſes ſhould be received by the* Iriſh, *to the obſtruction of the Settlement of that Kingdom; and that Sir* Nicholas Plunket *ſhould thence-forward no more preſume to come into his Majeſties Preſence, nor to Court*; Likewiſe there was produced an Oath previouſly taken by ſeveral of the Popiſh Nobility, Clergy, and others of the Gentry of *Ireland*, before the Articles of Peace, made in 1648. (which they ſo much inſiſt upon) wherein they ſwear and engage, *That if thoſe Articles of Peace were not in every particular for their advantage performed, they would not be concluded by any thing therein*; Which appear'd to be ſo damnable a Piece of Treachery, as it was highly reſented in Council, and the rather, for that his Grace ſtood up, and juſtified that to his knowledge it was a Truth.

And leſt the memory of ſo great a Deliverance ſhould ſlip out of our thoughts, I ſhall in the next place preſent you with the Anniverſary Act, for its obſervance, that this may be to us (not leſs then the Paſſover to the *Iſraelites*) for a Memorial and a Feaſt to the Lord, throughout our Generations, by an Ordinance for ever.

AN

AN ACT

FOR

Keeping and Celebrating the three and twentieth day of October, *as an Anniverſary Thankſgiving in this Kingdom.*

WHereas many Malignant and Rebellious Papiſts and Jeſuits, Friers, Seminary Prieſts, and other Superſtitious Orders of the Popiſh pretended Clergy, moſt diſloyally, treacherouſly, and wickedly, conſpired to ſurprize His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, His Majeſties principal Fort of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, the City of *Dublin*, and all other Cities and Fortifications of this Realm, and that all the Proteſtants and *Engliſh* throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not joyn with them, ſhould be cut off, and finally by a general Rebellion, to deprive our late Sovereign Lord of ever bleſſed memory, King *Charles* the Firſt, of this his ancient and rightful Crown and Sovereignty of this Kingdom, and to poſſeſs themſelves thereof; all which was by the ſaid Conſpirators, plotted and intended to be acted on the three and twentieth day of *October*, in the year of our Lord God, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and one; a Conſpiracy ſo generally inhumane, barbarous, and cruel, as the like was never before heard of in any Age or Kingdom; and if it had taken effect, in that fulneſs which was intended by the Conſpirators, it had occaſioned the utter ruine of this whole Kingdom, and the Government thereof. And however it pleaſed Almighty God, in his unſearchable Wiſdom and Juſtice, as a juſt puniſhment, and deſerved correction to his People for their ſins, and the ſins of this Kingdom, to permit then and afterwards, the effecting of a great part of that Deſtruction, complotted by thoſe wicked Conſpirators, whereby many thouſand *Britiſh* and Proteſtants have been maſſacred, many thouſands of others of them have been

afflicted and tormented, with the moſt exquiſite torments that malice could ſuggeſt, and all Mens Eſtates, as well thoſe whom they barbarouſly murthered, as all other good Subjects, were waſted, ruined, and deſtroyed; yet as his Divine Majeſty hath in all Ages, ſhown his Power and Mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his Church, and in the protection of Religious Kings and States, ſo even in the midſt of his Juſtice, he was graciouſly pleaſed to extend Mercy to his Majeſty, and to this his Kingdom, and good Subjects therein, not only in mercifully diſcovering to the then Lords Juſtices, by one *Owen O Connelly*, a meer *Iriſh* Man, but trained up in the Proteſtant Religion, who out of a ſenſe of his Duty and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and for the preſervation of his good People, and as an effect of that Religion he was trained up in, revealed that hideous and bloody Treaſon, not many hours before the appointed time for the Execution thereof, but alſo in preſerving the ſaid Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, and ſome other Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, in the Kingdom, from the bloody hands of the barbarous Conſpirators, as alſo in thereby rendring deliverance of the Lives of the ſaid Lords Juſtices and Council, and of all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants in *Dublin*, and in the ſaid other Cities, Towns and Caſtles preſerved, and of ſundry other *Britiſh* and Proteſtants, faln into the hands of thoſe rebellious Conſpirators, and likewiſe in ſending us Succours out of *England* hither, by the Piety, Care, and Wiſdom, of our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* the Firſt, whereby with Gods bleſſing the good Subjects of this Kingdom, have hitherto continued ſafe under his mighty Protection, notwithſtanding the unexampled rage and implacable malice of thoſe mercileſs Rebels. Wherefore as we do moſt humbly and juſtly acknowledge Gods Juſtice, in our deſerved puniſhments in thoſe Calamities, which from the Councils and Actions of thoſe Conſpirators, and their Adherents, have faln upon us in this Kingdom in general, ſo we do in like manner acknowledge, that even in exerciſing of that his Juſtice, he remembred Mercy alſo, and magnified his Mercies to us, in thoſe great Bleſſings which we humbly confeſs to have proceeded, meerly from his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, and therefore to his moſt holy Name we do aſcribe all Honour, Glory and Praiſe. And to the end this unfeigned

Thank-

Thankfulneſs may never be forgotten, but may be had in a perpetual Remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield Praiſes to his Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and have in memory that joyful Day of Deliverance, Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, that the three and twentieth day of *October* ſhall be kept and celebrated, as an Anniverſary holy day in this Kingdom for ever, and that all Perſons do at that day forbear all bodily Labour, and the exerciſe of their Trades, and that all and ſingular Miniſters in every Cathedral and Pariſh Church, or other uſual place for Common-Prayer, within this Realm of *Ireland*, ſhall always upon the three and twentieth day of *October*, ſay Morning Prayer, and give thanks to Almighty God, for that moſt happy and miraculous Deliverance and Preſervation, far above the expectations of thoſe wretched Conſpirators: And that all and every Perſon and Perſons inhabiting within this Realm of *Ireland*, ſhall yearly upon the three and twentieth day of *October*, diligently and faithfully reſort to the Pariſh Church or Chappel accuſtomed, or to ſome uſual Church or Chappel, where the ſaid Morning Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God ſhall be uſed, and then and there abide orderly and ſoberly, during the time of the ſaid Prayers, Preaching, or other Service of God, there to be uſed and miniſtred. And becauſe all and every Perſon may be put in mind of his Duty, and be then the better prepared to the ſaid holy Service, Be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that every Miniſter ſhall give warning to his Pariſhioners, publickly in the Church at Morning Prayer, the Lords day next before every ſuch three and twentieth day of *October*, for the due obſervation of the ſaid day, and that after Morning Prayer, or Preaching, upon every ſuch three and twentieth day of *October*, they read publickly, diſtinctly and plainly, this preſent Act.

And

And, beſides our private Thankfulneſs, that we may know what the Church is enjoyned by his Majeſties Command, (given at *Whitehall*, the 15*th.* of *Auguſt*, in the 18*th.* year of his Reign, 1666.) I muſt refer you to the Office of the Church.

Here one might well have thought this bloody Scene ſhould have been fully cloſed, the event of ſo horrid a Conſpiracy, having by God and Man been ſeverely chaſtized: But as if Heaven were ſtill to be dared, and Majeſty affronted, no ſooner was this State ſetled in ſo wonderful a manner, as it drew the whole world to look on it as a miracle; but the grand Incendiaries of the late Rebellion, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others of that Union, (openly owning their Profeſſion) appear'd in publick, in as much as the Parliament of *England* was enforced to take notice of their Inſolency, as an encouragement to Popery, beſeeching his Majeſty, that *Plunket*, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Ardmagh*, and *Talbot*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, ſhould be apprehended, to anſwer what might be objected againſt them: And as an Evidence of their Parties Activeneſs and Inſinuation, the Lord of *Oſſory*, Lord Deputy, and the Council, by a Proclamation, dated at the Council Chamber in *Dublin*, the 11*th.* of *July*, 1664. ſhew, *Whereas information hath been given unto us by divers Gentlemen, and others of the Popiſh Religion, that ſeveral pretended Chapters have been, and are to be ſoon called in ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, and Meetings appointed by Perſons diſ-affected to his* Majeſties *Government, and to the publick Peace and Quiet, who take opportunities from thoſe Aſſemblies, to diffuſe and ſpread abroad (amongſt the People of that Religion Seditious Doctrines, to the great diſſatisfaction of all thoſe, who are peaceably and loyally inclined*, &c. They therefore to the avoiding the Contagion, that by ſuch Deluſions might be ingendered, and thoſe Dangers, which by the continuance and ſeducement of the ſaid Perſons, and other turbulent Spirits, are endeavour'd,) *caution'd and forewarn'd, That none ſhould preſume to aſſiſt, abett, or countenance them; and that* thoſe (*who were engaged therein*) *ſhould, upon their Duty of Allegiance to his Majeſty, forbear any further Proceedings*, &c. All which were afterwards blank'd over, as indeed they had the fortune to be ſtrangely palliated, together with what the Biſhop of *Ferns* had diſcovered to the Earl of *Sandwich*, (paſſing through *Galacia* to *Madrid*) of *Edmond Reylie*, Archbiſhop of *Ardmagh*'s purpoſe, to raiſe the *Iriſh* again into Rebellion; though ſome to delude the Age, made a Loyal Formulary or Remonſtrance of their Obedience, whilſt being admitted at *Dublin*, into a National Synod of their own, 1666. (an Indulgence not yet fathom'd) they there ſplit themſelves into Parties, and (the 15*th.* day of their meeting) broke up, without the leaſt ſatisfaction to the End they were connived at; ſo as from their Principles its natural to conclude, *That whatever a Prince muſt expect from ſuch men, it muſt be in ſubordination to the Popes Approbation:* A Reflection on the like made King *H.* 8. ſay, that he found the Clergy of this Realm were but his half Subjects, or ſcarce ſo much, every Biſhop or Abbot, (at the entering upon his Dignity) taking an Oath to the Pope, derogatory to that of their Fidelity to the King; which contradiction, he deſired his Parliament to take away, and it occaſion'd (writes my Lord *Herbert*, *Fol.* 335) the final renouncing of the Popes Authority, about two years after. The Clergies Oath is given at large, in *Walſhe*'s Epiſtle to his Loyal Formulary, *Fol.* 19. which draws me into a further conſideration of the late War.

A War

A War in which were intereſſed (on ſeveral Principles) ſome of the greateſt Princes and States of *Europe*, the Pope, Emperor, *France*, *Spain*, *Lorraign*, and others, who (profeſſedly, or under-hand) contributed Money, Arms, Council, or Countenance.

A War many years in contriving, and (what makes it the more ſtupendious) ſo ſecretly and unexpectedly carried on, (villany hates the light) that conſidering how far the Conſpiracy was ſpread, and who were engaged in it, it is ſcarce credible, that no apprehenſion of its event ſhould in the leaſt be diſcovered, more then what *Ever Mac Mahon* imparted, 1631. The apprehenſion of which ſoon paſſed over, as did alſo ſome other petty ſuſpicions, rais'd I know not from what improbable and confuſed Rumors, amuſing, rather then convincing the Judgment of ſuch, as were moſt concern'd in the notice of them; ſo as till the 22. of *Octob.* 1641. late at night, (on the very point of the Plot being acted) nothing ſeem'd certain or infallible, that if God had not been very merciful, all had been ſurprized, before any one had been ſuſpected.

A War not confined to ſome Province, or parts of Provinces in *Ireland*, as *Tyrones*, *Deſmonds*, and the reſt had been; but as if the Deſign were the joynt Act of the whole Kingdom, all ſeem'd to have one head, few excepted, whoſe Honour is the greater.

A War not ariſing from ſmall beginnings, as ſome of the former, which from private Intereſt, at laſt eſpouſed greater; But this in its firſt appearance, drove all before it, like ſome Infections, ſpeedily diffuſing its Venome through the whole Body.

A War, for which the moſt diligent enquiry, could not have found within the Nation, a Head (in Popularity or Parts) for ſuch an undertaking: The occaſion doubtleſs of ſecurity in moſt, and whereby the State Politicks of that time were deluded, they having their eyes open onely, on what might have been from abroad ſuſpected, not (much leſs fear'd) at home, the loud alarms of a *Maſſinello*, a Perſon of none or of broken Fortunes, of little Power, or of leſs Brain, (but any thing, even what is under foot, and next at hand, may eaſily be taken up, and made by Divine Juſtice, a ſufficient Scourge for a provoking People) ſuch was that Sir *Phelim O Neal* eſteem'd, till then generally a very Buffoon in Converſe, but after own'd and Honour'd as a Principal in that undertaking; Yet being therein rather the hand then the head, proving, however, the Fire-brand of his Countrey, that being the *Engliſh* of *Phelim an Totan*, or ſmoaking *Phelimy*, a Name (on this occaſion) given him in way of Honour by his *Iriſh* Rhimers, and wherein he himſelf after gloried.

Finally, a War diſmal to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants of *Ireland*, in its beginning; ſo diſmal, as no example through the World ever equall'd it, in the Circumſtances that accompanied the Butcheries, Maſſacres, Cruelties, yea, the mercy of the Rebels in that War; though in the end, fatal to the *Iriſh* themſelves, above any thing that ever befel that Nation, ſo as the greatneſs of their Sufferings, may well teſtifie the remarkableneſs of their Crimes, ſutable to the innocent blood they had barbarouſly ſhed, and the devaſtations they had made of a moſt flouriſhing and well ſetled Kingdom.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX, I.

Fol. 10.

Queſtions wherein the Houſe of Commons humbly deſires, that the Houſe of the Lords would be pleaſed to require the Judges to deliver their Reſolutions.

INaſmuch as the Subjects of this Kingdom are Free, Loyal and Dutiful Subjects to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, their Natural Leige Lord and King, and to be governed only by the Common Laws of *England*, and Statutes of force in this Kingdom, in the ſame manner and form, as his Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom, are and ought to be governed by the ſaid Common Laws and Statutes of force in that Kingdom; which of right, the Subjects of this Kingdom do Challenge and make their Proteſtation to be their Birthright, and beſt Inheritance: Yet inaſmuch as the unlawful Actions and Proceedings of ſome of his Majeſties Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, of late years Introduced and Practiſed in this Kingdom, did tend to the Infringing and Violation of the Laws, Liberties and Freedom of the ſaid Subjects of this Kingdom, contrary to his Majeſties Royal and Pious intentions, Therefore the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, not for any doubt or ambiguity, which may be conceived or thought of, for or concering the Premiſes, nor of the enſuing queſtions, but for manifeſtation and declaration of a clear Truth, and of the ſaid Laws and Statutes already planted, and for many Ages paſt ſetled in this Kingdom, The ſaid Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes do therefore pray, that the Houſe of the Lords may be pleaſed to command the Judges of this Kingdom, forthwith to declare in Writing their Reſolutions of, and unto the enſuing queſtions, and ſubſcribe to the ſame.

1. Whether the Judges of this Kingdom be a Free People, and to be governed only by the Common Laws of *England*, and Statutes of force in this Kingdom?

2. Whether the Judges of this Land do take the Oath of Judges? And if ſo, Whether under pretext of any Act of State, Proclamation,

Writ, Letter, or direction under the Great, or Privy Seal, or Privy Signet, or Letter, or other Commandment from the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Juſtice, Juſtices, or other Chief Governour, or Governours of this Kingdom, they may hinder, ſtay or delay the Suit of any Subject, or his Judgement or Execution thereupon? If ſo, in what Caſes, and whether if they do hinder, ſtay, or delay ſuch Suit, Judgement, or Execution thereupon, what puniſhment do they incurr for their deviation and tranſgreſſion therein?

3. Whether the King's Majeſties Privy Councel, either with the Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, or without him, or them, be a place of Judicature by the Common Laws; and wherein Cauſes between Party and Party for Debts, Treſpaſſes, Accounts, Portions, or Title of Lands, or any of them, and which of them may be heard and determined, and of what Civil Cauſes they have Juriſdiction, and by what Law, and of what force are their Orders and Decree in ſuch Caſes, or any of them?

4. The like of the Chief Governours alone.

5. Whether Grants of Monopolies be warranted by Law, and of what, and in what Caſes, and how and where, and by whom are the pretended trangreſſions againſt ſuch Grants puniſhable, and whether by Fine, mutilation of Members, Impriſonment, Loſs and forfeiture of Goods, or otherwiſe, and which of them?

6. In what Caſes the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom and Councel may puniſh by Fine, Impriſonment, mutilation of Members, Pillory or otherwiſe, and whether they may Sentence any to ſuch the ſame or the like Puniſhment, for infringing the Commands of or concerning any Proclamation of and concerning Monopolies, and what Puniſhment do they incurr that Vote for the ſame?

7. Of what force is an Act of State or Proclamation in this Kingdom, to bind the Liberty, Goods, Poſſeſſions, or Inheritance of the Natives thereof; whether they or any of them, can alter the Common Law, or the Infringers of them looſe their Goods, Chattels or Leaſes, or forfeit the ſame, by infringing any ſuch Act of State, Proclamation, or both; what Puniſhment do the ſworn Judges of the Law that are Privy-Councellors incurr, that Vote for ſuch Acts and Execution thereof?

8. Are the Subjects of this Kingdom ſubject to Marſhal Law, and whether any man in time of Peace, no Enemy being in the Field with Banners diſplayed, can be ſentenced to Death? If ſo, by whom, and in what Caſes? If not, what Puniſhment do they incurr that in time of Peace execute Marſhal Law?

9. Whether voluntary Oaths taken freely before Arbitrators for affirmance, or diſaffirmance of any thing, or for the true performance of any thing be Puniſhable in the *Caſtle-Chamber*, or any other Court, and why, and wherefore?

10. Why and by what Law, and by what rule of Policy is it, that none is admitted to reducement of Fines, and other Penalty in the *Caſtle-Chamber*, or Councel-Table, untill he confeſs the Offence for which he is cenſured, when as *revera* he might be innocent thereof, though ſuborned Proofs or circumſtances might induce a Cenſure?

11. Whether

11. Whether the Judges of the *Kings-Bench*, or any other Judge of Goal-delivery, or of any other Court, and by what Law, do, or can deny the Copies of Indictment of Felony or Treason to the Parties accused, contrary to the Law?

12. What Power have the Barons of the Court of *Exchequer*, to raise the respit of homage arbitrarily to what rate they please, to what value they may raise it, by what Law they may distinguish between the respit of homage, upon the diversity of the true value of the Fees, when as Escuage is the same for great and small Fees, and are approportionable by Parliament?

13. Whether it be Censurable in the Subjects of this Kingdom to repair into *England*, to appeal unto his Majesty for redress of Injuries, or for other lawful Actions? if so, why, and in what condition of Persons, and by what Law?

14. Whether Deans or other Dignitaries of Cathedral Churches, be properly, and *de mero Jure* Donative by the King, and not Elective, or Collative? If so, why, and by what Law, and whether the Confirmation of a Dean *de facto* of the Bishops grant be good and valid in Law, or no, if not, by what Law?

15. Whether the issuing of *Quo warrantoes* out of the *Kings-Bench* or *Exchequer*, against Bourroughs that antiently and recently sent Burgesses to Parliament, to shew cause why they sent Burgesses to the Parliament be legal? if not, what punishment ought to be inflicted upon those that are, or have been the Occasioners, Procurers and Judges of and in such *Quo warrantoes*?

16. By what Law, are Jurors that give Verdict according to their Conscience, and are the sole Judges of the fact, Censured in the *Castle Chamber* in great Fines, and sometimes Pillored with loss of Eares, and boared through the Tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with a hot Iron, and other like infamous Punishment?

17. By what Law are men Censurable in the *Castle-Chamber* with the mutilation of Members, or any other brand of Infamy, and in what Causes, and what punishment in each Case there is due, without respit of the quality of the Person or Persons?

18. Whether in the Censures in the *Castle-Chamber* regard be to be had to the words of the great Charter (*viz.*) *Salvo continemento*?

19. Whether one that steals a Sheep, or commits any other Felony, and after flieth the Course of Justice, or lyeth in Woods or Mountains, upon his keeping, be a Traitor, if not, whether a Proclamation can make him so?

20. VVhether the Testimony or Evidence of Rebells, Traitors, protected Thieves, or other infamous Persons, be good Evidence in Law, to be pressed upon the Trials of men for their lives, or whether the Judge, or Jurors ought to be Judge of the matter in fact?

21. By what Law are Faires and Markets to be held in *Capite*, when no other expres Tenure is mentioned by his Majesties Letters Patents or Grants of the same Faires and Markets, although the Rent or yearly summe be reserved thereout.

Declarations of the Law made in Parliament *upon the Queſtions propounded to the Judges in a Seſſions this preſent* Parliament.

Declaration on the 1ſt, *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

1. THE Subjects of this his Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, are a free People and to be governed only according to the Common Law of *England*, and Statutes made and eſtabliſhed by Parliament in this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and according to the lawful Cuſtoms uſed in the ſame.

Declaration on the 2d, *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

2. That Judges in *Ireland* ought to take the Oath of the Juſtices or Judges declared and eſtabliſhed in ſeveral Parliaments of force in this Kingdom, and the ſaid Judges or any of them by colour or under pretext of any Act of State, or Proclamation, or under colour or pretext of any Writ, Letter, or direction under the Great-Seal, Privy-Seal, or Privy-Signet from the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, or by colour or pretext of any Letter or Commandment from the chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, ought not to hinder or delay the Suit of any Subject or his Judgment or Execution thereupon: And if any Letters, Writs or Commands from his Majeſty or any other, or for any other cauſe to the Juſtices, or other deputed to do the law and right according to the uſage of the Realm, in diſturbance of the Law or of the execution of the ſame, or of right to the parties, the Juſtices and others aforeſaid ought to proceed and hold their Courts and proceſs where the Pleas and matters be depending before them, as if no ſuch Letters, Writs, or Commandments were come to them; And in caſe any Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices be found in default therein, he or they ſo found in default ought to incur and undergo due puniſhment according to the Law and the former Declarations and Propoſitions in Parliament, in that Caſe made and of force in this Kingdom, or as ſhall be ordered, adjudged or declared in Parliament; and the Barons of the Exchequer, Juſtices of Aſſize and Goal-delivery if they be found in default as aforeſaid; It is hereby declared, that they ought to undergo the puniſhment aforeſaid.

Declaration on the 3d, *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

3. The Councel-Table of this Realm, either with the chief Governour or Governours, or without the chief Governour or Governours, is no Judicature wherein any Actions real, perſonal, popular, or mixt, or any Suit in the nature of the ſaid Actions or any of them can or ought to be Commenced, heard, or determined. And all proceedings at the Councel-Table in any Suit in the nature of the ſaid Actions, are void (eſpecially Cauſes particularly provided for by expreſs Acts of Parliament of force in this Kingdom only excepted).

Declaration on the 5th. *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

4. The proceedings before the Chief Governour or Governours alone in any Action real, perſonal, popular, or mixt, or in any Suit in the nature of any of the ſaid Actions are voted upon Queſtion *coram non Judice*, and void.

Declaration on the 5th. *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

5. All grants of Monopolies are contrary to the Laws of this Realm, and therefore void. And no Subject of the ſaid Realm ought

to

to be fined, impriſoned, or otherwiſe puniſhed for exerciſing or uſing the lawful liberty of a Subject contrary to ſuch Grants.

6. The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy or other Chief Governour, or Governours, and Councel of this Realm or any of them, ought not to impriſon any of his Majeſties Subjects, but only in Caſes where the Common Laws or Statutes of the Realm do inable and warrant them ſo to do, and they ought not to Fine or to Cenſure any ſubject in mutilation of Members, ſtanding on the Pillory, or other ſhameful puniſhment in any Caſe at the Councel-Table; and no Subject ought to be Impriſoned, Fined or otherwiſe puniſhed for infringing any Commands or Proclamations for the ſupport, or countenance of Monopolies. And if in any Caſe any perſon or perſons ſhall be committed by the Command or Warrant of the Chief Governour or Governours, and Privy Councel of this Realm, or any of them, That in any ſuch Caſe any perſon or perſons ſo committed or reſtrained of his or their liberty, or ſuffering impriſonment, upon demand or motion made by his or their Councel, or other imployed by him or them for that purpoſe unto the Judges of that Court of *King*'s *Bench* or *Common Pleas* in open Court, ſhall without delay upon any pretence whatſoever for the ordinary Fees uſually payed for the ſame; have forthwith granted unto him or them, a Writ or Writs of *habeas Corpus*, to be directed generally unto all and every Sheriff, Gaol-Miniſter, Officer, or other perſon in whoſe cuſtody the party or parties ſo committed or reſtrained ſhall be at their retorn of the ſaid Writ or VVrits, and according to the Command thereof, upon due and convenient notice thereof given unto him at the charge of the party or parties who requireth or procureth ſuch VVrit or VVrits, and upon ſecurity by his or their own Bond or Bonds given to pay the charge of carrying back the Priſoner or Priſoners, if he or they ſhall be remanded by the Court to which he or they ſhall be brought, as in like Caſe hath been uſed; ſuch charges of bringing up and carrying back the Priſoner or Priſoners, to be always ordered by the Court if any difference ſhall ariſe thereabouts, bring or cauſe to be brought, the bodies of the ſaid party or parties ſo committed and reſtrained unto and before the Judges and Juſtices of the ſaid Court, from whence the ſaid VVrit or VVrits ſhall iſſue in open Court, and ſhall then likewiſe Certify the true cauſe of ſuch his or their detainor or impriſonment, and thereupon the Court after ſuch retorn made and delivered in open Court, ſhall proceed to examine and determine whether the cauſe of ſuch Commitment appearing upon the ſaid Retorn be juſt or legal, or not, and ſhall thereupon do what to Juſtice ſhall appertain, either by delivering, bayling, or remanding the Priſoner or Priſoners.

Declaration on the 6th. *Quæry.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

7. An Act of State or Proclamation in this Kingdom cannot bind the liberty, Inheritance, poſſeſſion, or goods of the Subjects of the ſaid Kingdom, nor alter the Common Law; and the Infringers of any ſuch Act or Proclamation, ought not to forfeit Lands, Leaſes, Goods or Chattels, for the infringing of any ſuch Act of State or Proclamation; and the Judges of the Law, who do vote for ſuch Acts of State or Proclamation, are puniſhable, as breakers and violaters of their Oaths of Judges.

Declaration on the 7th. *Quæry.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

8. No

Declaration on the 8th, *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

8. No Subject of this Kingdom ought to be ſentenced to death or Executed by Martial Law, in time of peace; and if any Subject be ſo ſentenced, or executed by Martial Law, in time of peace, the Authors and Actors of any ſuch Sentence, or Execution, are puniſhable by the law of the Land for their ſo doing, as doers of their own wrong, and contrary to the ſaid law of the Land.

Declaration on the 9th, *Quære.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

9. No Man ought to be puniſhed in the *Caſtle-Chamber*, or in any other Court for taking a voluntary Oath before Arbitrators, for affirmance or diſaffirmance of any thing, or the true performance of any thing in Civil Cauſes: Nor are the Arbitrators before whom ſuch voluntary Oaths ſhall be taken, puniſhable.

Declaration on the 10th. *Qu.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

10. By the Laws and Statutes of the Realm no Man is bound, or ought to be compelled to acknowledge the offence layed to his charge, or the juſtneſs of any Cenſure paſt againſt him in the *Caſtle-Chamber*, or at the Councel-Table, nor ought to be detained in Priſon, or abridged of his liberty, or the reducement of his Fine ſtayed or delayed until he do acknowledg ſuch offence, or the juſtneſs of ſuch Cenſure. And it is further declared, That no ſuch inforced or wreſted confeſſion or acknowledgment, can or ought to debar, or hinder any Subject from his Bill of Reverſal or review of any Sentence, or Decree paſt, or conceived againſt him in the *Caſtle-Chamber*, or in any other Court.

Declaration on the 11th, *Quær.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

11. The Judges of the *Kings Bench*, or Juſtices of Gaol-delivery, or the Judges of any other Court, ought not to deny Copies of Indictments of Felony or Treaſon to the parties indicted.

Declaration on the 12th, *Quær.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

12. The Barons of the *Exchequer*, ought not to raiſe the reſpit of Homage above the uſual rates appertaining in and by the courſe and preſidents of that Court, continued until the year of our Lord God 1637. And the raiſing thereof ſince that time was Arbitrary and againſt the Law. And the Barons of the *Exchequer* ought not to diſtinguiſh between the reſpit of Homage upon any diverſity of the true values of the *Knight*'s Fees.

Declaration on the 13th, *Quær.* Voted upon *Queſtion,*

13. The Subjects of this Kingdom may lawfully repair into *England* to repeal to his Majeſty for redreſs of Injuries, or for other their lawful occaſions; And for their ſo doing, ought not to be puniſhed or queſtioned upon the Statute of 5. of King *Richard* the ſecond, nor by any other Law or Statute of force in this Kingdom (eminent Officers or Miniſters of State, Commanders and Souldiers of his Majeſties Army) The Judges and Miniſters of his Majeſties Courts of Juſtice, and of his Highneſs Revenues and Cuſtomes, whoſe attendance is neceſſarily requiſite by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, only excepted.

Declaration on the 14th, *Quær.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

14. Deaneries or other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities of this Realm, are not *de mero Jure* Donative; but ſome are Donative, and ſome Elective, and ſome are Collative according to their reſpective foundations. And the confirmation of the Biſhops grants by a Dean *de facto*, having actually *ſtallum in Choro & vocem in Capitulo*, togegether with the Chapter, is good in Law.

Declaration on the 15th, *Quær.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

15 The iſſuing of *Quo warrantoes* out of the Court of *Kings Bench*, *Court* of *Exchequer*, or any other Court againſt Borroughs that antiently, or recently ſent Burgeſſes to the Parliament, to ſhew cauſe why they ſent Burgeſſes to the Parliament, and the

the proceedings thereupon are *Coram non Judice*, illegal and void. And the right of ſending Burgeſſes to the Parliament, is queſtionable in Parliament only; And the occaſioners, procurers and Judges in ſuch *Quowarrantoes* and proceedings are puniſhable, as in Parliament ſhall be thought conſonant to Law and Juſtice.

16. Jurors are the ſole Judges of the matter in fact, and they ought not for giving their Verdict to be bound over to the Court of *Caſtle-Chamber* by the Judge or Judges before whom the Verdict was, or ſhall be given. Declaration on the 16th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

17. No man ought to be cenſured in the *Caſtle-Chamber* in the mutilation of Members, or any other Brand of Infamy, otherwiſe or in other Caſes then is expreſly limited by the Statutes of this Realm, in ſuch caſes provided. Declaration on the 17th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

18. In the Cenſures of the *Caſtle-Chamber*, eſpecially regard ought to be had to the words of the great Charter (*viz.*) *Salvo contenemento*, &c. Declaration on the 18th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

19. A Felon who flies the courſe of Juſtice, and lieth in VVoods, Mountains, or elſewhere upon his keeping, is no Traytor, and a Proclamation cannot make him a Traytor. Declaration on the 19th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

20. The Teſtimony of convicted or protected Rebels, Traytors, Felons, is no ſufficient evidence in Law upon the Trial of any perſon for his life; And the credit of the Teſtimonie of perſons accuſed or impeached and not convicted of Felony or Treaſon, ought to be left to the Jury who are ſole Judges of the truth and validity of the ſaid Teſtimony. Declaration on the 20th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

21. The King grants Lands to be held in free and Common Soccage, as of a Caſtle or Mannor by Letters Patents under the great Seal, and by the ſame Letters Patents, or by other Letters, Patents, grants a Fair and Market, reſerving a yearly Rent, or ſum without expreſſing any Tenure as to the ſaid Fair or Market, the ſaid Fair or Market, is not held by *Knights-Service*, *in Capite*, or otherwiſe *in Capite*. Declaration on the 21th. *Quæſt.* Voted upon *Queſtion.*

FITZ GERALD's *Edict manifesting the Cause of his* Rebellion, *relating to fol* 15.

Edictum Illustrissimi Domini *Jacobi Geraldini* de Justitia ejus Belli, quod *Hibernia* pro fide gerit.

SI ut bellum aliquod justè geratur, tria requiruntur, Causa Justa, Potestas Legitima, & Legitimus belli administrandi Modus: Hæc tria in hoc Bello concurrere jam planum fiet.

Causa enim hujus belli, est dei Gloria, Cui externum Sacrificii Cultum, & visibilem Sancti Altaris honorem ab Hæreticis impiè ablatum, nos restituendum curamus: Gloria item Christi, Cujus Sacramenta gratiam conferre, cum Hæretici blasphemè negent, Christi Evangelium ejusdem infirmitatis accusant, ob quam lex reprobata fuit: Gloria item Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quam contra Scripturarum veritatem Hæretici aliquot sæculis obscuram & mundo ignotam fuisse mentiuntur. At in Dei Nomine, per Christi Sacramenta sanctificando, & in Ecclesiæ unitate servanda, omnium nostrûm salus potissimum consistit.

Jam vero Potestas hujus belli sumpta est, primum à Jure Naturali, deinde ab Evangelico. Jus Naturale potestatem nobis facit defendendi nosmetipsos contra Manifestissimam Hæreticorum Tyrannidem, quia contra jus Naturæ sub pœna Mortis cogunt Nos priorem Nostram de Pontificis Romani Primatu fidem abjurare, novamque & planè contrariam Religionem invitos recipere ac profiteri. Quale Jugum nec Christiani Judæis aut Turcis, nec illi Nostris, unquam imposuerunt. Deinde cum Christus in Evangelio Regni Cælorum claves (hoc est) summam Ecclesiæ suæ administrationem Petro *dederit, Hujus Apostolorum principis legitimus in eadem Cathedra successor* Gregorius *decimus tertius in Ducem ac Generalem hujus belli Capitaneum nos elegit, ut ex ipsius literis ac Diplomate abundè constat; quod quidem tanto Magis fecit, quia Ejus Præcessor* Pius *Quintus* Elizabetham *istarum Hæresium patronam omni regia Potestate ac Dominio jam ante privaverat, quod ipsum Ejus Declaratoria Sententia, quam & ipsam apud nos habemus, manifestissimè testatur.*

Itaque jam non contra legitimum Angliæ Sceptrum & honorabile Solium dimicamus, sed contra Tyrannam, quæ Christum in Vicario suo loquentem recusans audire, immo Christi Ecclesiam suo fœmineo sexui etiam in fidei causis (de quibus cum Authoritate nec loqui deberet) ausa subjicere, merito regiam Potestatem amisit.

Porro, quod ad modum Ejusdem belli administrandi pertinet, nec bona Nostrorum Civium invadere, nec privatas inimicitias, à quibus liberi sumus, persequi, nec summam regnandi potestatem nobis usurpare cogitamus: Imo, restituatur Deo statim suus Honor, & nos continuò

tinuo parati ſumus gladium deponere, atque iis qui legitimè præerunt obedire. Sin aliqui (quod abſit) Hæreſes propugnare, ac Deo ſuum honorem auferre deinceps pergant (nam quos de præteritis pœnitet, iis nihil opponimus, nec unquam oppoſituri ſumus) Illi utique ſunt qui de Hibernia *veram pacem auferunt, illi ſunt qui bellum patriæ ſuæ inferunt, & non Nos. Quando enim Pax non cum Deo ſed cum Diabolo habetur (uti nunc ſe res habet) tunc non immerito una cum Servatore Noſtro dicere debemus, Non veni pacem in terram mittere ſed Gladium. Si Ergo Bellum quod ob Pacem cum Deo renovandam gerimus longè Juſtiſſimum eſt, Qui nobis in hoc bello adverſantur damnationem ſibi acquirent, habituri adverſarios non ſolum omnes Sanctos, quorum reliquias & ſanctas Imagines Hæretici conculcant, ſed etiam Deum ipſum, Cujus Gloriam oppugnant. Atque hæc ſint ſatis hoc in loco. Nam ſi quis plenius horum omnium rationem perſpicere velit, Is perlegat æquitatem & rationem hujus Edicti, quam alias plenius edendam Curavimus.*

APPENDIX, II.

Fol. 24.

The Relation of the Lord Maguire *written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir* John Conyers *then Lieutenant, to preſent to the Lords in Parliament.*

BEing in *Dublin Candlemaſs*-Term laſt was twelve Moneth (1640.) the Parliament then ſitting, Mr. *Roger Moore* did write to me, deſiring me, that if I could in that ſpare time, I would come to his Houſe (for then the Parliament did nothing but Sit, and Adjourn, expecting a Commiſſion for the continuance thereof, their former Commiſſion being expired) and that ſome things he had to ſay unto me, that did merely concern me, and on receipt of his Letter, the new Commiſſion for continuing the Parliament landed, and I did return him an Anſwer that I could not fulfil his requeſt for that preſent; and thereupon he himſelf came to Town preſently after, and ſending to me, I went to ſee him at his Lodging: And after ſome little time ſpent in ſalutations, he began to diſcourſe of the many Afflictions and Sufferings of the Natives of that Kingdom, and particularly in thoſe late times of my Lord *Strafford's* Government, which gave diſtaſt to the whole Kingdom. And then he began to

cularlize the ſuffering of them that were the more antient Natives, as were the *Iriſh*; how that on ſeveral Plantations they were all put out of their Anceſtors Eſtates. All which ſufferings he ſaid, did beget a general diſcontent over all the whole Kingdom in both the Natives; to wit, the Old and New *Iriſh*. And that if the Gentry of the Kingdom were diſpoſed to free themſelves furtherly from the like inconvenience, and get good Conditions for themſelves, for regaining their Anceſtors (or at leaſt a good part thereof) Eſtates, they could never deſire a more convenient time than that time, (the diſtempers of *Scotland* being then on foot) and did ask me what I thought of it; I made him anſwer that I could not tell what to think of it; ſuch matters being altogether out of my Element. Then he would needs have an Oath of me of ſecrecy; which I gave him, and thereupon, he told me that he ſpoke to the beſt Gentry of Quality in *Lemſter*, and a great part of *Connaght* touching that matter, and he found all of them willing thereunto, if ſo be they could draw to them the Gentry of *Ulſter*, for which cauſe (ſaid he) I came to ſpeak to you; then he began to lay down to me the caſe that I was in there, overwhelmed in Debt, the ſmalneſs of my Eſtate, and the greatneſs of the Eſtate my Anceſtors had, and how I ſhould be ſure to get it again, or at leaſt a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare, and maintaining of the Catholick Religion, which he ſaid, undoubtedly the Parliament now in *England* will ſuppreſs, doth depend on it: For, ſaid he, it is to be feared, and ſo much I hear from every underſtanding man, the Parliament intends the utter ſubverſion of our Religion, by which perſwaſions he obtained my conſent. And ſo I demanded whether any more of *Ulſter* Gentry were in Town, I told him that *Phillip Reyly*, Mr. *Jorilagh O Neal*, brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and Mr. *Coſloe mac Mahone* were in Town, ſo for that time we parted.

The next day he invited Mr. *Reyly*, and I, to dine with him, and after dinner he ſent for thoſe other Gentlemen, Mr. *Neale*, and Mr. *mac Mahone*, and when they were come, he began the diſcourſe formerly uſed to me, to them, and with the ſame perſwaſions formerly uſed to me, he obtained their conſent. And then he began to diſcourſe of the manner, how it ought to be done, of the feazability, and eaſineſs of the Attempt, conſidering matters, as they then ſtood in *England*, the troubles of *Scotland*, the great number of able men in the Kingdom, meaning *Ireland*, what ſuccours they were (more then) to hope for from abroad, and the Army then raiſed all *Iriſhmen*, and well armed, meaning the Army raiſed by my Lord *Straford*, againſt *Scotland*. Firſt, that every one ſhould endeavour to draw his own friends into that Act. and at leaſt thoſe that did live in one County with them; and when they had ſo done, they ſend to the *Iriſh* in the *Low-Countryes*, and *Spain*, to let them know of the day, and reſolution, ſo that they be over with them by that day, or ſoon after with ſupply of Arms and Ammunition, as they could; that there ſhould be a ſet day appointed, and every own in his own quarters ſhould riſe out that day, and ſeize on all Arms he could get in his County, and this day to be near Winter, ſo that *England* could not be able to ſend forces into *Ireland* before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themſelves ſhould be ſupplied

plied by the *Iriſh* beyond Seas, who he ſaid could not miſs of help from either *Spain*, or the *Pope*, but that his reſolutions were not in all things allowed. For, firſt it was reſolved nothing ſhould be done, until firſt they had ſent to the *Iriſh* over-Seas to know their advice, and what hope of ſucceſs they could give, for in them, as they ſaid, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice, and reſolution before any further proceedings, more than to ſpeak to, and try Gentlemen of the Kingdom, every one, as they could conveniently, to ſee (in caſe they would at any time grow to a reſolution) what to be, and ſtrength they muſt truſt to; then Mr. *Moore* told them, that it was to no purpoſe to ſpend much time in ſpeaking to the Gentry. For there was no doubt to be made of the *Iriſh*, that they would be ready at any time. And that all the doubt was in the Gentry of the *Pale*, but he ſaid that for his own part, he was really aſſured, when they had riſen out, the *Pale* Gentry would not ſtay long after, at leaſt that they would not oppoſe them in any thing, but be Neuters, and if in caſe they did, that they had men enough in the Kingdom without them. Moreover he ſaid he had ſpoke to a great man (who then ſhould be nameleſs) that would not fail at the appointed day of riſing out to appear, and to be ſeen in the Act. But that until then he was ſworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. *Moore* ſhould the next *Lent* following, make a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he alſo might inform them what he had done, and ſo on parting, Mr. *Phillip Reyly*, and I, did importune Mr. *Moore* for the knowledge of that great man, that he ſpake of, and on long entreaty, after binding us to new ſecrecy, not to diſcover him till the day ſhould be appointed, he told that it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in Command of men in thoſe parts of *Connaght* wherein he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him, no more than was of himſelf, and ſo we parted.

The next *Lent* following, Mr. *Moore* according to his promiſe came into *Ulſter*, by reaſon it was the time of Aſſizes in ſeveral Counties; there he met only with Mr. *Reyly*, and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till the *May* following, where we or moſt of us ſhould meet at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term-time: In the mean time there landed one *Neale O Neale*, ſent by the Earl of *Tyrone* out of *Spain*, to ſpeak with the Gentry of his Name and Kindred, to let them know that he had treated with Cardinal *Richelieu* for obtaining ſuccour to come for *Ireland*, and that he prevailed with the Cardinal, ſo that he was to have Arms, Ammunition and Money from him on demand to come for *Ireland*, and that he only expected a Convenient time to come away, and to deſire them to be in a readineſs, and to procure all others, whom they could, to be ſo likewiſe, which meſſage did ſet on the proceedings very much, ſo that Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Reyly*, my brother, and I, meeting the next *May* at *Dublin*, and the ſame Meſſenger there too; It was reſolved, that he ſhould return to the Earl into *Spain* with their Reſolution, which was that they would riſe out twelve or fourteen dayes before or after *Allhallontide*, as they ſhould ſee cauſe, and that he ſhould not fail to be with them by that time: There was a report at that time, and

before that the Earl of *Tyrone* was killed, which was not believed, by reaſon of many ſuch reports formerly, which we found to be falſe, and ſo the Meſſenger departed with directions, that if the Earls death were true, he ſhould repair into the *Low-Countrys* to Colonel *Owen O Neale*, and acquaint him with his Commiſſion from the Earl; whereof, it was thought, he was not ignorant, and to return an Anſwer ſent by him, and to ſee what he would adviſe, or would do himſelf therein. But preſently after his departure, the certainty of the Earls death was known, and on further Reſolution it was agreed, that an expreſs Meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the Colonel, to make all the Reſolutions known to him, and to return ſpeedily with his Anſwer. And ſo one *Toole O Comely* a Prieſt (as I think Pariſh Prieſt to Mr. *Moore*) was ſent away to Colonel *O Neale*: In the interim there came ſeveral Letters and News out of *England* to *Dublin*, of Proclamations againſt the Catholicks in *England*, and alſo that the Army raiſed in *Ireland*, ſhould be disbanded, and conveyed into *Scotland*: And preſently after ſeveral Colonels and Captains Landed, with directions to carry away thoſe men; amongſt whom Colonel *Plunkett*, Colonel *Burne*, and Captain *Bryan O Neale* came, but did not all come together; for *Plunkett* landed before my coming out of Town, and the other two after, wherein a great fear of Suppreſſing of Religion was conceived, and eſpecially by the Gentry of the *Pale*, and it was very common amongſt them, that it would be very inconvenient to ſuffer ſo many men to be conveyed out of the Kingdom; it being as was ſaid, very confidently reported, that the *Scottiſh* Army did threaten never to lay down Arms, until an uniformity of Religion were in the three Kingdoms, and the Catholick Religion ſuppreſſed. And thereupon both Houſes of Parliament began to oppoſe their going, and the Houſes were divided in their Opinions; ſome would have them go, others not; but what the definitive concluſion of the Houſes was touching the point, I cannot tell; for by leave from the Houſe of Lords, I departed into the Country before the Prorogation. But before my departure I was informed by *John Barnewall* a Fryer, that thoſe Gentlemen of the *Pale* (and ſome other Members of the Houſe of Commons) had ſeveral meetings and conſultations, how they might make ſtay of the Souldiers in the Kingdom, and likewiſe to arm them in defence of the King, being much injured both of *England* and *Scotland* then (as they were informed) and to prevent any attempt againſt Religion; and preſently after I departed into the Country, and Mr. *Reyly* being a Member of the Houſe of Commons ſtayed the Prorogation; and on his coming into the Country ſent to me to meet him, and I came to his Houſe, where he told me that he heard for certain, that the former Narration of *Barnewall* to me (for I did acquaint him with it) was true and that he heard it from ſeveral there; alſo was *Emar mac Mahone* (made firmly privy to all our proceedings at Mr. *Reylys*) lately come out of the *Pale*, where he met with the aforenamed *John Barnewall*, who told him as much; and he formerly told me, and moreover that thoſe Colonels that lately came over, did proffer their Service, and induſtry in that Act, and ſo would raiſe their men under colour to convey them into *Spain*, and then ſeize on the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and with their Arms there to Arm their Souldiers, and have them ready for any occaſion, that

ſhould

ſhould be commanded them, but that they had not concluded any thing, becauſe they were not aſſured how the Gentlemen of the remote parts of the Kingdom (and eſpecially of *Ulſter*) would ſtand affected to that Act, and that aſſurance of that doubt was all their impediment. Then we three began to think, how we might aſſure them help and of the aſſiſtance of *Ulſter* Gentlemen; It was thought that one ſhould be ſent to them to acquaint them there with, and they made choice of me to come; by reaſon, as they ſaid, that my Wife was allyed to them and their Countrey-woman, and would believe me, truſt me ſooner than other of their parts, they or moſt of them being of the *Pale*. And ſo (without as much as to return home to furniſh my ſelf for ſuch a Journey, *Volens, nolens,*) they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to *Dublin* to confer with thoſe Colonels, (and that was the laſt *Auguſt* was Twelve-month). Coming to Town, I met Sir *James Dillon* accidentally before I came to my Lodging, who was one of thoſe Colonels: and after Salutations, he demanded of me where my Lodging was, which when I told him, and parted; the next day being abroad about ſome other occaſions in Town, I met him (as he ſaid) coming to wait on me in my Chamber; but being a good way from it, he deſired me to go into his own Chamber, being near at hand; And then began to diſcourſe of the preſent ſufferings and afflictions of that Kingdom, and particularly of Religion, and how they were to expect no redreſs (the Parliament in *England* intending, and the *Scots* reſolving never to lay down Arms until the Catholick Religion were ſuppreſſed). Then he likewiſe began to lay down what danger it would be to ſuffer ſo many able Men, as was to go with them to depart the Kingdom in ſuch a time: Neither (ſaid he) do their other Gentlemen that are Colonels and my ſelf, affect our own private profit, ſo as to prefer it before the general good of the Kingdom; And knowing you are well affected thereunto; and I hope (ſaid he) ready to put your helping-hand to it upon occaſion, I will let you know the reſolution of thoſe other Gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready to raiſe our Men, and after to ſeize on the Caſtle, where there is great great ſtore of Arms, and arm our ſelves there. This was the firſt motion that ever I heard of taking the Caſtle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor am I perſwaded ever would, if it had not proceeded from thoſe Colonels, who were the firſt motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent, and reſiſt any danger, that the Gentlemen of the Kingdom like thereof, and help us: For we of our ſelves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their aſſiſtance. I began according to the directions that were ſent with me to approve of their Reſolution, and alſo to let him know, how ſure he might be of the aſſiſtance of thoſe of *Ulſter*. Then he told us, that for my more ſatisfaction, I ſhould confer with the reſt of the Colonels themſelves, as many as are privy to the Action, and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed that afternoon; and on the time and place appointed there met Sir *James* himſelf, Colonel *Bourne*, and Colonel *Plunket*. And that former Diſcourſe being renewed, they began to lay down the Obſtacles to that Enterpriſe, and how they ſhould be redreſſed. 1ſt. If there

ſhould

ſhould VVar enſue, how there ſhould be Money had to pay the Souldiers. 2ly, How and where they ſhould procure ſuccours from Forreign parts. 3dly, How to draw in the *Pale* Gentlemen. 4thly, Who ſhould undertake to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and how it ſhould be done.

To the firſt, it was anſwered; That the Rents in the Kingdom every where, not having reſpect whoſe they ſhould be, due to the Lords and Gentlemen thereof, ſhould be collected to pay the Souldiers. And moreover, they might be ſure (nay that there was no doubt thereof) to procure money from the Pope, who gave ſeveral promiſes formerly to my Lord of *Tyrone* (in caſe he could make way to come into *Ireland*) to maintain ſix thouſand men yearly at his own charge; and that notwithſtanding, that my Lord of *Tyrone* was dead, yet that he would continue the ſame forwardneſs now.

To the ſecond, it was anſwered by Colonel *Bourne*, that help from abroad could not fail them. For (ſaid he) Colonel *O Neal* told me that he had, or would procure in readineſs (I do not remember which of thoſe the Colonel ſpake, or whether he ſpoke poſitive, that Colonel *O Neal* had Arms, or would procure them) Arms for ten thouſand men. And moreover (ſaid he) I make no great queſtion, that if we ſend into *Spain*, we ſhall not miſs of aid; for I being in *London* the laſt year in the *Scots* troubles, I was in conference with one of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours there then, and talking of their troubles then a-foot; he ſaid, That if the *Iriſh* did then riſe too, and ſend to *Spain*, their Meſſengers would be received under Canopies of Gold. Theſe laſt words he told me, and ſome one man of thoſe that were preſent, privately, whoſe name I cannot call to mind; (neither well remember I whether he ſpoke to them all, or no) then it was thought, that when they were both in Arms for defence of the Catholick cauſe, they would be ſuccoured by the Catholick Princes of Chriſtendom.

To the third, it was anſwered by Colonel *Plunket*, That he was as morally certain (for thoſe were his words) as he could be of any thing, that the *Pale* Gentleman would joyn with them, and aſſiſt them. For, he ſaid, I have ſpoke to ſeveral of them ſince my landing in the Kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing; and withal I have at *London* ſpoke to ſome of the Committees, and particularly to my Lord of *Gormonſtowne*, to let them know his reſolution, and they approved it very well. All this was not done at the firſt meeting, but at three or four meetings; And ſo on the laſt meeting, it was reſolved to the laſt doubt, touching ſeizing the Caſtle, that Colonel *Plunket* and Colonel *Bourne* ſhould undertake that Task, becauſe they were nearer to it than any other, and alſo ſeize on the Forts, Garriſons and other places, where they think any Arms ſhould be; and in particular, *Londonderry*, which ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of *Ulſter*, and then there was a ſet-day appointed for the execution thereof; that was the fifth of the enſuing *October*, (this being the latter end of *Auguſt*, or the beginning of *September*, *Anno* 1641. I do not know whether.) And every one ſhould make proviſion to riſe out that day; and they were named, that ſhould firſt ſuccour them, that would take the Caſtle with men preſently, namely, Sir *James Dillon*, who did undertake to be with them within 3 (or at the moſt) 4 days, with 1000 men, and ſo much

much more ſhould come to them out of the *North*. For theſe two Colonels did not intend to uſe above 100 men in the ſurprizal, whereof they were to have twenty good able Gentlemen: For they made account, that having the Caſtle, they with the Artillery would maſter all the Town, until they were relieved by men from the Countrey; And becauſe there was a doubt made, how all this ſhould be done in ſo ſhort a time, they did appoint, that all that were there preſent, ſhould not fail to meet again there the 20*th* of *September*, to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments. And if on that interview all things ſhould happen to be well, that they go forward, or if otherwiſe, to prolong the Execution of it to a more convenient time, and ſo we parted every man into the Countrey about his own Task. And I in my way home came to Mr. *Reylies* houſe, and there I received a Letter from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, that his Lady was dead, and to be buried on the *Sunday* following, this being on the *Saturday*, and deſiring me in all kindneſs to come to the Burial; and Mr. *Reyly* having received another Letter to the ſame effect, would needs have me go thither (whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, withal not provided to go to ſuch a meeting) as well (ſaid he) to prevent any jealouſie from the Ladies Friends; as alſo to confer with Sir *Phelim* touching all thoſe proceedings (for neither he nor I ſpoke to Sir *Phelim* concerning the matters before) but to his Brother *Torilagh O Neal*, and coming thither, we found Captain *Brian O Neal*, lately come out of the Low-countreys, ſent over by Colonel *O Neal* to ſpeak to, and provoke thoſe of *Ulſter* to riſe out in Arms, and that he would be with them, on notice of their day, the ſame day, or ſoon after it. And it was asked of the ſaid Captain what Aid he could ſend or procure, being but a private Colonel, or where he could get any. He replyed, That the ſaid Colonel told him, that he had ſent to ſeveral places that Summer to demand Aid, and in particular to Cardinal *Richelieu* into *France*, (to whom he had ſent twice that year) and had comfortable, and very hopeful promiſes from them, and eſpecially from that Cardinal, on whom he thought the Colonel did moſt depend, ſo that there was no doubt to be made of ſuccour from him, and eſpecially when they had riſen out, that would be a means to the Cardinal to give Aid; we did the more credit him in regard of the former Treaty between the ſaid Cardinal and the Earl of *Tyrone*, as formerly is ſaid. For my own part, I did and do believe, that the Colonel doth depend on *France* for Aid, more than on any other place, as well for thoſe reaſons, as alſo that *Ever mac Mahone*, formerly mentioned, told me, That preſently after the Iſle of *Rees* enterprize (he being then in the Low-countreys did hear for certain, that the Earl of *Tyrone* together with the Colonel did ſend into *France*, to the Marſhal of *France* (that was General of the *French* Forces at the Iſle of *Ree*) to deal with him for procuring of Aid to come then for *Ireland*, and that he received an Anſwer from the ſaid Marſhal, that he was moſt willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein, but that he could not for the preſent anſwer my Lords expectations, by reaſon that the King had VVars in *Italy*, which he thought would be at an end within half a year, or little more, and then my Lord ſhould not doubt of any thing,

thing, that he could do for his Aſſiſtance; but theſe continued a great deal longer, ſo for that time that Enterpriſe failed. So after the Burial was done, I gave thoſe Gentlemen knowledg of what I had done at *Dublin*, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they ſhould ſurpriſe *Londonderry*, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and ſo Sir *Phelim* deſired me to take his Houſe in my way going to *Dublin*, and that I ſhould have a reſolution to carry with me touching *Londonderry*, and thereon I parted home, but ſoon after came to *Dublin* to the fore-appointed Meeting with thoſe Colonels. But firſt I took in my way Sir *Phelim O Neal*'s Houſe, to be certain what he had done; and his Anſwer was, That he knew that matter could not be put in Execution by the fifth of *October*, as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, And that he would provide for the taking of *Londonderry* by that day, and ſo came to *Dublin* to give an account of that was done, and alſo know what further ſhould be done. I was not two hours in my Lodging when Mr. *Moor* came to me (who knew what was done by thoſe Colonels formerly from Colonel *Bourn*), and told me that the Meſſenger ſent to Colonel *O Neal*, was come with an Anſwer, deſiring us not to delay any time in riſing out, and to let him know of that Day before-hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days of that Day with good Aid; alſo deſiring us by any means to ſeize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, if we could; for he heard that there was great proviſion in it for VVar: And Mr. *Moor* moreover ſaid, that time was not to be over-ſlipped, and deſired me to be very preſſing with the Colonels to go on in their Reſolution; But on meeting the Colonels with them, they were fallen from their Reſolution, becauſe thoſe of the *Pale* would do nothing therein firſt; but when it was done, they would not fail to aſſiſt us. Colonel *Plunket* did affirm, and ſo by ſeveral meetings it was reſolved on by them to deſiſt from that Enterpriſe for that time, and to expect a more convenient time: But before that their Reſolution, Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the aforeſaid Captain *Bryan O Neal* followed me to *Dublin* (as they ſaid) to aſſiſt, and adviſe me how to proceed with that Colonel, but neither they nor Mr. *Moor* would be ſeen therein themſelves to thoſe Gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every Meeting; alledging for Excuſe, That I being firſt employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they ſhould be ſeen in it. And moreover, they would not be known to be in the Town but by a few of their Friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the Town, at leaſt as long as I was in Town, for I left them there; But when I made them acquainted with their determination of deſiſting from that Enterpriſe, they thought it convenient, that we ſhould meet with Mr. *Moor* and Colonel *Bourn* to ſee what was further to be done, concerning the further intention of their own, and according we did ſend to them that they ſhould meet us; and on that Meeting, it was, Where was only Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Moor*, Colonel *Bourne*, Captain *Neal*, and my ſelf. After long debate, it was reſolved, That we with all thoſe that were of our faction ſhould go on with that determination that was formerly made, concluded to riſe out. Moreover, to ſeize on the Caſtle (as the Colonels were

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purpoſed, for if it were not for their project, and the advice ſent by Colonel *Neale*, we would never venture to ſurpriſe it, neither was it ever thought on in all the Meetings and Reſolutions between us, before thoſe Colonels did reſolve on it, but by reaſon, that the other Gentlemen that were privy to theſe proceedings were not preſent, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it was put off to a further meeting in the Country, and this was reſolved in *Dublin* on the *Sunday* at Night, being the twenty ſixth or twenty ſeventh of *September*, and the meeting was appointed on the *Saturday* following at *mac Colloe*, *mac Mahone*'s houſe in *Farney* in the County of *Monaghan*. And thereupon we all left the Town, only Sir *Phelim* ſtayed about ſome other his private occaſions, but did aſſure his being there at that day; and by reaſon, that at that meeting the Gentry of *Lemſter* could not be, conſidering the remoteneſs of the place from them; it was thought fit that Mr. *Moore* ſhould there meet to receive the final Reſolution, and ſhould acquaint them therewith: And in the mean time Colonel *Bourne*, who had undertaken for Colonel *Plunkett*, ſhould inform them all the intention conceived, and diſpoſe them in readineſs againſt that day that ſhould be appointed. On *Saturday* I came to Mr. *mac Mahone*'s houſe; there met only Mr. *mac Mahone* himſelf, Captain *Neale*, *Ever mac Mahone*, and my ſelf, and thither thatſame day came the Meſſenger that was ſent to Colonel *Neale*, and did report the Colonels anſwer and advice *verbatim*, as I have formerly repeated from Mr. *Moore*; and by reaſon that Sir *Phelim*, his Brother, or Mr. *Phillip Reyly*, that were deſired to meet, did not meet; we ſtayed that Night to expect them, and that Night I received a Letter from Sir *Phelim*, intreating us by any means, not to expect him untill the *Munday* following; for he had, nor could diſpatch ſome occaſions merely concerning him, but whatever became of them, he would not fail of the *Munday*: And the next day after receipt of the Letter being *Sunday* (by Mr. *Moores* advice) we departed from Colonel *mac Mahones* houſe to prevent (as he ſaid) the ſuſpition of the *Engliſh* there (many living near) to *Loghroſſe* in the County of *Ardmagh* to Mr. *Torilagh O Neale*'s houſe (not Sir *Phelim*'s Brother, but Son to Mr. *Henry O Neale* of the *Fewes*, Son in Law to Mr. *Moore*) and left word, that if Sir *Phelim*, or any of thoſe Gentlemen did come in the mean time, they ſhould follow us thither (whether only went Mr. *Moore*, Captain *O Neale* and my ſelf) and there we expected until the *Tueſday* ſubſequent before any of thoſe did come. On the *Tueſday* came Sir *Phelim*, and *Ever mac Mahone*, all the reſt failing to come, Mr. *mac Mahone*'s wife was dead the Night before, which was the cauſe that he was not there, but I gave his aſſent to what ſhould be concluded to win therein, and execute what ſhould be appointed him; and then we five (*viz.*) Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Moore*, Captain *O Neale*, *Ever mac Mahone*, and my ſelf, aſſuring our ſelves, that thoſe Gentlemen abſent ſhould both allow, and joyn to what we ſhould determine, did grow into a final Reſolution, grounding all or moſt part of our hope and confidence on the Succours from Colonel *O Neale*, to ſeize on the Caſtle, and riſe out all in one day, and the day was appointed on the 23th. of that Moneth, this being the 5th. day of *October*, having regard therein to the day of the week, whereon that day did fall, which was the *Saturday*, being the Market day,

on which day there would be leſs notice taken of people up and down the ſtreets; then began a queſtion who ſhould be deputed for the ſurpriſal of the Caſtle, and then Mr. *Moore* ſaid he would be one of them himſelf, and that Colonel *Bourne* ſhould be another, and what other Gentlemen of *Lemſter* they could procure to joyn with them, and ſeeing the Caſtle had two Gates, the one the great, the other the little Gate going down to my Lord Lieutenant's Stables, hard by which Stables, without the Caſtle, was the Store-houſe for Arms, they of *Lemſter* would undertake one Gate, and that ſhould be the little Gate, and the great Gate ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of *Ulſter*, and (ſaid he) of neceſſity one of you both (meaning Sir *Phelim* and me) muſt be there, for the mere countenance of the matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings, and all that his Speech was well liked of all preſent: But Sir *Phelim* would be exempted from that imployment, and ſo would I; but then all of them ſet on me, deſiring me to be one, alledging for Reaſon, that their Proceedings and Reſolutions were very honorable and glorious, it being for Religion, and for to procure more liberty for their Country, as did (ſay they) of late *Scotland*, and that in taking the Caſtle conſiſted all the glory and honour of the ſaid Act; all which ſhould be attributed to them which ſhould be imployed therein, and ſo by conſequence all, or moſt part to be there, being (as they ſaid) the chief in that Enterpriſe, and more, Sir *Phelim* ſaid that he would endeavour to take or procure others to take *Londonderry* the ſame day, and if he ſhould be away, that place would not be taken; with theſe and many other perſwaſions they obtained my conſent, and then the Captain offered himſelf: they began to think what number ſhould be imployed in that Act; and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each Province, for thoſe States which they ſeize on, of which number Sir *Phelim O Neale* ſhould ſend forty with an able ſufficient Gentleman to conduct them: And likewiſe Captain *Neale* twenty, Mr. *mac Mahone*, Mr. *Reyly* ten more, and I ſhould bring twenty two; then began a doubt how they ſhould raiſe thoſe men, and convey them to *Dublin* without ſuſpicion; and it was anſwered that under pretence of carrying them to thoſe Colonels that were conveying Souldiers into the Kingdom, it might ſafely be done; and to that purpoſe Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Moore*, and the Captain had ſeveral blank Patents with Deputations to make Captains to thoſe Colonels, which they ſent to thoſe that ſhould ſend men to *Dublin*: for the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the Country that day, and it was reſolved, that every one privy to that matter in every part of the Kingdom ſhould riſe up that day, and ſeize on all the Forts and Arms in the ſeveral Counties, to make all the Gentry Priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any averſe fortune, and not to kill any, but where of neceſſity they muſt be forced thereunto by oppoſition (and that thoſe that were appointed for taking of the Caſtle ſhould obſerve) and in particular the Gentry: All their Army in *Ulſter* to take that day *Londonderry*, which Sir *Phelim* did undertake, and *Knockfergus*, which they thought Sir *Henry mac O Neale* would do; and to that end Sir *Phelim*'s Brother *Torilagh O Neale* ſhould be ſent to them; and the *Newry* which ſhould be undertaken by Sir *Conne Magennis*, and his Brothers; for whom Sir *Phelim*,

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in regard they were his Brothers in Law, his deceaſed Lady being their Siſter, did undertake. Moreover, it was agreed, that Sir *Phelim*, Mr. *Reyly*, Mr. *Coll mac Mahone*, and my Brother ſhould with all the ſpeed they could after that day raiſe all the forces they could, and follow us to *Dublin*; But to Arm the men, and ſuccour, and attend, and garriſon the Town and Caſtle; And likewiſe Mr. *Moore* ſhould appoint *Lemſter* Gentlemen to ſend like ſupply of men; then there was fear of the *Scots* conceived, that they ſhould preſently oppoſe themſelves, and that would make the matter more difficult, and to avoid which danger, it was reſolved on, not to meddle with them, or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themſelves towards them, as if they were of themſelves, which they thought would pacifie them from any oppoſition, and if the *Scots* would not accept of that offer of amity, but would oppoſe them, they were in good hope to cauſe a ſtir in *Scotland* that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the *Scots* troubles, my Lord of *Tyrone* ſent one *Torilagh O Neal* (a Prieſt) out of *Spain*, and that this, I take it, was the time that he was in Treaty with Cardinal *Richelieu*, to my Lord of *Argile*, to Treat with him for help from my Lord, for him to come into *Ireland*, as was ſaid for Marriage between the ſaid Earl and my Lord of *Argiles* Daughter (or Siſter I know not which) and this Meſſenger was in *Ireland*, with whom Mr. *Torilagh O Neale*, Sir *Phelim*'s Brother had conference, from whom this Relation was had, that ſaid Meſſenger went into *Scotland*, as I did hear from the ſaid Mr. *Neale*, or from *Ever mac Mahone* aforenamed, I know not from which of them, but what he did there I could never hear, by reaſon that my Lord of *Tyrone* was preſently after killed, they were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my Lord of *Argile* did ſay (near to the ſame time as I gueſs, and when the Army was raiſed in *Ireland*, as I think) to a great Lady in *Scotland*; I know not her name, but did hear, that ſhe was much imbarqued in the troubles of that Kingdom, there ſhe queſtioning, how they could ſubſiſt againſt the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, that if the King did endeavour to ſtir *Ireland* againſt them, he would kindle ſuch a Fire in *Ireland*, as would hardly or never be quenched; And moreover they knew my Lord to be Powerful with the *Highlanders*, *Redſhanks* in *Scotland*, whom they thought would be prone, and ready to ſuch Actions, they for the moſt part deſcended out of *Ireland*, holding the *Iriſh* Language and Manners ſtill, and ſo we parted. The next day being *Wedneſday Leghroſſe* every man went about his own task, and ſo when I came home I acquainted my Brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do, and did like according as they had appointed me, ſend to Mr. *Reyly* to let him know as much, and the 18th of the ſame Month I began my Journy to *Dublin*; and when I came to *Dublin* (being the day before the appointed day for putting that Reſolution in execution there) I met with Captain *Conne O Neale*, ſent out of the *Low-Countreys* by Colonel *O Neal*, who was ſent, after the Meſſenger ſent by us formerly to the ſaid Colonel was by him diſappointed with his Anſwer, to encourage us in our Reſolution, and to ſpeedy Performance, with aſſurance of Succour, which he ſaid would not fail of the Colonels behalf, and for the more certainty of

help from him, and to assure us that the Colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he said that it was he himself, that was imployed from him to Cardinal *Richelieu* twice, that some men who gave very fair promises to assure the Colonels expectations, with which he said, that the said Colonel was really with himself assured of the Cardinals aid, and that he was likewise commanded by the Colonel upon our Resolution of the day, to give notice thereof to him, and that he would be within 14. days over with them with aid; but he landed 9. or 10. days before, and meeting with Captain *Brian O Neal*, who made him acquainted with what was Resolved; He did write all the matter to Colonel *O Neale*, so as he was sure of his speedy coming: And so that Evening he and I came to meet the other Gentlemen; and there were met Mr. *Moore*, Colonel *Bourne*, Colonel *Plunkett*, Captain *Fox*, and other *Lemster* Gentlemen, a Captain (I think of the *Bournes*, but I am not sure whether a *Bourne* or *Toole*) and Captain *Bryan O Neale*, and taking an account of those that should have been there; it was found that Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Mr. *Collo mac Mahone* did fail of sending their men; and Colonel *Bourne* did miss Sir *Morgan Cavanagh*, that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that Night or the next Morning in Town: And of the two hundred men that were appointed, there were only eighty present, yet notwithstanding they were resolved to go on in their Resolution, and all the difference was at what time of the day they would set on the Castle, and after some debate, it was resolved in the Afternoon, and the rather hoping to meet the Colonel there then; for they said, if they should take Castle, and be enforced by any extremity for not reciving timely succour out of the Country (having them they could not want) and so parted that Night, but to meet in the Morning to see further what was to be done, and immediately thereon, I came to my Chamber, and about nine of the Clock, Mr. *Moore* and Captain *Fox* came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the City was in Arms, and the Gates were shut up, and so departed from me: And what became of them, and of the rest, I know not, nor think that they escaped, but how, and at what time I do not know, because I my self vvas taken that Morning.

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APPENDIX, III.

Fol. 30.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Council.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlaſe.

WHereas *We the Lords, Juſtices, and Council have lately found that there was a moſt diſloyal, wicked and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended and plotted againſt the Lives of Us, the Lords, Juſtices, and Council, and many others of his Majeſties faithful Subjects, eſpecially in* Ulſter, *and the borders thereof; and for the ſurprizing, not only of his Majeſties Caſtle of* Dublin, *his Majeſties principal Fort, but alſo of other Fortifications in ſeveral parts, and although by the great goodneſs, and abundant mercy of Almighty God to his Majeſty, and to this State and Kingdom, theſe wicked conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpiracies committed to the Caſtle of* Dublin *by Us, by his Majeſty's Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots have not taken effect in the chief parts thereof, yet ſome of thoſe wicked Malefactors have ſurpriſed ſome of his Majeſty's Forts and Garriſons in the North of* Ireland, *ſlain divers of his Majeſty's good Subjects, impriſoned ſome, and robbed and ſpoiled very many others, and continue yet in thoſe Rebellious courſes, againſt whom therefore ſome of his Majeſty's Forces are now marching to fight againſt them, and ſubdue them, thereby to render ſafety to his Majeſty's faithful Subjects: And whereas to colour and countenance thoſe their wicked Intendments and Acts, and in hope to gain the more numbers, and reputation to themſelves and their proceedings in the opinion of the ignorant common people, thoſe Conſpirators have yet gone further, and to their other high Crimes and Offences, have added this further wickedneſs, even to traduce the Crown and State, as well of* England *as* Ireland, *by falſe ſeditious and ſcandalous reports, and rumors ſpread abroad by them. We therefore to vindicate the Crown and State of both Kingdoms, from thoſe falſe and wicked calumnies, do hereby in his Majeſty's name publiſh and declare, that the ſaid reports ſo ſpread abroad by thoſe wicked perſons are moſt falſe wicked and triterous, and that We have full Power and Authority from his Majeſty, to proſecute and ſubdue thoſe Rebels and Traytors, which now We are doing accordingly, by the Power and Strength of his Majeſty's Army, and with*

with the Assistance of his Majesty's good and Loyal Subjects, and We no way doubt, but all his Majesty's good and faithful Subjects will give Faith and Credit to Us, who have the Honour to be trusted by his Majesty so highly, as to serve Him in the Government of this his Kingdom, rather then to the vain, idle, and wicked Reports of such lewd and wicked Conspirators, who spread those false and seditious Rumors, hoping to seduce a great number to their party. And as We now believe that some who have joyned themselves with those Conspirators, had no hand in contriving, or plotting the mischiefs intended, but under pretence of those seditious Scandals were deluded by those Conspirators, and so are now become ignorantly involved in their guilts, so in favour and mercy to those so deluded, We hereby charge and command them in his Majesty's name, now from Us to take light to guide them from that darkness, into which they were misled by the wicked seducement of those Conspirators, and to depart from them, and from their wicked Counsels, and Actions, and according to the duty of Loyal Subjects, to submit themselves to his Sacred Majesty, and to his Royal Authority, intrusted with Us. But in case those persons which were no Plotters, nor Contrivers of the said Treason, but were since seduced to joyn with them, as aforesaid, lay not hold of this his Majesty's Grace and Favour, now tendred unto them, then We do by this Proclamation Publish and Declare, that they shall hereafter be reputed, and taken equally guilty with the said Plotters and Contrivers, and as uncapable of Favour and Mercy, as they are.

Given at His Majesties Castle of *Dublin* the 30. of *October* 1641.

La. Dublin.	J. Temple.
R. Ranelagh.	P. Crosbie.
Ant. Midensis.	Ja. Ware.
John Rophoe.	Rob. Meredith.
R. Dillon.	

APPENDIX IV.

Fol. 32.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Councel.

A Proclamation for the diſcovery and preſent removal of all ſuch as do or ſhall continue in the City of *Dublin*, or places adjacent, Without juſt or neceſſary cauſe.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlace.

WHereas through the great concourſe of people to this City of Dublin, *the Countrey is deprived of Defence, and left open to the rapine and depredation of the Rebels now in Arms in this Kingdom, the poor of thoſe parts are deſtitute of Succour and Relief, and divers other inconveniences do and may thence ariſe, unleſs ſome timely remedy be applied thereunto. WHerefore We do hereby in his Majeſties name, and under the pains and puniſhments hereafter mentioned, command, That all and every perſon and perſons whatſoever, not having neceſſary cauſe of reſiding in this City of* Dublin, *and the Suburbs thereof, and the places within two miles about the ſame, (aſwell within Liberties as without) to be approved of by our very good Lord* James *Earl of* Ormond *and* Oſſory, *who is appointed Lieutenant General of His Majeſties Army in this Kingdom, and the Councel of War here for the time being, or by ſuch other perſons, as ſhall be by them appointed for examination thereof, do within four and twenty hours after publication hereof, repair to their reſpective homes and dwellings. And alſo that no perſon or perſons of what quality or condition ſoever, do keep with him, or them, any more, or other then his, or their own domeſtick ſervants.*

And that this Proclamation, and the ſervice hereby intended be not in any wiſe eluded or evaded, WVe do hereby in His Majeſties name, and under the pains and puniſhments hereafter mentioned, charge and command, That all and ſingular the Citizens, Inhabitants, and Reſidents of, and within this City of Dublin, *the Suburbs thereof, and all places within two miles about the ſame, do within four and twenty hours after publication hereof, return under their hands unto the next Alderman of the Ward, or Seneſchall, or other chief Officer of Liberty reſpectively, the names, ſirnames, qualitie, and condition of all perſons now lodged, and remaining in their houſes, and alſo that they, and every of them for the future,*

until

until Declaration be made to the contrary, do within two hours after the receipt or entertainment into his or their house or houses, of any ſtranger or ſtrangers, not being of his or their familie or families, return under his and their hand and hands, unto the next Alderman of the Ward, Seneſchall, or other chief Officer, as aforeſaid, the names, ſirnames, quality and condition of all, and every ſtranger and ſtrangers, ſo received or entertained. And We do hereby in his Majeſties name, and under the pains and puniſhments hereafter mentioned, command all Aldermen of Wards to tranſmit all Returns and Certificates, made by the Citizens, Inhabitants, and Reſidents afore-mentioned, to the Major, or Recorder of the City of Dublin, *within twelve hours after receipt thereof, or ſooner if they conceive any ſiniſter ſuſpition of the perſons returned, together with the names of ſuch of the ſaid Citizens, Inhabitants, and Reſidents, as ſhall not within the time afore limited, make ſuch Returns unto them, And We do further in his Majeſties name, and under the pains and puniſhments hereafter mentioned, command the ſaid Major, and Recorder of the ſaid City of* Dublin, *and alſo the Seneſchalls, or other chief Officers afore-mentioned, to cauſe all Returns and Certificates that ſhall come to their hands, to be delivered to the ſaid* James *Earl of* Ormond *and* Oſſory *within twelve hours after receipt thereof, or ſooner upon ſuſpition as aforeſaid, together with the names of ſuch Aldermen of Wards, Inhabitants, and Reſidents, as ſhall not make ſuch Returns, and deliveries of Certificates as aforeſaid reſpectively. And if the ſaid Major, or Recorder, or any Seneſchall, chief Officer, Alderman of any Ward, or any Citizen, Inhabitant, or Reſident of, or within this City, the Suburbs thereof, or two miles about the ſame, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever ſhall offend, contrary to the tenour of this Proclamation, in not repairing to their dwellings, in keeping any unneceſſary retinues, in not making any Return or Certificate, in making any falſe or partial Return or Certificate, in not returning the names of thoſe who ſhall not, in not making delivery of the ſaid Returns and Certificates to the perſons aforeſaid, in manner, and within the times afore limited reſpectively, they and every of them ſhall reſpectively incur and ſuffer ſuch pains of death, or ſuch other ſevere pains and puniſhments, as the ſaid Earl, and the Councel of War for the time being, ſhall think fit to inflict and impoſe, and as the danger of the perſons, and times ſhall require.*

Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin* the 11. day of *Novemb.* 1641.

Ormond Oſſory,
R. Dillon.
Cha. Lambert.
J. Temple.
Cha. Coote.
P. Crosbie.

God ſave the King.

APPENDIX, V.

Fol. 35.

A Copy of a Letter directed to the Lord *Viceco. Cossilough* from the Rebels of the County of *Longford* in *Ireland*, which he presented to the State in their behalf. *Novemb.* 10. 1641.

Our very Good Lord,

OUR Alliance unto your Lordships Ancestors, and your self, and the Tryal of your and their performance of Trust unto their Friends in their greatest Adversity, encourageth us and engageth your Honour to our fruition of your future favours; The fixion of our Confidence in you before any other of the Peers and privy Councellors of the Kingdom doubleth this Obligation. Your Lordship may therefore be pleased to acquaint the Lords, Justices, and Councel (to be imparted unto his Sacred Majesty) with our Grievances, and the causes thereof, the reading of which we most humbly pray, and the manner of it.

First, The Papists in the neighbouring Counties are severely punished, and their miseries might serve as Beacons unto us to look unto our own, when our Neighbours Houses are on fire: And we and other Papists are, and ever will be as loyal Subjects as any in the King's Dominions; For manifestation whereof we send herein inclosed an Oath solemnly taken by us, which as it received indeleble Impression in our hearts, shall be sign'd with our hand, and seal'd with our Blood.

Secondly, There is an incapacity in the Papists, of Honour and the Immunities of true Subjects, the royal Marks of distributive Justice, and a dis-favour in the Commutative, which rais'd Strangers and Foreigners, whose valour and vertue was invincble, when the old Families of the English, *and the major part of us the meer* Irish, *did swim in blood to serve the Crown of* England; *and when Offices should call Men of worth, Men without worth and merit obtain them.*

Thirdly, The Statute of the 2. Eliz *of force in this Kingdom against us and they of our Religion, doth not a little disanimate us and the rest.*

Fourthly, The avoidance of Grants of our Lands and Liberties by Quirks and Quiddities of the Law, without reflecting upon the

King's Royal and real Intention for confirming our Eſtates, his Broad Seal being the pawn betwixt his Majeſty and his people.

Fifthly, The reſtraint of purchaſe in the meer Iriſh *of Lands in the Eſcheated Counties, and the taint and blemiſh of them and their poſterities doth more diſcontent them than that plantation Rule; for they are brought to that Exigent of povertie in theſe late times, that they muſt be ſellers and not buyers of Land.*

And we conceive, and humbly offer to your Lordſhips conſideration (Principiis obſta) *that in the beginning of this Commotion, Your Lordſhip, as it is hereditary for you, will be a Phyſitian to cure this Diſeaſe in us, and by our Examples it will doubtleſs beget the like auſpicious ſucceſs in all other parts of the Kingdom: For we are of opinion it is one ſickneſs and one pharmach will ſuffice,* Sublatâ cauſâ tollitur Effectus: *And it will be recorded, that you will do ſervice unto God, King, and Countrey; And for ſalving every the aforeſaid Soars Your Lordſhip is to be an humble Suitor in our behalf, and of the reſt of the Papiſts, that out of the abundance of his Majeſties Clemency, there may be an Act of Oblivion and general pardon without reſtitution or Account of Goods taken in the time of this Commotion, a liberty of our Religion, a repeal of all Statutes formerly made to the contrary, and not by Proclamation, but Parliamentary way; A Charter free Denizen in ample manner for meer* Iriſh: *All which in ſucceeding Ages will prove an Union in all his Majeſties Dominions inſtead of Diviſion, a Comfort in Deſolation, and a Happineſs in perpetuity for an imminent Calamitie. And this being granted, there will be all things,* Quæ ſunt Cæſaris Cæſari, *and* Quæ ſunt Dei Deo. *And it was by the Poet written (though he be prophane in other matters, yet in this) prophetically* Diviſum Imperium cum Jove, Cæſar habet; *All which for this preſent we leave to your Honourable Care: And we will, as we ever did, and do remain,*

Your very humble and aſſured, ever to be Commanded,

Hugh mac Gillernow Farrall.
James Farrall.
Bryan Farrall.
Readagh Farrall.
Edmond mac Cael Farrall.
John Farrall *in Carbuy.*
Garret Farral.
Liſagh mac Conel Farrall.
Bryan mac William Farrall.
John mac Edmund Farrall.
John Farrall.
Roger mac Bryne Farrall
Barnaby Farrall.
James mac Trig Farrall, *his Mark.*
Morgan mac Carbry Farrall.
Donnagh mac Carbry Farrall.
Richard mac Conel Farral.
William mac James Farrall.
James Farrall.
Taghna mac Rory Farrall.
Cormack mac Rory Farrall.
Conock mac Bryne Farrall.
Readagh mac Liſagh Farrall.
Connor Oge mac Connor Farrall.
Edmond mac Connor Farrall.
Cahel mac Bryne Farrall.

APPENDIX VI.

Fol. 65.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Councel.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlaſſe.

IT is well known to all men, but more particularly to his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, who have all gathered plentiful and comfortable fruits of his Majeſties bleſſed Government, how abundantly careful his Majeſty hath been in the whole courſe of his Government, of the peace and ſafety of this his Kingdom, and how graciouſly he hath laboured to derive to all his Subjects therein, all thoſe benefits and comforts, which from a moſt gracious King, could be conferred on his Subjects, to make them a happy people, whereof he hath given many great teſtimonies. And as at all times he endeavoured to give them due contentment and ſatisfaction, ſo even then whilſt the Rebels now in Arms were conſpiring miſchief againſt Him, and his Crown and Kingdom, he was then exerciſing Acts of Grace and benignity towards them, granting to his Subjects here the fulneſs of their own deſires in all things, ſo far as with Honour or Juſtice he poſſibly could, and particularly when the Committees of both Houſes of Parliament here this laſt Summer attended his Majeſty in *England*, at which time (amongſt many other things graciouſly aſſented to by Him, he was content, even with apparent loſs and diſadvantage to himſelf, to depart with ſundry his Rights of very great value, which lawfully and juſtly he might have retained; And as his continual goodneſs to his people, and his Princely care of their proſperity and preſervation ſhall (to the unſpeakable joy and comfort of all his good Subjects) render him glorious to all Poſterity, ſo the wicked ingratitude and treacherous diſloyaltie of thoſe Rebels ſhall render them infamous to all Ages: and utterly inexcuſable even in the judgment of thoſe, who for any reſpect either formerly wiſhed well to their perſons, or now pity them in their tranſgreſſions. And although the ſaid perſons now in Rebellion were in no degree provoked by any juſt cauſe of publique grief received from his Majeſty, or his Miniſters, to undertake ſuch deſperate wickedneſs, neither can juſtly aſſign any ſeverity or rigour in the execution of thoſe Laws which are in force in this Kingdom againſt Papiſts, nor indeed any cauſe at all, other then the unnatural hatred, which thoſe perſons in Rebellion do bear the Britiſh and Proteſtants, whom they deſire and publickly profeſs to root out from amongſt them. The more ſtrange

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in that very many of themſelves are deſcended of *Engliſh*, whence is the original and foundation of all their Eſtates, and thoſe great benefits which they have hitherto enjoyed, and whence their Predeceſſors, and others then well affected in this Kingdom, have been at all times ſince the Conqueſt cheriſhed, relieved, countenanced, and ſupported againſt the ancient Enemies of the Kings people of *England*: many of the *Iriſh* alſo having received their Eſtates and livelyhood from the unexampled bounty and goodneſs of the Kings of *England*. Yet ſuch is their inbred ingratitude and diſloyaltie, as they conſpired to maſſacre Us the Lords, Juſtices, and Councel, and all the Brittiſh and Proteſtants univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and to ſeize into their hands, not only his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the principal Fort in this Kingdom, but alſo all other the fortifications thereof, though (by the infinite goodneſs and mercy of God) thoſe wicked and devilliſh Conſpiracies were brought to light, and ſome of the Principal Conſpirators impriſoned in his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, by Us by his Majeſties Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots are diſappointed in the chief parts thereof, His Majeſties ſaid Caſtle of *Dublin*, and City of *Dublin* being preſerved, and put into ſuch a condition of ſtrength, as if any of them, or their Adherents ſhall preſume to make any attempt thereupon, they ſhall (God willing) receive that correction, ſhame, confuſion and deſtruction, which is due to their treacherous and deteſtable diſloyaltie. And in purſuit of their bloody intentions, they aſſembled themſelves in Arms in hoſtile manner, with Banners diſplayed ſurpriſed divers of his Majeſties Forts and Garriſons, poſſeſſed themſelves thereof, robbed and ſpoiled many thouſands of his Majeſties good Subjects, Brittiſh and Proteſtants, of all their Goods, diſpoſſeſſed them of their Houſes and Lands, murthered many of them upon the place, ſtripped naked many others of them, and ſo expoſed them to nakedneſs, cold and famine, as they thereof died; impriſoned many others, ſome of them perſons of eminent quality; laid Siege to divers of his Majeſties Forts and Towns yet in his Majeſties hands, and committed many other barbarous cruelties and execrable inhumanities, upon the Perſons and Eſtates of the Brittiſh and Proteſtant Subjects of the Kingdom, without regard of quality, age, or ſex. And to cover their wickedneſs, in thoſe cruel Acts, ſo to deceive the World, and to make way (if they could) to the effecting of their miſchievous ends,; they add yet to their wickedneſs a further degree of impiety, pretending outwardly that what they do, is for the maintenance and advancement of the King's Prerogative; whereas it appears manifeſtly, that their aims and purpoſes inwardly are (if it were poſſible for them ſo to do) to wreſt from him his Royal Crown and Scepter, and his juſt Soveraignty over this Kingdom and Nation, and to deprive him, and his lawful Miniſters of all Authority and Power here, and to place it on ſuch perſons as they think fit, which can no way ſtand with his Majeſties juſt Prerogative; nor can any equal-minded man be ſeduced to believe that they can wiſh well to his Royal Perſon, or any thing that is his, who in their actions have expreſſed ſuch unheard-of hatred, malice, and ſcorn of the Brittiſh Nation, as they have done. And ſuch is their madneſs as they conſider not, that his Sacred Majeſty diſdains to have his Name or Power ſo boldly traduced by ſuch wicked malefactors,

factors, Rebels having never in any Age been eſteemed fit ſupporters of the King's Prerogative, much leſs theſe, who (under countenance thereof) labour to deface and ſhake off his Government, and extirp his moſt loyal and faithful Subjects of his other Kingdoms and here, whoſe preſervation (above all earthly things) is and always hath been his Majeſties principal ſtudy and endeavour, which even theſe Traytors themſelves have abundantly found, with comfort, if they could have been ſenſible of it. And whereas divers Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* Pale preferred petition unto Us, in the behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the Pale, and other the old *Engliſh* of this Kingdom, ſhewing that whereas a late conſpiracy of Treaſon was diſcovered, of ill-affected perſons of the old *Iriſh*, and that, thereupon Proclamation was publiſhed by Us; wherein (among other things) it was declared that the ſaid Conſpiracy was perpetrated by *Iriſh* Papiſts, without diſtinction of any, and they doubting that by thoſe general words of *Iriſh* Papiſts, they might ſeem to be involved, though they declared themſelves confident, that we did not intend to include them therein, in regard they alleadged they were none of the old *Iriſh* nor of their Faction or Confederacy; but (as they then pretended) altogether averſe and oppoſite to all their deſigns, and all others of like condition. We therefore to give them full ſatisfaction (having indeed at that time great confidence in their loyaltie) did by Proclamation, dated the 29. of *October* 1641. declare and publiſh, that by the words, *Iriſh* Papiſts, VVe intended only ſuch of the old meer *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter*, as were then Actors in that Treaſon, and others, who adhered to them; and that VVe did not any way intend or mean thereby any of the old *Engliſh* of the *Pale*, nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, then eſteemed good Subjects, VVe being then (as we conceived) well aſſured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affection and ſervices of their Anceſtors, in former times of danger and Rebellion. And indeed, ſo believing were we in their faithfulneſs and loyaltie to the Crown, as we then alſo repreſented it into *England* for their advantage; and thereupon in the Order of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament in *England* concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſties loyal Subjects of *Engliſh* Blood, though of the *Romiſh* Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within ſeveral Counties and parts of this Realm are mentioned, as thoſe who have always in former Rebellions given teſtimony of their fidelity to the Crown of *England*. And in further teſtimony of the good affiance we had in their loyaltie, VVe iſſued Arms to the ſeveral Counties of the *Engliſh* Pale, the better to enable them to diſcharge their duties in defending thoſe parts, and His Majeſties good Subjects therein, againſt the Rebels, upon deep profeſſions of loyalty made by them, and their ſeeming deteſtation of the loathſomneſs of the crimes, and bloody guilts of the Rebels, which they for their parts profeſſed (with many Oaths and proteſtations) to abhor, and promiſed to oppoſe and reſiſt them with all their power. And we iſſued Arms alſo to many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and elſewhere, of the *Romiſh* Religion, for the defence of their Houſes againſt the Rebels. Yet much contrary to the expectation of all equal-minded men, and in deceit of the truſt repoſed in them by this State, and directly contrary, as to their loyaltie and duty to His Majeſty, ſo to the great

great profeſſions which they had ſo lately before made at this Councel-Board, many of thoſe, as well whole Counties, as particular perſons entruſted with thoſe Arms, revolted to the Rebels, carried His Majeſties Arms with them, and ſo the Arms which were truſted into their hands, for the protection of His Majeſties good Subjects, they converted to the annoyance and deſtruction (as much as in them lay) of thoſe good Subjects they were truſted to protect, and of this State and Government, and have not only not reſiſted the Rebels, but have alſo joyned with them, and they and the Rebels aſſembled in Arms in hoſtile manner, with Banners diſplayed againſt his Majeſty, in beſieging ſome of his Town, taking into their poſſeſſion by force or fraud many of his Majeſties Burroughs, walled and unwalled, and in committing murthers, ſpoyls, robberies, and many deteſtable cruelties on His Majeſties good Subjects. And although thoſe of the *Pale*, pretended that they were not able to aſſemble or Arm any ſtrength againſt the Rebels, yet lately they found means to aſſemble, and arm great multitudes to aſſiſt the Rebels againſt His Majeſties Forces, and againſt His Majeſties Government, and this State, and as well the perſons who were the firſt Actors in this Rebellion, as alſo many others in the *Engliſh Pale*, and ſeveral other parts of the Kingdom, forgetting thoſe duties which (by the Laws of God and man) are due from them to His Sacred Majeſty, are ſo ungrateful to His Majeſty for the great and abundant benefits and favours from Him, and His Royal Father, and Predeceſſors derived to them, ſo inſenſible of the happineſs which they (with all others in this Kingdom) enjoyed by His bleſſed Government, and ſo improvident to themſelves and their poſterity, as they have preſumed moſt unnaturally to conſpire, raiſe, and act thoſe abominable Treaſons and Rebellion againſt His Majeſty, as is herein formerly mentioned. And foraſmuch as thoſe Rebels, and particularly Sir *Con Magenis* of *Newcaſtle* in the County of *Down*, Knight; *Patrick mac Cartan* of *Loghnelan* in the ſaid County, *Art oge mac Glaſny Magenis* of *Ilandery* in the ſaid County, *Ever mac Phelim Magenis* of *Caſtlewelan* in the ſaid County, *Rory mac Brian oge Magenis* late of *Edenteecullagh* in the ſaid County, *Philip mac Hugh mac Shane ô Rely* of *Ballinecarrig* in the County of *Cavan*, *Philip mac Mulmorry ô Rely* of *Liſmore* in the ſaid County, *Mulmorry mac Edmond ô Rely* of *Cavet* in the ſaid County, *Hugh Boy mac Shane ô Rely* of *Kilmore* in the ſaid County, *Owen mac Shane mac Philip ô Rely* of the ſame, *Rory Magwyre* of *Haſſets* Town in the County of *Fermanagh*, Brother to the Lord *Magwyre*, *Donogh bane Magwyre* of *Carrow* in the ſaid County, Uncle to the ſaid Lord *Magwyre*, *Brian mac Cowconnaght Magwyre* of *Tempoe*, in the ſaid County, Sir *Phelim ô Neal* of *Kinard* in the County of *Tyrone*, Knight, *Tirlagh Roe ô Neal*, brother to the ſaid Sir *Phelim*, *Tirlagh Groom ô Quin* of *Donoghmore* in the ſaid County, *Cormock mac Owin oge ô Hagan* of *Mullinecor* in the ſaid County, *Patrick Modder ô Donelly* of *Croſcanena* in the ſaid County, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry ô Neal* of *Davernagh* in the County of *Armagh*, *Tirlagh mac Tirlagh ô Neal* of the *Fues* in the ſaid County, *Hugh oge ô Neal* of *Aghadamph* in the ſaid County, *Donogh oge ô Murchie* of *Caſhell* in the ſaid County, *Collo mac Brian mac Mahowne* of *Balloghie* in the County of *Monaghan*, *Neal mac Kena*

of

of the *Trough* in the ſaid County, *Coolo mac Ever Mahowne* of in the ſaid County, *Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art*, *Moyle mac Mahowne* of *Fanahah* in the ſaid County, Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne* late of *Ballinecor* in the County of *Wickloe*, *Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne* late of *Carrigocroe* in the ſaid County, *Luke* alias *Feagh O Toole* of *Caſtlekuen* in the ſaid County, *Luke* alias *Feagh mac Redmond Birne* of *Kilcloghran* in the ſaid County, *Redmond mac Feagh Birne* late of *Kilvane* in the ſaid County, *Phelim mac Redmond Birne* late of the ſame in the ſaid County, *Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh* of *Ballidony* in the County of *Wexford*, *Lewis* alias *Liſagh mac Owny Dempſie* of *Rahynne* in the Kings County, *Art O Molloy* of *Rathlian* in the ſaid County, *Hubert Fox* of *Kilcourſie* in the ſaid County, *Owen O Molloy* of *Clonekeene* in the ſaid County, *Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick* of *Caſtle-Town* in the Queens County, *Barnabie Dempſie* of *Knockardegur* in the ſaid County, *Daniel Doine* of *Tenehinche* in the ſaid County, *Barnabie Fitz-Patrick* of *Raghdown* in the ſaid County, *James mac Fegus mac Donell* of *Taghnekilly* in the ſaid County, *Francis mac Faghny O Farrall* of the *Mote* in the County of *Lonford*, *William Farrall* of *Ballingtobber* in the ſaid County, *James mac Conell Farrall* of *Tenelecke* in the ſaid County, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald* in the ſaid County, *Pierſe Fitz-Gerald* of *Ballyſonan* in the ſaid County of *Kildare*, *Maurice Euſtace* of *Caſtle-Martin* in the ſaid County, *Nicholas Sutton* of *Tipper* in the ſaid County, *Roger* alias *Rory O More* of *Ballynah* in the ſaid County, *William Fitz-Gerrald* of *Blackhall* in the ſaid County, *Robert Preſton*, Brother to the Lord Viſcount *Gormaſtown*, *James Flemen* late of *Slane* in the County of *Meath*, Brother to the Lord Baron of *Slane*, *Patrick Cuſack* of *Gerrards*-Town in the ſaid County, *Edward Betagh* of *Monalty* in the ſaid County, *Gerrald Leins* of the *Knock* in the ſaid County, *Luke Netervill* of *Corballies* in the County of *Dublin*, Son to the Lord Viſcount *Netervill*, *George King* of *Clontarfe* in the ſaid County, *Richard Barnewall* of *Leſpopel* in the ſaid County, Colonel *Richard Plunkett* late of *Dunſoghlie* in the ſaid County, *Matthew Talbot* late of *Kilgobban* in the ſaid County, *John Stanley* of *Mallets*-Town alias *Marletts*-Town in the ſaid County of *Lowth*, *John Bellew* of *Willets*-Town in the ſaid County, *Chriſtopher Barnewall* of *Rathaskett* alias *Rathasker* in the ſaid County, and *Oliver Caſbell* of *Dundalk* in the ſaid County: Inſtead of that Duty and Loyalty which His Majeſties good and gracious Government might juſtly have wrought in them, have returned nothing but thoſe fruits of Treaſon and Rebellion, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace, and happineſs of this Kingdom, and to the deſtruction (as much as in them lay) of this State and Government, and of the Perſons and Eſtates of many thouſands of His Majeſties good and faithful Subjects therein, whereby they have ſhewed themſelves to be moſt ungrateful, deteſtable, vile, and unnatural Traytors and Rebells. We therefore according to the cuſtome of this Council-Board in caſes of this nature (though no former Rebellion can parrallel this for acts of Cruelty and horrid Crimes) do by this preſent Proclamation in His Majeſties Name, and by his Majeſties Authority, Declare,

clare, Publiſh and Proclaim them, the ſaid Sir *Con Magenis*, *Patric mac Cartan*, *Art oge mac Glaſny Magenis*, *Ever mac Phelim Magenis*, *Rory mac Brien oge Magenis*, *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, *Phillip mac Mulmorry O Rely*, *Mulmorry mac Edmond O Rely*, *Hugh Boy mac Shane O Rely*, *Owen mac Shane mac Phillip O Rely*, *Rory Magwire*, *Donogh Bane Magwire*, *Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire*, Sir *Phelim O Neale*, *Tirlagh Roe O Neale*, *Tirlagh Groom O Quin*, *Cormock mac Owin O Hagan*, *Patrick Modder O Donnelly*, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale*, *Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neale*, *Hugh oge O Neale*, *Donnogh oge O Murchie*, *Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne*, *Neale mac Kena*, *Coolo mac Ever mac Mahowne*, *Art Roe mac Patrick Art Moile mac Mahowne*, Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne*, *Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne*, *Luke* alias *Feogh O Toole*, *Luke* alias *Feogh mac Redmond Birne*, *Redmond mac Feogh Birne*, *Phelim mac Redmond Birne*, *Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh*, *Lewis* alias *Liſagh mac Owny Dempſie*, *Art O Molloy*, *Hubert Fox*, *Owen O Molloy*, *Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick*, *Barnabie Dempſie*, *Daniel Doine*, *Barnabie Fitz-Patrick*, *James mac Fergus mac Donell*, *Francis mac Faghny O Farrall*, *Will. Farrall*, *James Conell Farrall*, *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald*, *Pierſe Fitz-Gerald*, *Maurice Euſtace*, *Nich. Sutton*, *Roger* alias *Rory O More*, *Will. Fiz-Gerald*, *Robert Preſton*, *James Fleming*, *Patrick Cuſake*, *Edw. Betagh*, *Gerald Leins*, *Luke Netervill*, *George King*, *Richard Barnewall*, Colonel *Richard Plunkett*, *Matthew Talbot*, *John Stanley*, *John Bellew*, *Chriſtopher Barnewall* and *Oliver Caſhel*, and every of them, and all their and every of their partakers, aiders, maintainers, comforters, confederates, complices and aſſociates, apparent, notorious, ungrateful, wicked, vile, and unnatural Traitors and Rebels, againſt our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. His Royal Crown and Dignity of of this Realm, and malitious oppugners of His Majeſties Royal Soveraignty, Preheminences and Prerogatives, willing therefore, requiring, warranting and authorizing all His Majeſties good and loving Subjects, to purſue and plague with Fire and Sword, apprehend, deſtroy and kill, by all the ways and means they may, all the ſaid perſons, their partakers, aiders, maintainers, comforters, confederates, complices and aſſociates, as apparent, notorious, ungrateful, wicked, vile, deteſtable and unatural Traitors and Rebels.

And we do hereby make known to all men, as well good Subjects as all others, that whatſoever he or they be that ſhall betwixt this and the five and twentieth day of *March* next, kill and bring, or cauſe to be killed and brought unto Us, the Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, the head of the ſaid Sir *Phelim O Neal*, or of the ſaid Sir *Con Magenis*, or of the ſaid *Rory Magwire*, or of the ſaid *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, or of the ſaid *Collo mac Brien mac Mahon*, who who were of the Principal Conſpirators, and have been the firſt and principal Actors in this preſent Rebellion, he or they ſhall have by way of reward, for every of the ſaid laſt named perſons, ſo by him to be killed, and his or their head or heads brought to Us, the Lords

Juſtices

Juſtices, or other chief Governor or Governours of this Kingdom, as aforeſaid, as followeth: *viz.* for the head of the ſaid Sir *Phelim O Neal* one thouſand pounds, for the head of the ſaid Sir *Con Magennis* ſix hundred pounds, for the head of the ſaid *Rory Magwire* ſix hundred pounds, for the head of the ſaid *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely* ſix hundred pounds, for the head of the ſaid *Collo mac Brian mac Mahon* ſix hundred pounds, and Pardon for all his or their offences, that ſhall kill, and ſo bring in, or cauſe to be killed, and ſo brought in, the ſaid head or heads.

And whoſoever ſhall within the mean time by any means ſlay or kill, as aforeſaid, the ſaid Sir *Phelim O Neale*, Sir *Con Magenis*, *Rory Magwire*, *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, and *Collo mac Brian mac Mahone*, or any of them, though ſuch perſon or perſons, ſo ſlaying or killing the ſaid Traitors, or any of them, bring not, or cauſe not to be brought to Us the Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governor or Governours of this Kingdom, the head or heads of the ſaid Traitor or Traitors; yet being juſtly proved, ſhall forthwith upon proof ſo made, receive the reward, for the ſaid Sir *Phelim O Neal*, eight hundred pounds; for the ſaid Sir *Con Magenis* four hundred pounds, for the ſaid *Rory Magwire* four hundred pounds, and for the ſaid *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, four hundred pounds, for the ſaid *Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne*, four hundred pounds, and pardon for all his or their offences, that ſhall kill the ſaid laſt mentioned perſons, or any of them. And foraſmuch as the other Rebells above named, have moſt traiterouſly combined in the wicked and abominable Councils of the ſaid five other perſons laſt above named, and have been partakers with them in their moſt bloody deſign, for the extirpating of the Britiſh and Proteſtants, and depriving his Majeſty of the Soveraignty of this His Kingdom of *Ireland*, many of which Rebells ſtand Indicted of High Treaſon. We do therefore make known and declare to all men, as well His Majeſties loving Subjects, as all others, That whoſoever, under the degree of a Knight, other than the ſaid *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, and *Collo mac Brian Mahowne*, and other than the ſaid *Luke Toole*, and other than the Children and Grand-children of the late traiterouſly deſcended Traitor, *Feagh mac Hugh Birne*, and other than the ſaid *Rory* alias *Roger More*, (We not holding it fit that the moſt maglignant Conſpirators ſhould obtain pardon for ſo high and heynous offences, and the cauſeleſs deſtruction of ſo many thouſands of Innocents, upon the only ſervice of cutting off perſons of no greater conſideration) ſhall, betwixt this and the five and twentieth day of *March* next, kill and bring, or cauſe to be killed and brought in to Us the Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, as aforeſaid, the head or heads of the ſaid *Patrick mac Cartan*, *Art oge mac Glaſny Magenis*, *Ever mac Phelim Magenis*, *Rory mac Brien oge Magenis*, *Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely*, *Phillip mac Mulmorry O Rely*, *Mulmorry mac Edmond O Rely*, *Hugh Boy mac Shane O Rely*, *Owen mac Shane mac Phillip O Rely*, *Rory Magwire*, *Donogh Bane Magwire*, *Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire*, *Tirlagh Roe O Neale*, *Tirlagh Groom O Quin*, *Cormock mac Owen O Hagan*, *Patrick Modder O Donnelly*, *Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale*, *Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tir-*

lagh O Neale, Hugh oge O Neale, Donnogh oge O Murchie, Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne, Neale mac Kena, Coolo mac Ever mac Mahowne, Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art Moile mac Mahowne, Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne, Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne, Luke* alias *Feogh O Toole, Luke* alias *Feogh mac Redmond Birne, Redmond mac Feogh Birne, Phelim mac Redmond Birne, Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh, Lewis* alias *Liſagh mac Owny Dempſie, Art O Molloy, Hubert Fox, Owen O Molloy, Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick, Barnabie Dempſie, Daniel Doine, Barnabie Fitz-Patrick, James mac Fergus mac Donell, Francis mac Faghny O Farrall, Will. Farrall, James mac Conell Farrall, Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald, Pierſe Fitz-Gerald, Maurice Euſtace, Nich. Sutton, Roger* alias *Rory O More, Will. Fiz-Gerald, Robert Preſton, James Fleming, Patrick Cuſake, Edw. Betagh, Gerald Leins, Luke Netervill, George King, Richard Barnewall,* Colonel *Richard Plunkett, Matthew Talbot, John Stanley, John Bellew, Chriſtopher Barnewall* and *Oliver Caſhel,* or any of them, he ſhall have by way of reward for every of the ſaid laſt mentioned perſons, ſo by him to be killed, and his or their head or heads brought to Us, the Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, as aforeſaid, four hundred pounds, and pardon for all his or their offences, that ſhall bring in, or cauſe to be brought in, the ſaid head or heads, and whoſoever under the degree of a Knight, as aforeſaid, other than the ſaid *Phillip mac Shane O Rely, Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne, Luke Toole,* and the Children and Grandchildren of *Feagh mac Hugh* aforeſaid, and the aforeſaid *Rory* alias *Roger O More,* ſhall by any means within the ſaid time, ſlay or kill the ſaid Traitors, *viz. Patrick mac Cartan, Art oge mac Glaſny Magenis, Ever mac Phelim Magenis, Rory mac Brien oge Magenis, Phillip mac Mulmorry O Rely, Mulmorry mac Edmond O Rely, Hugh Boy mac Shane O Rely, Owen mac Shane mac Phillip O Rely, Donogh Bane Magwire, Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire, Tirlagh Roe O Neal, Tirlagh Groome O Quin, Cormock mac Owen oge O Hagan, Patrick Modder O Donnelly, Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale, Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neal, Hugh oge O Neale, Donnogh oge O Murchie, Neal mac Kena, Collo mac Ever mac Mahowne, Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art Moyle mac Mahowne,* Captain *Hugh mac Phelim Birne, Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne, Luke* alias *Feagh O Toole, Luke* alias *Feagh mac Redmond Birne, Redmond mac Feagh Birne, Phelim mac Redmond Birne, Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh, Lewis* alias *Liſagh mac Owny Dempſie Art O Molloy, Hubert Fox, Owen O Molloy, Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick, Barnabie Dempſie, Daniel Doine, Barnabie Fitz-Patrick James mac Fergus mac Donell, Francis mac Faghny O Farrall, William Farrall, James mac Conell Farrall, Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald, Pierſe Fitz-Gerald, Maurice Euſtace, Nicholas Sutton, Roger* alias *Rory O More, William Fitz-Gerrald, Robert Preſton, James Flemen Patrick Cuſacke, Edward Betagh, Gerrald Leins, Luke Netervill, Geroge Kinge, Richard Barnewall,* Colonel *Richard Plunkett, Matthew Talbot, John Stanley, John Bellew, Chriſtopher Barnewall,* and *Oliver Caſhell,* or any of them, though ſuch perſon or perſons, ſo ſlaying or killing the ſaid Traitors, or any of them, bring not, or cauſe not to be brought to Us the Lords Juſtices, or other chief Governor or Governors

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nors of this Kingdom, as aforeſaid, the head or heads of the ſaid Traitor or Traitors, yet being juſtly proved, ſhall forthwith upon proof ſo made, receive the reward of Three hundred pounds, for every of the ſaid laſt named perſons ſo killed and proved, and ſhall have pardon for all his or their offences, that ſhall ſlay or kill the ſaid Traitors, or any of them.

Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin *the* 8. *day of* Febr. 1641.

Ormond Oſſory. Tho. Rotheram.
R. Dillon. Fra. Willoughby.
Cha. Lambert. Rob. Meredith.
Ad. Loftus. J. Temple.
Cha. Coote.

God ſave the King.

Sir *William* St. *Leiger*'s Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, touching the Affaires in *Munſter*, mentioned fol. 89.

Right Honorable, my very good Lord,

SIthence my laſt by my Lord of Dungarvan, *my own indiſpoſition and imbecillity hath been ſuch as in mine one perſon I have not been able to attempt any thing, but have by my Sickneſs been confined to my Chamber: but the forward earneſtneſs and zeale to the ſervice in my Lord of* Inchequin, *Colonel* Vavaſor, *Captain* Jephſon, *and the reſt of the Officers of the ſmall Army here hath accompliſhed ſome Exploits, whereof you may pleaſe to receive the enſuing Relation.*

I being beſieged on the North ſide of the City by my Lord Muskry, *Mr.* Carty Leath, *and all the reſt of the Weſtern Forces, and having notice that my Lord* Roche, *my Lord of* Ikarne, Donboin, *the Barron of* Loghmay, *Mr.* Richard Butler, *and all the tipperary Forces were drawing up to beleager me on the South, I diſpatched away the two Troops then newly landed under the Command of my Lord* Inchequin, *and Captain* Jephſon *into the Lord* Roches *Country, in expectance to divert him from his intended courſe hitherwards, which*

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ſorted to ſo good purpoſe, as that I ſince underſtand the tipperary Forces have forſaken him, and that he remains himſelf upon his keeping in his own Countrey. During the ſtay of theſe Troops there, they were deſired to the relief of a Caſtle called Rathgogan by one M. Meade, which M. Jephſon having performed with a Squadron of each Troop, and 80. Muſqueteers drawn out of his Houſe and mine: In his retreat he was encountered by two or three Companies from Kilmallocke, on whom he with a Horſe, and another Officer with a Foot charged in ſeveral places, and routed them, ſlaying about 150. beſides 50. ſlain in relieving the Caſtle. On the thirteenth of this inſtant, my Lord of Muskry (who hath kept his Camp a long time at Rochforts Town three miles from this City) cauſed a part of his Army to chaſe home our Scouts to the very Suburbs, where in a bravado they made a ſtand, whereat my Lord Inchequin, Colonel Vavaſor, and the reſt of the Officers being much incenſed obtained my leave to iſſue forth immediately with three hundred Muſqueteers, and two Troops of Horſe; upon the ſallying out they found the Enemy retreated, and purſued him to his Quarters, where the main Body conſiſting of thirty ſix Colours as they were numbred, forthwith appeared: and after ſeveral parties ſent from the main Body to skirmiſh with our men, had been beaten back, they began to pack up their Baggage, and forſook their Camp, after whom our men made all the ſpeed they might; and having chaſed them two or three miles, charged upon the rear, routed the whole Army, which betook it ſelf to flight over a Bog unpaſſable for our Horſe, and took all their carriage and luggage, whereof the Lord of Muskeries own Armour, Tent, and Trunks were a part, ſlew about two hundred of their men that took to firm ground, and retired without loſs of a man. Whereby it is very eaſie to obſerve with what facility the Enemy might now be dealt withal, before he can recollect himſelf anew, or receive forreign ſupplies which they daily and hourly expect, and being once come to their hands, it will not then be treble the charge and expence both of blood and treaſure that will ſuppreſs them, which now would reduce them to a very great ſtraight.

And therefore I do moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhip that ſpeedy ſupplies of Men, Moneys, Arms, Munition and Artilery, with all neceſſaries depending thereon, as Conducters, Pioneers, Mattroſſes, Carriages, Tackle, Horſes and Oxen for draught, and all other appurtenances that may either be ſent over, or Commiſſion and means to raiſe and maintain them here, here being but one Canoneer, and one Clerk of the ſtore in this Province: without theſe your Lordſhip knows that it is to no boot to march into the Field, where if the Enemy be not too hard for us, he will certainly retire to his Holds, and ſo ſecure himſelf againſt our Forces.

The neceſſary uſe of Firelocks and Dragoons, and of a competent ſupply of Victual, the ſtock of this Countrey being totally waſted, will deſerve ſerious conſideration: and if I had been ſo fortunate as to have received any ſuccours by thoſe late Eaſterly winds, it would have ſo diſcouraged the Enemy now newly routed, and animated the Proteſtant party, as that I am very confident by God's aſſiſtance I ſhould have given your Lordſhip a good account of the quiet of theſe parts.

parts. Whereas they obſerving that this fair opportunity hath conveyed us no relief, do begin to muſter up their Forces afreſh, and to take heart at the apprehenſion of our being deſerted in England *and left wholly to our ſelves, wherein I cannot ſufficiently expreſs how miſerable our condition is; for having from the beginning of theſe troubles ſupported the Forces mentioned in the incloſed liſt with Moneys gained upon ſeveral hard terms and engagements (beſides what I have impreſſed to the ſuccour ſent thence) I was at laſt conſtrained to ſeize upon four thouſand pounds belonging to Sir* Robert Tynte, *and ready to be tranſported out of the Kingdom (and which he refuſed to lend upon the Publick-faith of this State, which nevertheleſs I gave him upon the ſeiſure) meerly to preſerve the Army from disbanding, which otherwiſe it muſt have undoubtedly done. And therefore I humbly deſire that money may be ſent over, not only to diſcharge that and other engagements, amounting to* 4000 *pounds more, but that there may be order taken for the entring of thoſe men into pay, and continuing them therein ever ſince the beginning of the preſent troubles which I* raiſed at firſt (by direction from the Lords Juſtices) for this ſervice, and that the ſame courſe may be taken for them as for the reſt.*

* mentioned fol. 82.

*The heighth of inſolency and arrogancy in the Enemy will appear by the incloſed Remonſtrance * which they ſent me after a motion made for a Ceſſation, which in the condition I was in, I had ſome inclination to condeſcend unto, in caſe it had been ſought for in befitting terms: to which purpoſe I willed them to addreſs their humble petition to his Majeſty, and in caſe I did approve thereof, I would give way thereunto, and to a ceſſation until his pleaſure were known; whereupon they tranſmit me that, whereof the incloſed is a Copy: at which I took (juſtly as I conceive) ſuch offence as cauſed me to return them the incloſed Anſwer, which I ſhould have ſeconded with ſuch further teſtimony of my averſion to their inſolency as would tend much to their diſincouragement were I enabled with any reaſonable ſtrength ſo to do, which I earneſtly deſire I may be, and with inſtructions what hand to carry in the proſecution of them, and how to manage the War againſt them; for that every day they encreaſe in inſolency and riot, hanging ſuch priſoners as are not able to pay Ranſom, ranſoming others, hanging old Women, and ſtripping all they can lay hold on. All that is left in this Province is the City of* Corke, *the Towns of* Kingſale, Youghall, *and* Bandonbridge; *the Cities of* Limricke *and* Waterford *being fallen into defection, ſave that the Fort in the former is able to command the Town if provided with Munition, wherewith I have ſent to ſupply it.*

* The Rebels Remonſtrance here mention'd, as the Anſwer to it (in the ſhuffling of Papers) are unhappily loſt, though the one was not more inſolent then the other reſolute and loyal.

For perſons in Action, it is far leſs difficult to nominate thoſe that adhere to the Crown, which are the Earl of Barrymore, *(an induſtrious ſervitour) the Lord Viſcount* Killmallocke, *Sir* Andrew Barret, *and* Edmond Fitz-Gerrarld *of* Ballmarter *commonly called the* Seneſcall *of* Imokilly, *by whoſe care and countenance (joyned with my Lord* Barrimore's*) that Barrony of* Imokilly *is kept in due ſubjection, and the paſſage betwixt this City and* Youghall *thereby open. But whilſt we ſtand on theſe unable terms to ſtir out of theſe Walls, the Enemy is at liberty to range and for-*

forrage over all parts of the Countrey. And indeed our wants of Money are ſo great and preſſing, as that for defect of entertainment and encouragement, the Officers both of Horſe and Foot daily flock unto me, and importune to be diſmiſſed and left at liberty to ſeek their preferment in England: *and ſo ſoon as this little (which is left me to feed the Souldiers with from hand to mouth) is ſpent, I know no way to prevent their ſudden disbanding: and therefore I do again beſeech your Lordſhip to endeavour that I may not be expoſed to the diſhonour and miſery of being abandoned by the King's Forces, and left my ſelf ſingle to the mercy of the Enemy; but that Moneys may be ſpeedily tranſmitted unto me with directions what pay to allow the Horſemen, and Officers of the Foot, with an overplus of Money, as I have always deſired, for extraordinary and emergent occaſions, about either the Ordinance or Forts, whereas yet nothing is in a right poſture, but things only ſhuffled together for a ſhift by reaſon we had not wherewithal to the work as it ought.*

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant,

Cork, *April* 2.

1642

W. Saintleger.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, VII.

Fol. 95.

In the Name of the holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.*

Acts agreed upon, ordained and concluded in the General Congregation held at Kilkanny *the* 10, 11, *and* 13 *days of* May, 1642. *by thoſe Prelates whoſe Names are ſubſcrib'd, the Proctors of ſuch other Prelates as then were abſent being preſent, together with the Superiours of the Regulars, and many other Dignitaries and learn'd Men, as well in Divine, as alſo in Common Law, with divers Paſtors and others of the Catholick Clergy of all* Ireland, *whoſe Names are likewiſe hereafter ſet down.*

1. WHereas the VVar which now in *Ireland* the Catholicks do maintain againſt Sectaries, and chiefly againſt Puritans, for the Defence of the Catholick Religion, for the maintenance of the Prerogative and the Royal Rights of our gracious King *Charles*, for our gracious Queen ſo unworthily abus'd by the Puritans, for the Honour, ſafety and Health of their Royal Iſſue, for to avert and refrain the Injuries done unto them, for the Conſervation of the juſt, and lawful Safeguard, Liberties and Rights of *Ireland*; and laſtly for the defence of their own Lives, Fortunes, Lands and Poſſeſſions: VVhereas I ſaid this VVar is by the *Catholiques* undertaken for the aforeſaid cauſes againſt unlawful Uſurpers, Oppreſſors and their Enemies, chiefly Puritans. And that hereof we are enformed aſwel by divers and true Remonſtrances of divers Provinces, Counties and Noblemen, as alſo by the unanimous conſent and agreement of almoſt the whole Kingdom in this VVar and Union. VVe therefore declare that VVar openly Catholick to be lawful and juſt, in which VVar, if ſome of the Catholicks be found to proceed out of ſome particular and unjuſt Title, covetouſneſs, cruelty, revenge or hatred,

hatred, or any ſuch unlawful private intentions. VVe declare them therein grievouſly to ſin, and therefore worthy to be puniſhed and refrained with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures if, (adviſed thereof) they do not amend.

2. VVhereas the Adverſaries do ſpread divers rumours, do write divers Letters, and under the King's Name do print Proclamations, which are not the King's, by which means divers plots and dangers may enſue unto our Nation; VVe therefore to ſtop the way of untruth and forgeries of the Political Adverſaries, do will and command, That no ſuch rumours, Letters, or Proclamations may have place, or belief, until it be known in a National Councel, whether they truly proceed from the King, left to his own freedom, and until the Agents of this Kingdom hereafter to be appointed by a National Councel, have free paſſage to his Majeſty, whereby the Kingdom may be certainly enformed of his Majeſties intention and will.

3. VVhereas no Family, City, Common-wealth, much leſs any Kingdom may ſtand without union and concord, without which this Kingdom for the preſent ſtandeth in moſt danger. VVe think it therefore neceſſary that all *Iriſh* Peers, Magiſtrates, Noblemen, Cities and Provinces, may be tied together with the holy bond of Union and Concord, and that they frame an Oath of Union and agreement which they ſhall devoutly and Chriſtianly take, and faithfully obſerve. And for the conſervation and exerciſe of this Union, VVe have thought fit to ordain the enſuing Points.

4. VVe ſtraightly command all our inferiours, aſwell Churchmen as Laymen to make no diſtinction at all between the old and ancient *Iriſh*, and no Alienation, compariſon, or differences between Provinces, Cities, Towns or Families; and laſtly, not to begin, or forward any emulations, or compariſons whatſoever.

5. That in every Province of *Ireland* there be a Councel made up, both of Clergy and Nobility, in which Councel ſhall be ſo many perſons at leaſt as are Counties in the Province, and out of every City or notable Town two perſons.

6. Let one general Councel of the whole Kingdom be made, both of the Clergy, Nobility, Cities and notable Towns, in which Councel there ſhall be three out of every Province, and out of every City one, or where Cities are not, out of the chiefeſt Towns. To this Councel the Provincial Councels ſhall have ſubordination, and from thence to it may be appealed, until this National Councel have opportunity to ſit together, Again, if any thing of great importance do occur, or be conceived in one Province, which by a negative Vote is rejected in the Councel of one Province, let it be ſent to the Councels of other Provinces; except it be ſuch a matter as cannot be delayed, and which doth not pertain to the Weal-publick of the other Provinces.

7. Embaſſage ſent from one Province to forraign Nations ſhall be held as made from the reſt of the Provinces, and the fruit or benefit thereof ſhall be imparted, and divided between the Provinces and Cities which have more need thereof, chiefly ſuch helps and fruits, as proceed from the bountiful liberality of forreign Princes, States, Prelates or others whatſoever; provided always that the charge and damage be proportionably recompenced.

8. If

8. If there be any Province which may not conveniently ſend Embaſſage from it ſelf unto forraign Nations, let it ſignifie it to another Province, which may conveniently ſupply it, and ought in regard of their Union to ſupply it, according to the inſtructions ſent from the other Provinces concerning the place, and Princes to which they would have their Embaſſage employed.

9. Let a faithful Inventory be made in every Province of the Murthers, Burnings, and other Cruelties, which are commited by the Puritan Enemies, with a Quotation of the place, day, cauſe, manner, and perſons, and other circumſtances ſubſcribed by one of publick Authority.

10. In every Pariſh, let a faithful and ſworn Meſſenger be appointed, whereby ſuch Cruelties, and other affaires may be written and ſent to the neighbouring places, and likewiſe from one Province to another; Let ſuch things be written for the comfort, inſtruction, and carefulneſs of the People.

11. Great men taken priſoners in one Province, may not be ſet at liberty for any price, prayers, or exchange, without the conſent of the Prelates and Nobility of the other Province united, and let every Province be careful of the Liberties of ſuch Priſoners as are from the other Provinces, as far as it conveniently may.

12. If any one ſtubborn, or dangerous be found in one Province, County, or Town, Let him be ſent to another Province, County or Town, where he may be ſafely kept, (and with leſs danger, or loſs of others) remain.

13. Whoſoever ſhall be declared in one County or Province, Adverſary or Traitor of this Cauſe and Country, ſhall likewiſe be held and puniſhed in other Countries and Provinces, where he ſhall be found, and ſuch as receive or favour him, or be his Meſſengers knowing his miſdemeanour, ſhall be liable to ſuch puniſhment as the Traitor himſelf.

14. We Command and Ordain as a main point pertaining to this Union, that no Province, County, City, Town or Perſon whatſoever ſhall demand Peace, or ſubmit himſelf to the Enemies, without the conſent of the general Council of the whole Kingdom, and that under pain of Excommunication to be incurred *ipſo facto*, and for further force of this Statute to be obſerved; We will that in every Province a firm Oath be taken by the Peers, Nobility, Corporation, and commonalty of every Province, and thereupon a Publick and Authentical Inſtrument be made; And that every Province do ſend into every other Province an Inſtrument ſubſcribed, with the proper hands of ſuch as have taken this Oath, for the aſſurance of their Oaths, and whoſoever ſhall refuſe to take this Oath, let him be held as Adverſary of the common Cauſe, and of the Kingdom, and let him be puniſhed as ſuch as hereafter ſhall be declared, except he be excuſed for the Reaſons hereafter to be ſet down.

15. The Ordinaries of every place, The Preachers, Confeſſors, Pariſh-Prieſts, and other Churchmen ſhall endeavour to ſee perfect peace and charity obſerved between Provinces, Counties, Cities, and Families, as the obligation of this Union requireth.

16. Such Goods as well moveable as unmoveable pertaining to Catholicks, as were recovered from the Enemies by this preſent War,

ſhall be reſtored to their former owners, Provided that ſuch neceſſary and reaſonable charges ſhall be paid, as the next general or Provincial Council or Commitees of the County where the Parties dwell, ſhall decree.

17. Whereas diverſe perſons do diverſly carry themſelves towards this Cauſe, ſome with helps and ſupplies do aſſiſt the Adverſaries, others with Victuals and Arms, others with their Advice and Authority, ſupporting as it were the contrary Cauſe, ſome alſo as Neuters behaving themſelves, and others laſtly neglecting their Oath do forſake the Catholick Union and Cauſe. We do therefore declare and judge all and every ſuch as do forſake this Union, do fight for our Enemies, accompany them in their War, defend or in any other way aſſiſt them, as giving them Weapons, Victuals, Counſel, or Favour, to be Excommunicated, and by theſe Preſents do Excomunicate them; Provided that this preſent Decree ſhall be firſt publiſhed in every Dioceſs reſpectively, and having received admonition before hand, which ſhall ſupply the treble admonition otherwiſe requiſite, and we do hereby declare, ſo it be made in a place where it may eaſiy come to the knowledge of thoſe whom it toucheth. But as touching the Judgment and Puniſhment of the Neuters we leave it to the Ordinaries of every place reſpectively, ſo that the Ordinaries themſelves be not contrary to the Judgment and Opinion of this Congregation, in which cauſe, we Commit power to the Metropolitans or Archbiſhops to proceed againſt ſuch Ordinaries, according to the common courſe of Law, wherein they are to be very careful and ſpeedy, and if the Metropolitans be found herein careleſs or guilty, let them be lyable to ſuch puniſhment as is ordained by the holy Canons, and let them be accuſed to the See Apoſtolick.

18. We Ordain and Decree that all and every ſuch as from the beginning of this preſent War, have invaded the Poſſeſſions of Goods as well moveable as unmoveable, ſpiritual or temporal of any Catholick whether *Iriſh* or *Engliſh*, or alſo of any *Iriſh* Proteſtant being not Adverſary of this Cauſe; and do detain any ſuch Goods, ſhall be Excommunicated, and by this preſent Decree we do Excommunicate them if admoniſhed they do not amend, and with the like cenſure we do bind ſuch as henceforward ſhall invade or detain ſuch Goods, and not only them, but alſo all and every ſuch as ſhall keep Lands or Poſſeſſions againſt publick authority, as alſo ſuch as favour or aſſiſt them therein. And we declare involved in this cenſure all and every of them, who directly or indirectly hinder or forbid to pay their due Rents unto ſuch as have poſſeſſed the ſaid Lands, from the beginning of this War, and ſuch likewiſe as without the Licenſe of ſuch Poſſeſſors, do take or extort Rents or equivalent payment from the Tenants of ſuch Poſſeſſors under colour of paying Souldiers therewith, or otherwiſe.

19. We command all and every the Churchmen, as well Secular as Regular, not to hear the Confeſſions of the aforeſaid Excommunicated perſons, nor to Adminiſter unto them the Holy Sacrament, under pain of Excommunication *ipſo facto*.

20. VVe will and declare all thoſe that Murther, Diſmember, or grievouſly Strike, all Theives, unlawful Spoilers, Robbers of any Goods, Extortors, together with all ſuch as favour, receive, or any ways

ways aſſiſt them, to be Excommunicated, and ſo to remain, until they compleatly amend and ſatisfie no leſs then if they were namely Proclaimed Excommunicated, and for ſatisfaction of ſuch Crimes hitherto committed to be enjoyned, we leave to the diſcretion of the Ordinaries and Confeſſors, how to abſolve them.

21. Tradeſmen for making Weapons or Powder brought into this Countrey, or hereafter to be brought in, ſhall be free from all Taxations and Cuſtoms; as alſo all Merchants, as ſhall tranſport into this Countrey, ſuch wares as are profitable for the Catholick Cauſe, as Arms and Powder, may lawfully traffick without paying any Cuſtom, for Commodities brought out of this Kingdom, or tranſported hither of that kind, and let this be Proclaimed in all Provinces, Cities, and Towns.

22. We think it convenient, that in the next National Congregation, ſome be appointed out of the Nobility, and Clergy as Embaſſadours to be ſent in the behalf of the whole Kingdom, unto the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to the Emperour and his Holineſs, and thoſe to be of the Church Prelates, or one of the Nobility and a Lawyer.

23. We will and ordain, that Ordinaries, Dignitaries, and other Properietors of Church livings, with the aſſiſtance of the Colonel, or ſome other prime Gentleman of the County, Barony, or Pariſh, as the Ordinary, and Dignitaries, or Proprietors ſhall appoint, do ſet unto Tenants, the Lands, Houſes, Tenements, and Tithes, and other Church livings, and let competent means be appointed for the maintainance of the ſaid Ordinaries, Dignitaries and Proprietors, and the reſt to be appointed for the Souldiers until it be otherwiſe ordained.

24. Collectors and Receivers of the Rents of Church-livings, ſhall be appointed by the Ordinaries, with the conſent of the Proprietors in the preſence of the chiefeſt Gentlemen of every County, Barony, or Pariſh reſpectively.

25. The Ordinaries and other Proprietors of Church-livings, may take unto themſelves, the Houſes, Tenements and other Church Goods pertaing unto their reſpective Titles, with obligations to pay proportionable Rent unto the Souldiers as aforeſaid, or his payment of their own competent maintenance, and lett the Houſes, Tenements, and other Church goods be taken from the Catholicks, who heretofore had them as Tenements or otherwiſe.

26. It is committed to the will and diſpoſition of the Ordinary whether and when to enter into the Churches and celebrate Maſſes, therein we command all and every the general Colonels, Captains and other Officers of our Catholick Army to whom it appertaineth, that they ſeverally puniſh all tranſgreſſors of our aforeſaid Command, touching Murtherers, Maimers, Strikers, Thieves, Robbers, and if they fail therein, we Command the Pariſh Prieſts, Curats or Chaplains, reſpectively to declare them interdicted, and that they ſhall be Excommunicated, if they cauſe not due ſatisfaction to be made unto the Common-wealth, and the party offended. And this the Pariſh Prieſts, or Chaplains ſhall obſerve under pain of Excommunication of ſentence given *ipſo facto*.

27. To the end that theſe Acts, Propoſitions and Ordinances may have more happy ſucceſs; We thought it fittting to have recourſe unto God Almighty by Prayers, Faſtings and Alms, We therefore will pray and as far as it is needful, do command that every Prieſt, as well Secular, as Regular do celebrate one Maſs a week, and that all Laymen do faſt upon Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday in one week, and thence forward one day a week, and upon that Wedneſday, or Saturday, as long as the Ordinary ſhall pleaſe, and that they pray heartily unto God for the proſperous ſucceſs of this our Catholick War, for which they ſhall gain ſo many days indulgences, as every Prelate ſhall publiſh in their ſeveral Dioceſſes reſpectively after the Faſt of the aforeſaid three days in one Week, having firſt confeſſed, and received the bleſſed Sacrament, and beſtowed ſome Alms to this effect.

28. In every Regiment of Souldiers, let there be appointed at leaſt two Confeſſors, and one Preacher, to be named by the Ordinaries and by the Superiors of the Regulars, whoſe competent maintenance we commend and command to every Colonel, in their reſpective Regiments. And to the end that all thoſe Ordinances and Statutes may effectually be put in Execution, We will and decree that all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Apoſtolical Vicars, and Regular Superiours, as well here preſent as abſent, may be very ſerious and careful of the Execution of the aforeſaid, as they tender not to incur diſpleaſure, wrath, and revenge, and herewith we charge their Conſciences.

29. Moreover, VVe pray and require, all Noblemen, Magiſtrates, and all other Marſhal Commanders, that with their helps and Secular forces, they aſſiſt and ſet forward in Execution the aforeſaid Statutes in their ſeveral Precincts reſpectively as often as it ſhall be needful; If in any of the aforeſaid Statutes any doubt or difficulty may by chance ariſe, the explication thereof we reſerve to the Metropolitans in every Province reſpectively, and to the Biſhops in every their Dioceſſes, ſuch of them as are no way contrary to this Cauſe, no other perſon may preſume to expound the aforeſaid difficulties.

Hæc dicta, acta, ordinata, & ſtatuta, ſubſcripta erant nominibus ſequentium Prælatorum.

All thoſe Judgments, Sayings, Acts, and Covenants, VVe ſubmit to the Judgment of the See Apoſtolick.

Hugo Archiepiſcopus Armachanus.
Thomas Archiepiſcopus Caſſelenſis.
Malachius Archiepiſcopus Guamenum.
David Epiſcopus Oſoren.
Frater Boetius Epiſcopus Elphinenſis.
Frater Patricius Epiſcopus Waterforden. & Lyſmoren.
Frater Rochus Epiſcopus Kildaren.
Johannis Electus Claunfarten.
Emerus Electus Dunen. & Conoren.
Frater Joſephus Everard, Procurator Archiepiſcopi Dublinenſ.
Doctor Johannes Creagh Procurator Epiſcopus Lymeriten.
David Bourck & Willielmus O Connell Procurator Epiſcopi Imolacen.

Donatus

Donatus O Tearnan Procurator Episcopi Laonen.
Doctor Dionysius Harty Decanus Laonensis.
Doctor Michael Hacket Vicar. gener. Waterforden.
Gulielmus Devocer Vic. gener. Fernesen.
Thomas Roch Vicar. Generalis Ossoren.
Frater Lucas Archer Abbas Sanctæ Crucis.
Frater Anthonius de Rosario Ord. præd. Vicar. Provincial.
Robertus Nugent Societat. Jesu in Heb.
Frater Thadeus Connoldus Ang. pro Provinc.
Johannes Wareinge Decanus Lymericen.
Frater Patricius Darcye Guardian. Dublin.
Frater Thomas Strange Guardian. Waterford.
Frater Joseph Lancton, Prior Kilkenny.
Frater Tho. Tearnon Guard. de Dundalk.
Frater Johannes Reyly Guard. Kilkenny
Frater Boetius Egnanus Guard. Buttevant.
Jordanus Boork Archidiaconus Lymericensis.

APPEN-

APPENDIX VIII.

Fol. 98.

Orders made and eſtabliſhed by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the reſt of the general Aſſembly for the Kingdom of Ireland, *met at the City of* Kilkenny, *the* 24*th. day of* October, Anno Dom. 1642. *and in the Eighteenth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord the King* Charles, *by the Grace of God King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *&c.*

1. *Imprimis*, That the Roman Catholick Church in *Ireland*, ſhall and may have and enjoy the Priviledges and Immunities according to the great Charter, made and declared within the Realm of *England*, in the ninth year of King *H.* 3. ſometime King of *England*, and the Lord of *Ireland*, and afterwards enacted and confirmed in this Realm of *Ireland*, and that the Common Law of *England*, and all the Statutes of force in this Kingdom, which are not againſt the Catholick Roman Religion, on the Liberties of the Natives, and other Liberties of this Kingdom, ſhall be obſerved throughout the whole Kingdom, and that all Proceedings in Civil and Criminal Caſes ſhall be according to the ſaid Laws.

2. *Item*, That all and every perſon and perſons within this Realm, ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance unto our Soveraign Lord King *Charles*, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, His Heirs and Succeſſors, and ſhall uphold and maintain his and their Rights and lawful Prerogatives, with the utmoſt skill and power of ſuch perſon or perſons againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever.

3. *Item*, That the Common Laws of *England* and *Ireland*, and the ſaid Statutes called the great Charter, and every Clauſe, Branch and Article thereof, and all other Statutes confirming, expounding or declaring the ſame, ſhall be punctually obſerved within this Kingdom, ſo far forth as the Condition of the preſent times, during theſe times, can by poſſibilities give way thereunto, and after the War is ended the ſame to be obſerved without any Limitation or Reſtriction whatſoever.

4. In

4. Inaſmuch as the City of *Dublin* is the uſual and principal Seat of Juſtice in this Kingdom, where the Parliament and ordinary Courts were held, and ſome other places where principal Councils were ſometimes kept, and as yet poſſeſſed and commanded by the malignant party who are Enemies to God and their King, and his Majeſties well-affected Subjects: The Aſſembly is neceſſitated during this VVar in ſome formalities and circumſtances to deviate from the proceedings preſcrib'd by the ſaid Laws and Statutes; nevertheleſs retaineth the ſubſtance and Eſſence thereof, ſo far-forth as the endleſs malice and cruelty of their Enemies, the ſaid malignant party, doth permit, who ſhut up the ſaid places and other paſſages and ways to his Majeſties Juſtice and Mercy from his Majeſties well-affected Subjects of this Kingdom; for the Exaltation therefore of the holy *Roman* Catholick Church, for the advancement of his Majeſties Service, and the preſervation of the Lives, Eſtates, and liberties of his Majeſties true Subjects of this Kingdom againſt the Injuſtice, Murders, Maſſacres, Rapes, Depredations, Robberies, Burnings, frequent breaches of Quarter and publick Faith, and deſtruction daily perpetrated and acted upon his Majeſties ſaid Subjects; and adviſ'd, contriv'd, and daily exercis'd by the ſaid malignant Party; ſome of them managing the Government and Affairs of State in *Dublin*, ſome other parts of this Kingdom to his Highneſs great diſſervice, and complying with their Confederates, the malignant Party in *England* and elſewhere, who (as it is manifeſt to all the world) do complot, and practice to diſhonour and deſtroy his Majeſty, his Royal Conſort the Queen, their Iſſue, and the Monarchal Government, which is of moſt dangerous conſequence to all the Monarchs and Princes in Chriſtendom.

The ſaid Aſſembly doth order and eſtabliſh a Councel by name *A Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland, who are to conſiſt of the number of 24. to be forthwith nam'd by the Aſſembly, whereof 12, at the leaſt, to be forthwith nam'd ſhall reſide in this Kingdom, or where-elſe they ſhall think expedient; And the members of the ſaid Council ſhall have equal Votes, and two parts of the three or more concurring preſent Votes to conclude, and no fewer to ſit in Council than 9, whereof 7 at leaſt are to concur; And of the 24 a Preſident ſhall be nam'd of the Aſſembly, who is to be one of the twelve reſident; and if in caſe of his death, abſence, or ſickneſs, the reſt of theſe who ſhall be reſident, may name a Vice-preſident of the 24.

And the ſaid Council ſhall have the Power and preheminence following, *viz.* The Lords, Generals, and all other Commanders of Armies, and Civil Magiſtrates and Officers in the ſeveral Provinces ſhall obſerve their Orders and Decrees, and ſhall do nothing contrary to their directions, and ſhall give them ſpeedy advertiſement and account of their proceedings and actions with as much expedition as may be.

That the ſaid Council ſhall have power to order and determine all ſuch matters as by this Aſſembly ſhall be left undetermined, and ſhall be recommended unto them, and their Orders therein to be of force until the next Aſſembly, and after until the ſame be revoked.

That the ſaid Council ſhall have Power and Authority to do and execute all manner of Acts and things conducing to the advancement of the

the Catholick Cauſe, and the good of this Kingdom, and concerning this VVar, as if done by the Aſſembly.

And ſhall have power to hear and determine all matters Capital, Criminal or Civil, except the Right or Title of Land.

That the Generals and other Commanders of Armies, and all Governors and civil Magiſtrates, and all other perſons within this Realm ſhall obey the Orders and Decrees of the ſaid Council touching the preſent Service.

That the Council ſhall have for their Guard the number of 500. Foot and 200 Horſe, to be equally extracted out of the Armies of the four Provinces.

5. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that in every Province of this Kingdom there ſhall be a Provincial-councel, and in every County a County-councel: the Provincial-councel to be compos'd of the number of two of each County, and the ſaid Provincial-councel ſhall chuſe a Preſident for themſelves.

6. That the Provincial-councel ſhall ſit four times a Year, and oftner if there be cauſe for it. That they ſhall have power and Authority to renew or reverſe the Judgment of the County-councel, the party complaining, entring Security *De adjudicat' ſolvend'*. And ſhall (during the trouble) have power to hear and determine all matters of the Crown as Judges of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and Gaol-delivery were wont to do, ſo that no Spiritual perſon be preſent at the determining matters of blood. And ſhall have power to hear and determine all civil Cauſes, and to eſtabliſh Rents and Poſſeſſions, ſo that they meddle not with the Title of Land, other than in caſe of Dower and Joynture. And the Sheriffs, Provincial-generals, and all Commanders of the Armies in caſe of Diſobedience, are reſpectively required to execute the Decrees and Orders: And in caſe of Debts and Accounts, great conſideration is to be had of the diſabilities of Creditors occaſion'd by the VVar.

7. *Item*, In every County there ſhall be a County-councel, conſiſting of one or two of each Barony at the Election of the County: and where there are no Baronies, the Councel of ſuch County to conſiſt of the number of 12.

And the ſaid County-council ſhall have power and Authority in all points as Juſtices of the Peace to hear and determine all the matters concerning the Offices of the Juſtice of Peace, and all matters of the Crown happening within every ſuch County: and the Delinquent may, if he pleaſe, have his Trial in the Province; and to hear and determine Debts, Treſpaſſes, and perſonal Demands, and to do all things as Juſtices of the Peace were accuſtomed to do; and to reſtore and eſtabliſh poſſeſſions taken by force or fraud ſince theſe troubles. And likewiſe to take a ſpecial care that Tenants aud Farmers be kept to their Farms where they were uſed, and to be preſerv'd from Extortion and Oppreſſion. And that Trades, Tradeſmen, Manufactures, Agriculture, and Husbandry be maintained and duly kept.

8. *Item*, In Cities and Towns Corporate, Juſtice is to be done, and the Laws executed, as is accuſtomed.

9. *Item*, In every County there ſhall be Coroners, High-Sheriffs, High-Conſtables, and petty-Conſtables and Gaolers, who are to do their reſpective Offices as accuſtomed; the High-Sheriff to be confirm'd,

firm'd or nominated by the Supream Council; and the High-Sheriff is required to execute the Commands, Orders, and Decrees of the Provincial and County-council.

10. *Item*, In every County the High-Sheriff ſhall be Provoſt-Marſhal, and ſhall have power to execute a Layman not worth 5 *l.* and none other for Murther, Man-ſlaughter, Burglary, Theft, Robbery, or other capital Offence; provided, the party to be executed may have 24 hours time to prepare his Soul: And that the Supream and Provincial-council, ſhall and may name more Provoſt-Marſhals as they ſhall think expedient, qualified with the like Authority.

11. *Item*, It is further order'd, that no Temporal Government or Juriſdiction ſhall be aſſumed, kept, or exerciſed in this Kingdom, or within any County or Province thereof, during theſe troubles, other than is before expreſſed, except ſuch Juriſdiction and Government as is or ſhall be approv'd by the General Aſſembly or the Supream Council.

12. *Item*, It is further order'd, that whoſoever hath enter'd ſince the firſt day of *October*, 1641. or ſhall hereafter during the continuance of the War in this Kingdom, enter into the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments at or immediately before the firſt day of *October*, either by himſelf or his Under-tenants, or by receiving the Rents, Iſſues, or profits thereof, ſhall immediately reſtore, upon demand, the ſaid poſſeſſion to the party or parties ſo put out, with ſuch reaſonable damages as the Council-provincial ſhall think fit. And if the party do refuſe to reſtore the ſaid poſſeſſion as aforeſaid upon the Demand of the party ſo put out, his Heirs or Aſſigns, made to the ſaid poſſeſſor, his Servants and Adherents in the Premiſſes, or publication of this Order in the Pariſh, where ſuch Land lieth; that upon his or their denial thereof, or default therein, he, his Heirs and Aſſigns ſhall be for ever after debarr'd and ſecluded from all and every Right, Title, Intereſt or Demand which he or they make, or pretend to all or any the ſaid Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments. And if after ſuch Denial or Default made, the ſaid party, his Heirs, or Aſſigns ſhall not immediately reſtore the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments ſo gain'd to the party griev'd, his Heirs or Aſſigns, That he, they, or his Adherents, in the premiſes ſhall be declared and proceeded with as Enemies: provided, and ſo it is meant, That if any of the parties ſo put out, be declar'd a Neuter or Enemy by the Supream or Provincial-councel, then the party who gain'd the poſſeſſion as aforeſaid, ſhall give up the poſſeſſion to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be nam'd either by the ſaid Council-provincial, or Supream Council to be diſpos'd of towards the maintenance of the general Cauſe upon the pain and penalty aforeſaid: And as for the Rents and mean profits of the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and all kind of Rents, and the Goods or Chattels taken or detain'd from any Catholick, as aforeſaid, due ſatisfaction is to be made for the ſame to the parties from whom the Rents, Goods or Chattles, were, or ſhall be detain'd ſince theſe troubles begun, as the Provincial and County-council ſhall reſpectively order.

13. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſhed for the removal of evil diſorder and enmity, and to the end all Men may bend their

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thoughts and actions to the common Cauſe, that all poſſeſſions of Lands and Hereditaments ſhall continue and remain unto ſuch as have already join'd in this Union, as they have been for three years paſt next before the beginning of theſe Troubles; And that no Title of Lands ſhall be drawn into any Debate or Queſtion until the next Aſſembly, other than in caſe of Mortgages, Leaſes, and particular Eſtates *de facto* determin'd or determinable, by Effluxion or other determination thereof.

14. *Item*, For the avoiding of National diſtinction between the Subjects of his Majeſties Dominions, which this Aſſembly doth utterly deteſt and abhor, and which ought not to be endured in a well-govern'd Commonwealth; It is ordered and eſtabliſhed that upon pain of the higheſt puniſhment, which may be inflicted by Authority of this Aſſembly, that every *Roman* Catholick, as well *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, as *Scotch*, who was of that profeſſion before the troubles, and who will come and pleaſe to reſide in this Kingdom and join in the preſent Union, ſhall be preſerv'd and cheriſh'd in his Life, Goods, and Eſtates by the Power, Authority, and force (if need require) of all the Catholicks of *Ireland*, as fully and freely as any Native born therein, and ſhall be acquitted and eas'd of one third part (in three parts to be divided) of publick Charges or Levies rais'd or to be rais'd for the maintenance of this holy VVar.

15. *Item*, And it is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that there ſhall be no diſtinction or compariſon made betwixt old *Iriſh*, and old and new *Engliſh*, or between Septs or Families, or between Citizens and Townſmen and Countreymen, joyning in union, upon pain of the higheſt puniſhment that can be inflicted by any of the Councils aforeſaid, according to the nature and quality of the Offences, and Diviſion like to ſpring thence.

16. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that all new Converts born in any of his Majeſties Dominions or elſewhere, without occaſion given by the perſons converted to the contrary, and joyning in this Cauſe, ſhall be accounted Catholick Natives to all intents and purpoſes.

17. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that all Artificers, Artizans, Navigators, and Mariners not being Denizens, who ſhall pleaſe to reſide in this Kingdom, ſhall, during their Reſidence in this Kingdom, after ſuch time as they and their Families ſhall be here ſetled, have and enjoy the free liberty and priviledges of Natives in all reſpects.

18. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that in regard of of the preſent Eſtate and condition of this Kingdom, if any Catholick or Catholicks are admitted of, or permitted to continue in the Inns of Court; and to the end the laudable Laws of *England* may not die amidſt the Diſaſters of theſe times; one Inn of Court ſhall be erected in ſuch a place of this Kingdom as to the Supream Council ſhall be thought fit, for the training of the Gentry of this Kingdom to the knowledg of theſe Laws.

19. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that no Lord, Gentleman, or any other perſon, ſhall raiſe or keep any Company of Souldiers, but ſuch as ſhall be authoriz'd by the Supream Council, Provincial-council, or County-council, or Magiſtrate within their own Cor-

Corporate Towns; And that the Statute againſt *Seſſe*, and *Coin* or *Livery* be duly put in execution. And that no Company or Souldiers whatſoever ſhall be paid or reliev'd by the Countrey, except ſuch as are and ſhall be inrolled in the Marſhal Liſt; And none ſhall be billeted but by the Conſtable.

20. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd for the advancement of Learning, that in every Province of the Kingdom Free-Schools ſhall be erected and maintain'd, ſo many, and in ſuch places, and in ſuch manner and form as by the Metropolitan of the Dioceſs in their reſpective Provinces ſhall be thought fit.

21. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that the King's Cuſtoms, Rents, Revenues, Arrears and Debts, And the Rents, Eſtates and profits of the Lands, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of the Enemies which are or ſhall be declared by the Provincial or Supream Council, or by the General Council to be receiv'd and collected, and be diſpos'd for his Majeſties uſe and ſervice.

22. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that Church-lands and Tithes impropriate in the Catholick-owners before theſe troubles, and joyning in this Cauſe, may be left to them according to their ſeveral Eſtates, until the ſame be diſpoſed of by Parliament; they in the interim anſwering the Rents as accuſtomed.

23. *Item*, It is further ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that in every County there be Collectors and Receivers to be approved in the County-council for the ſame; And that they be accountable to the County-council for the ſame, which County-council ſhall be accountable to the Provincial-council therein half-yearly, and the Provincial-council to the Supream-Council yearly, to the end the ſame may not be conceal'd or miſapplied.

24. *Item*, It is ordered and agreed, where any Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, or other Dignitary, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever hath, or enjoyeth any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, Tithes, or other Church-Livings in one County or Province, or doth or ſhall keep his or their Reſidence in another County or Province, and hath his or their Creation, or Nomination in any other County or Province where the ſaid Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Tithes, or Church-Livings to the general uſe ſhall be employed within the ſaid County or Province, where the ſaid Lands, Tenements, Tithes, or Church-Livings do lie, as by the ſeveral County-councils reſpectively ſhall be thought fit for the publick Cauſe.

25. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſh'd by the general Aſſembly, that any Woman being a *Roman* Catholick and Wife of any Proteſtant or Catholicks that hath forſaken his Houſes, Eſtate, and Wife, and adhered unto the Enemy, that every ſuch VVife may enter into her Jointure (if any be convey'd unto her), or may recover her Thirds of her ſaid Husband's Eſtate, as if her ſaid Husband were actually dead; And that every ſuch VVife ſhall be in ſuch condition and capacity to ſue and be impleaded, as if her Husband had been exiled and baniſhed the Realm by judgment of Law, except the Provincial-council, or Supream-Council in Particular Caſes order the contrary.

26. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſh'd, that the poſſeſſion of Proteſtant Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Dignitaries, and Parſons in

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right of their reſpective Churches, or their Tenements in the beginning of theſe troubles, ſhall be deem'd taken and conſtrued as the then Poſſeſſion of the Catholick Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Dignitaries, Paſtors and their Tenements reſpectively, to all intents and purpoſes; and that thoſe Poſſeſſions are intended within the Precedent Order for ſettlement of Poſſeſſions.

27. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that no man being Priſoner, by Authority of any of the Councils aforeſaid (without order of the ſaid Councils reſpectively) ſhall be enlarged: And that no Protection be given to ſervants and other men of the Enemies Party without the like Order, or the Order of the chief Commander of the Army in the ſeveral Provinces or Counties.

28. *Item*, Whereas abuſes have been committed in ſome parts of this Kingdom in taking of Arms, Ammunition, and other Merchandizes from Merchants arrived in the Creeks and Harbours far from their intended Port, by reaſon of Tempeſt, or the danger of Enemies, to the greatdiſcouragement of Merchants: It is therefore ordered and eſtabliſhed that where any Ship or Ships, or other Veſſels, ſhall come or arrive in any Harbour, Bay, or Creek, within this Kingdom, loaden with Arms, Ammunition or other Merchandize, that in ſuch caſes all thoſe that are or ſhall be in Command in the adjacent Counties reſpectively ſhall protect and defend the ſaid Merchants, procure Carriage for the ſaid Goods, and ſafely convey the ſame to the ſaid Merchants intended Port, and not to ſuffer the ſame, or any of the ſame under colour of paying for the ſame, or otherwiſe, to be diſpoſed of or taken, before the ſame come to the intended Port, and be entred into the Liſt of the Commiſſioners: And any that ſhall Rob, Steal, or Violently take away any of the ſaid Goods contrary to this Order, ſhall be deemed and puniſhed as Enemies to the publick good of this Kingdom, and ſuffer death therefore.

29. *Item*, That certain Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed in every Port-Town of the Free-men and Reſidents therein by the Provincial or Supreme Council, for the viewing of all the Arms and Ammunition that ſhall be hereafter imported into this Kingdom from beyond Seas, and to certifie the ſame to the Supreme Council withall ſpeed, and to prevent abuſes in the Sale for iſſuing or diſpoſing of them.

30. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that where Souldiers do run from their Garriſons, or Commanders unto other Counties or or Provinces, that the Commanders or chief Governours of the ſaid County or Province, upon complaint made thereof, ſhall ſend back the Fugitive Souldiers to their Commanders to be dealt withal according to Juſtice.

31. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that the Debts and other Duties owing to Creditors of this Union being Neuters and Enemies, ſhall be paid out of the Goods, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments of the ſaid Neuters, and Enemies reſpectively, before any other publick charge be anſwered thereout.

32. *Item*, It is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that no Souldiers or other Perſons, without Command from the County-Council, meddle with the Lands or Goods of Neuters or Enemies.

33. *Item*,

33. *Item*, it is ordered and eſtabliſhed, that to prevent the ſpringing up of all National diſtinctions, the Oath of Aſſociation or Union be taken ſolemnly, after Confeſſion and receiving the Sacrament in the Pariſh Churches, throughout the Kingdom, and the Names of all the Perſons of Rank and Quality in every Pariſh that take the ſame, to be enrolled in Parchment, and to be Return'd, Sign'd, and Seal'd by the Pariſh Prieſt to the Ordinary of every Dioceſs, who is to keep the ſame in his Treaſury, and to certifie a Copy thereof under Seal to the Metropolitan, who is to keep that, and to certifie a true Copy thereof under his Metropolitical Seal to the Rolls of the Kingdom, where the ſame is to be enrolled.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, IX.

Fol. 99.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Councel.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlaſe.

WHereas for ſpecial reaſons of State moving Us thereunto, We iſſued divers VVarrants, forbidding his Majeſties Army, to burn certain Houſes and Corn, and to forbear pillaging, ſpoiling, and taking away Goods and Cattle of divers perſons; And whereas alſo not only We the Lords, Juſtices, or one of Us, or our very good Lord the Earl of Ormond *and* Oſſory, *Lieutenant General of the Army, but alſo the late and preſent Commander or Commanders of his Majeſties Forces in the City of* Dublin, *or in* Drogheda *and other places within the Province of* Lemſter (*ſome of them having no authority or direction ſo to do*) *and iſſued Warrants admitting ſundry perſons* (*many of which perſons by their preſent ill demerits in this General Rebellion, might juſtly have been forthwith proſecuted with fire and ſword*) *with ſafety to bring or ſend to the Markets of* Dublin, Drogheda, *and other places, Corn and other proviſions, to be there ſold, which was done in expectation that by that forbearance uſed towards them, when they ſaw juſt vengeance taken on others for the ſame adhering to, and relieving thoſe who in this Rebellion publickly carry Arms, and commit open Acts of Hoſtility, they might be moved to depart from adhering to, or relieving thoſe notorious Actors in the Rebellion, in gratitude to his Majeſty and this State, for ſo much clemency uſed towards them; yet ſo ungrateful have many or moſt of thoſe perſons been found, and ſo inſenſible of the duty and loyaltie of good Subjects to his Majeſty, as notwithſtanding that clemency uſed towards them, they have not returned the fruits of Loyaltie expected from them, but on the contrary have run on in their former rebellious courſes, not ſo much as having to this time offered any aſſiſtance to this State, or any the Governors or Commanders of the Army, and have murdered many* Engliſh *and other Subjects in ſeveral parts: it being obſerved, that if any of his Majeſties good Subjects, Souldiers or others, paſs by, not ſtrongly guarded, they are ſet upon and murthered in the High-ways and paſſages as they travel, the very*

Plowmen

Plowmen and thoſe that keep Cattle, having continually Arms lying by them in the Fields, to murther thoſe his Majeſties good Subjects when they find them weakly guarded; and on the other ſide when they find them ſtrongly guarded, they ſeem to go on in their Plowing and Husbandry, ſhewing thoſe Warrants for their ſafety, and ſeeming to be poor, innocent, and harmleſs Labourers. And although the aforeſaid open Rebels were frequently in ſome of their Houſes, and continually round about them, they never gave us any intelligence concerning the proceedings of thoſe open Rebels, nor of the places where they had often meetings, and where they might be found to be fallen on by his Majeſties Army, which they might eaſily have done, if their affections to his Majeſty and his Government had been ſuch as by the Laws *of God they ought to be, or if they deſired to live humbly in obedience to the Laws, as ſome of them pretend: And albeit in many of the ſaid VVarrants there were conditions expreſſed, and in all of them Conditions implyed, that the parties taking benefit thereby, ſhould behave themſelves as becomes dutiful and Loyal Subjects, whereby We might juſtly proceed to their deſerved Correction, without any violation on Our parts of the ſaid VVarrants, or the word thereby given. And albeit alſo that moſt of thoſe VVarrants were not in themſelves Protections to the parties, further than in giving them leave to bring or ſend Corn and other proviſions to the Markets, whereby their Servants, or Horſes, or Proviſions ſhould not be ſeized on by the Souldiers when they came to the Markets, which admittance fell out as well for their benefit, as intended for the furniſhing of the Market; Yet becauſe We find that the further continuing of thoſe VVarrants, do now appear inevitably to induce a great inconvenience to his Majeſties General Service, and many of thoſe people do either ignorantly (or perhaps purpoſely) miſtake the true ſenſe and meaning of thoſe VVarrants, and do give out to interpret them to be Protections granted to them for the ſafety of their Lives and Eſtates,, how foul ſoever they are in their crimes, which is an interpretation that cannot juſtly be made out of the letter or meaning of thoſe VVarrants; yet in regard We (who are entruſted here by His Majeſty for the government of this His Kingdom and People), are ſo tender of His Majeſties Honour, as VVe neither have done, nor will do anything, that by any conſtruction can be interpreted a Breach of any word given by Us, neither have deſired or willingly permitted any violence or hurt to be done to any Inhabitant, or any prejudice, other than for the neceſſary Defence and ſafety of this State, and other His Majeſties good Subjects, againſt thoſe that took up Arms againſt His Majeſty. And for that we are now neceſſitated to reſolve, not to ſuffer this State to be any longer deluded and abuſed, and His Majeſties good Subjects murthered (even as it were in our own view in ſcorn and affront of the State) and ſome of the actors paſſing with impunity under countenance of theſe VVarrants, VVe think fit before we proceed to the juſt Correction of thoſe who have ſo declared themſelves Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdom, hereby to publiſh and declare that the ſaid VVarrants ſo granted by Us the* Lords, Juſtices, *or either of Us, or by Us the* Lords, Juſtices *and* Councel, *or*

or by the ſaid Lieutenant General *of the Army, or by the ſaid late or preſent Commanders of the Forces of this City, or by any His Majeſties Commanders in* Drogheda, *or other places, to any perſon or perſons within the Baronies of* Caſtle-knock, Nethercrois, Balrothery *or* Coolock *in the County of* Dublin, *or within the Baronies of* Duleeke, Skryne, Moyfenragh, Ratoath, Deece *and* Dunboyne *in the County of* Meath, *ſhall from and after the four and twentieth day of this Month, ſtand void, and be annulled, repealed, and revoked; and we do hereby accordingly from and after the ſaid day revoke, repeal, make void and annul them, and every of them, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they had never been granted, and do order that from and after the ſaid day, they be of no force, nor derive any benefit, Protection, or Security in the parties to whom they were granted. And this Proclamation, we hereby require the* Major *and* Sheriffs *of the City of* Dublin, *to cauſe to be proclaimed and publiſhed on two Market-days in and throughout the ſaid City and Suburbs, and to be publickly fixed up in the Market-place, and other publick places in the ſaid City and Suburbs, that ſo all men may take notice thereof, and that hereafter (when by the power and ſtrength of his Majeſties Army) Offenders receive due puniſhment, they may appear inexcuſable, and not have any colour to pretend the leaſt Breach of word in this State.*

Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin* the 10. of *June*, 1642.

Ormond Oſſory.
Roſcomon.
Ad. Loftus.
J. Temple.
Tho. Rotherham.
Fra. Willoughby.
Tho. Lucas.
Ja. Ware.
Geo. Wentworth.
Rob. Meredith.

God ſave the King.

This

This relates to what is mentioned in the end of the ſecond Paragraph Fol. 102. Juſtifying *the State* in the revoking of *Protections*, given contrary to their *Order*, and the *Abuſe* the *Protected* made thereof.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Council.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlaſe.

WHereas *in the beginning of this hideous and deteſtable Rebellion, We the Lords Juſtices and Council, deſirous if it might be to give ſome ſudden ſtop thereunto, ſo to prevent the ſpreading thereof, and the growth of it to that height to which it hath ſithence riſen, and conceiving that at that time the multitude were by evil Council, or falſe rumors ſeduced to partake in that Rebellion, who not knowing the truth and depth of the Combination, We did think, could not ſo wretchedly fail in their Duty and Loyalty to their moſt Gracious King and Soveraign, as ſo univerſally to perſiſt in their courſe of Diſobedience to his Majeſties Authority, but would with treatable and fair admonitions, laying before them their great danger and the iniquity of their enterpriſe, have returned to their obedience, We therefore on the 27th. of* October *laſt, authoriſed divers perſons of quality and truſt for the ſeveral Counties of* Down, Antrim, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Tirone *and* Fermanagh (*amongſt other Powers then entruſted with them*) *to parly with the Rebels, or any of them, and by Proclamation, or otherwiſe, to proffer his Majeſties Grace and Mercy to them, or any of them, and to receive ſuch of them into his Majeſties Grace and Mercy as ſhould ſubmit themſelves and deſire the ſame. Yet We held fit then to accompany the ſaid Commiſſion with our Letters to the ſaid Commiſſioners, wherein We ſignified to them, that although by the ſaid Commiſſion We gave them that power, yet We did then let them know that for thoſe who were Chief among the Rebels, and Ring-leaders of the reſt to diſobedience, that We adjudged them leſs worthy of favour then the others, whom they had miſ-guided. And therefore for thoſe principal perſons We required them to take care not to be too forward (without firſt conſulting this Board) in proffering or promiſing mercy to thoſe, unleſs they the Commiſſioners ſaw it of great and unavoidable neceſſity. Which power entruſted by Us with the ſaid Commiſſioners was then granted, in reſpect of the conjuncture of affaires at that time, and to anſwer the then ſudden extremities in the publick ſervice. And whereas We have now received information that a long time after the ſaid power entruſted with them, and when the State of the Countrey was far different from the Condition wherein it ſtood at the*

iſſuing of the ſaid Commiſſion, and after the general Conſpiracy was fully diſcovered; and that the Rebels of all degrees and conditions had with hateful and bloody obſtinacy declared their purpoſe to extirp the Britiſh, throughout the whole Kingdom, without hope of reconcilement, other then by the ſtrength of his Majeſties forces, ſome of the ſaid Commiſſioners (notwithſtanding the premonition given them by Our ſaid Letters, and without conſulting this Board therein) have given Protections of late to many of the ſaid Rebels being principal perſons and freeholders, which Protections are (in ſundry reſpects) found to be a mighty hindrance to His Majeſties ſervice in thoſe parts, and tending to His Majeſties loſs and diſadvantage. And albeit We are informed that thoſe perſons ſo protected have by their miſ-behaviours ſince the Protections granted to them, violated the expreſs or implyed conditions of all Protections, which beſides the unreaſonableneſs of the granting of them, contrary to the intent of Our direction in Our ſaid Letters, might juſtly give cauſe to have thoſe Rebells immediately faln upon, and cut off. Yet in regard We who are entruſted here by His Majeſty for the Government of this His Kingdom and People, are ſo tender of His Majeſties honour; as We neither have done, nor will do any thing, that by any conſtruction, can be interpreted a breach of any word given by Us, or any other authorized by Us. We think fit before we proceed to the juſt correction of thoſe Rebels, hereby to publiſh and declare, that all the ſaid Protections granted ſince the firſt of March *laſt to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, in the County of* Downe, *or other Counties above named, ſhall at the end of ten days next after the pubiſhing of this Proclamation at* Down-Patrick or Strangford *in the ſaid County of* Down, *or at any other publick place in any of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, ſtand void and be annulled, repealed and revoked. And we do hereby accordingly from and after the ſaid ten days revoke, repeal, make void and annull them, and every of them, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they had never been granted, and do Order that from and after the ſaid ten days, they be of no force, nor derive any benefit, protection or ſecurity to any of the parties to whom they were ſo granted. And this Proclamation We require the Sheriff of the County of* Downe, *and the ſeveral Sheriffs of the ſaid ſeveral Counties reſpectively, to cauſe to be proclaimed and publiſhed at* Down-Patrick *and* Strangford *aforeſaid, and at ſome publick places in the ſaid ſeveral Counties reſpectively, that ſo all perſons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof, and that hereafter when by the Power and Strength of His Majeſties Army the ſaid Offenders receive due puniſhment for their high tranſgreſſions, they may not have any colour to pretend the leaſt breach of word in this State or any the Miniſters thereof.*

Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin* the 19th day of *Auguſt*, 1641.

La. Dublin. J. Temple.
Ormond Oſſory. Tho. Lucas.
Cha. Lambert. Ja. Ware.
Ad. Loftus. Rob. Meredith.

Pope

Pope *Urban* the Eight's Grant of Indulgence to *Owen Roe O Neal*, referrable to Fol. 136. mentioned in *Mahony's Disp. Apologet. p.* 41.

Dilecto filio *Eugenio O Nello.*

Dilecte fili, Salutem. Nullum prætermittere soles occasionem, quâ non Majorum tuorum Vestigiis insistens Eximium Zelum, & propagandæ Ecclesiæ studium perspectum facis, idque luculenter in præsentia præstitisti, in Hiberniam *proficisci cogitans, ut Catholicorum rationibus præsto sis. Quam ob rem pergratæ Nobis advenerunt Literæ, quibus Hujusmodi itineris deliberationem declaras, & rei fæliciter gerendæ principium à cælesti ope auspicatus, non minus humiliter quam religiose Apostolicam benedictionem a Nobis postulas. Præclarum hunc in te ardorem & constantiam adversus hæreticos, & veræ fidei animum, non parum laudamus: tuæque jam pridem pietatis conscii à te expectamus in hac opportunitate strenui atque excelsi roboris documenta, quæ antehac singularem nominis famam tibi comparârunt. Illorum pariter commendamus Consilium, quos tuo excitans exemplo significasti: speramus autem fore, ut Altissimus tuæ causæ præsto sit, ut Notam faciat in populis Virtutem suam. Interim, ut confidentius cuncta aggrediamini, Nos divinam Clementiam indesinenter orantes, ut adversariorum conatus in nihilum redigat; tibi cæterisque Catholicorum rem in prædicto regno Curaturis nostram libenter impartimur benedictionem Universisque & singulis, si verè pœnitentes confessi fuerint, & Sacrâ Communione (si fieri possit) debitè refecti, plenariam suorum peccatorum veniam & remissionem; atque in Mortis articulo Indulgentiam etiam plenariam elargimur. Datum Romæ sub Annulo Piscatoris die* 8. Octobris 1642. *Pontificatûs Nostri Anno* 20.

APPENDIX X.

Fol. 141.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Councel.

Jo. Borlaſe. Hen. Tichborne.

WHereas We have lately ſeen a Printed Paper, intitled, a ſolemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of Religion, the Honour and happineſs of the King, and the Peace and ſafety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *which ſeems to have been Printed at* London, *on the ninth day of* October 1643.

And foraſmuch as in the ſaid League or Covenant, there are divers things contained not only tending to a ſeditious Combination againſt His Majeſty, but alſo contrary to the municipal Laws of this Kingdom of Ireland, *and deſtructive to the Church-Government eſtabliſhed by Law in this Kingdom, And for that by the Laws of this Kingdom, no Oath ought to be tendred to, or taken by any perſon or perſons whatſoever in this Kingdom, but before a Judge or other perſon thereunto Lawfully Authoriſed by His Majeſty, and for that the ſaid League or Covenant is now endeavoured to be ſet on foot in this Kingdom, without His Majeſties Privity, Direction, or Allowance. And in regard it is directly contrary to the Liberty and Freedom of the Subject, to be by any ſuch Oath or Covenant pre-engaged, And for that the ſetting on foot at this time in this Kingdom the ſaid League or Covenant, without His Majeſties Allowance, may not only beget much diſtraction and unquietneſs amongſt His Majeſties good Subjects, but alſo may prove very penal to all thoſe who ſhall preſume to tender or take the ſame: We therefore for prevention of ſuch miſchiefs, do in His Majeſties Name ſtrictly charge and command, all His Majeſties good Subjects of what degree or quality ſoever within this Kingdom, upon their Allegiance to His Majeſties, that they preſume not to enter into or take the ſaid League, Covenant or Oath. And we do likewiſe inhibit and forbid all His Majeſties Subjects in this Kingdom, to impoſe, adminiſter, or tender the ſaid League, Oath, or Covenant. And if notwithſtanding this our Proclamation, any perſon ſhall preſume to impoſe, tender, or take the ſaid League, Oath or Covenant, We ſhall proceed againſt him or them with all ſeverity according to the known Laws of the Land.*

Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the 18. day of *Decemb.* 1643.

Ri. Bolton. *Canc.* Edw. Brabazon. Gerrard Lowther. Ja. Ware.
La. Dublin. Ant. Midenſis. Tho. Rotherham. G. Wentworth.
Ormonde. Cha. Lambart. Fra. Willoughby.
Roſcomon. Geo. Shurley. Tho. Lucas.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

APPEN-

APPENDIX XI.

Fol. 141.

The Copy of a Letter written by direction of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament Assembled, to several Commanders and Officers of his Majesties Army, and others in the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

After our very hearty Commendations. The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, in this His Majesties Kingdom of Ireland, *have commanded us to signifie unto you, that they have lately seen a Printed Paper, intituled a solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the Peace and safety of the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *which seems to have been Printed at* London, *on the ninth day of* October 1643. *That they have also seen a Printed Proclamation, dated the eighteenth day of* December *last, and set out by the Right Honourable the late Lords Justices and Council, expressing diverse great and Weighty Reasons against the said League and Covenant, and therefore Commanding all his Majesties good Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever within this Kingdom, upon their Allegiance to his Majesty, That they presume not to enter into or take the said League, Covenant or Oath, and inhibiting and forbidding all His Majesties Subjects in this Kingdom, to impose, administer, or tender the said League, Oath or Covenant, That upon serious debate and consideration taken by the Lords and Commons, of the said League and Covenant, and Proclamation, They find the said Proclamation to have been set out with great Wisdom and Reason, and do highly Commend the Judgement of the said Lords, Justices and Council therein, and as both Houses do fully concurr therein in all the parts thereof, So they have expresly Commanded us to signifie the same unto you, and in their names to let you know, That it is their expres Pleasure that you and all the Commanders, Officers and Souldiers of His Majesties Army, and all others His Majesties Subjects in this Kingdom, whom it may concern, do render all due Obedience and Observation to the said Proclamation in all the parts thereof. And this being to no ther end, We remain*

Your very Loving Friends

Dublin Castle,
xviii. die *April.*
Anno Dom.
1644.

Ri. Bolton, *Canc.*
Maur. Eustace, *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

Fol. 142. There is mention made of the Proteſtants Arrival at *Oxford*, where they deliver'd to his Majeſty this Petition.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of divers of your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in your Kingdom of Ireland, *as well Commanders of Your Majeſties Army here, as others whoſe Names are ſubſcrib'd, in the behalf of themſelves and other Your Proteſtant Subjects in this Your Kingdom.*

Sheweth,

THAT this Your Highneſs Kingdom (reduced with the vaſt Expence of Treaſure, and much effuſion of Britiſh blood, to the obedience of the Imperial Crown of *England*) hath been by the Princely care of your Royal Progenitors, eſpecially of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of Your Royal Father of ever bleſſed Memory, and your Sacred Majeſty, in many parts happily planted, great ſums of Moneys diſburſed in Buildings and Improvements, Churches edified and endowed, and frequented with multitudes of good Proteſtants, and your yearly Cuſtoms and Revenues rais'd to great yearly ſums, by the induſtry of your Proteſtant Subjects eſpecially, and great ſums of Money by way of Subſidies and Contributions chearfully paid unto your Majeſty by your ſaid Subjects. In which happineſs this your Kingdom hath flouriſhed in a long-continued Peace, and under your Highneſs moſt glorious and happy Government, until that by the preſent general Conſpiracy and Rebellion *rais'd out of Deteſtation of Your bleſſed Government, and for rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion: and ſo for the diſpoſſeſſing of Your Majeſty of this Your ſaid Kingdom, without the leaſt occaſion offered by Your Majeſty or Your Proteſtant Subjects.* And notwithſtanding that Your Majeſty immediately before, had enlarg'd beyond preſident Your Royal favour and bounty to them, in granting all that their and our joint Agents did deſire of Your Majeſty. And we continuing amongſt them in all Love and Amity, without diſtruſt; Your Petitioners and others who labour'd to oppoſe thoſe damnable Deſigns and Practices, have been driven from their Dwellings, Eſtates, and Fortunes; their Houſes and Churches burnt and demoliſhed; All Monuments of Civility utterly defaced, Your Majeſties Forts and places of ſtrength thrown

thrown down, and the Common and Statute-Laws of this Your Kingdom utterly confounded, by taking upon themſelves the exerciſe of all manner of Authorities and Juriſdictions, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, both by Sea and Land, proper and peculiar to Your Sacred Majeſty, being Your juſt Prerogatives and the Royal Flowers of Your Imperial Diadem, to the Diſheriſon of Your Crown, and Your Royal Revenues brought to nothing, and the Proteſtant Clergy with their Revenues and ſupport for the preſent deſtroyed; This Your Kingdom in all parts formerly inhabited with Britiſh Proteſtants, now depopulated of them, and many thouſands of Your Proteſtant Subjects moſt barbarouſly uſed, ſtripped naked, tortur'd, famiſh'd, hang'd, buried alive, drown'd, and otherwiſe by all barbarous cruel ſorts of Death murther'd; ſuch as yet remain of them are reduced to that extremity, that very few of them have wherewithal to maintain a Being, and all of them ſo terrified and afflicted with thoſe barbarous and inhuman cruelties (the true report whereof being now ſpread abroad into the Chriſtian World); Your Suppliants conceive fears, that Your Majeſties Britiſh Subjects will be diſcouraged from coming again to inhabit this Kingdom, and the remnant of what is left will be forced to depart: All this being done by the Conſpiracy of the Papiſts, who did publickly declare the utter extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, and all the Britiſh Profeſſors thereof out of this Your Majeſties Kingdom. And to the end it may the better in ſome meaſure appear, Your Suppliants have made choice of Captain *William Ridgeway*, Sir *Francis Hamilton* Knight and Baronet, Captain *Michael Jones*, and Mr. *Fenton Parſons*, whom they have employed and authorized as their Agents to manifeſt the truth thereof in ſuch Particulars as for the preſent they are furniſh'd withal, referring the more ample manifeſtation thereof to the ſaid Captain *William Ridgeway*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Captain *Jones* and *Fenton Parſons*, or any three or more of them, and ſuch other Agents as ſhall with all convenient ſpeed be ſent, as occaſion ſhall require, to attend Your Majeſty, from Your Proteſtant Subjects of the ſeveral Provinces of this Your Kingdom.

VVe therefore, Your Majeſties moſt humble, loyal, and obedient Proteſtant-Subjects, caſting down our ſelves at Your Royal feet, and flying to You for ſuccour and redreſs in theſe our great Calamities, as our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord and King, and next and immediately under Almighty God our Protector and Defence, moſt humbly beſeeching Your Sacred Majeſty to admit into Your Royal Preſence from time to time our ſaid Agents, and in Your great VViſdom to take into Your Princely Care and Conſideration the diſtreſſed Eſtate, and humble deſires of Your ſaid Subjects, ſo that to the Glory of God, Your Majeſties Honour, and the happineſs of Your good Subjects, the Proteſtant Religion may be reſtored throughout the whole Kingdom to its luſtre: that the loſſes of Your Proteſtant Subjects may be repaired, in ſuch manner and meaſure as Your Majeſty in Your Princely VViſdom ſhall think fit; and that this Your Kingdom may be ſetled as that Your ſaid Proteſtant Subjects may hereafter live therein under the happy Government of Your Majeſty and Your Royal Poſterity with comfort and ſecurity: whereby Your Majeſty will render Your ſelf through the whole

VVorld

VVorld a moſt juſt and Glorious Defender of the Proteſtant Religion, and draw down a Bleſſing on all other Your Royal Undertakings; for which Your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Subſcribed by the Earl of *Kildare*.
Lord Viſcount *Montgomery*.
Lord *Blany*, and many others.

To which they received this Anſwer by His Majeſties Command, At Our Court at *Oxford* the 25th of *April*, 1644.

His Majeſty being very ſenſible of the Petitioners Loſſes and ſufferings, is ready to hear and relieve them, as the Exigencie of his Affairs will permit; and wiſheth the Petitioners to propoſe what they think fit in particular for his Majeſties Information, and the Petitioners Remedy and future Security,

Edw. Nicholas.

Upon the reading of the Petition His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, *That He knew the Contents of the Petition to be Truth.*

The

APPENDIX, XII.

Fol. 142.

The Propoſitions of the Roman *Catholicks of* Ireland, *humbly preſented to His Sacred Majeſty, in purſuance of their Remonſtrance of Grievances, and to be annexed to the ſaid Remonſtrance; together with the humble Anſwer of the Agents for the Proteſtants of* Ireland, *to the ſaid Propoſitions made in purſuance of Your Majeſties directions of the* 9th *of* May 1644. *requiring the ſame.*

1. *Pro.* THAT all Acts made againſt the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick faith, whereby any reſtraint, penalty, Mulct, or incapacity may be laid upon any *Roman* Catholicks within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, may be repealed, and the ſaid Catholicks to be allowed the freedom of the *Roman* Catholick Religion.

Anſw. To the firſt we ſay, that this hath been the pretence of almoſt all thoſe who have entred into Rebellion in the Kingdom of *Ireland* at any time ſince the Reformation of Religion there, which was ſetled by Acts of Parliament above eighty years ſince, and hath wrought good effects ever ſince for the peace and welfare both of the Church and Kingdom there, and of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and Proteſtant party throughout all Chriſtendom, and ſo hath been found wholeſom and neceſſary by long experience, and the repealing of thoſe Laws will ſet up Popery again, both in Jurisdiction, profeſſion and practice, as that was before the ſaid Reformation, and introduce among other inconveniencies the Supremacy of *Rome*, and take away or much endanger Your Majeſties Supream and juſt Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, Adminiſtration of honour and power. not to be endured, the ſaid Acts extending as well to ſeditious Sectaries as to Popiſh Recuſants; ſo as by the repeal thereof, any man may ſeem to be left to chuſe his own Religion in that Kingdom, which muſt needs beget great confuſion; and the abounding of the

 Roman

Roman Clergy hath been one of the greateſt occaſions of this late Rebellion; beſides, it is humbly deſired that Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to take into Your gracious conſideration a Clauſe in the Act of Parliament paſſed by Your Majeſties Royal Aſſent in *England* in the 17th year of Your Raign, touching puniſhments to be inflicted upon thoſe that ſhall introduce the Authority of the See of *Rome* in any Cauſe whatſoever.

2. *Pro.* That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to call a free Parliament in the ſaid Kingdom, to be held and continued as in the ſaid Remonſtrance is expreſſed, and the Statute of the 10th year of King *Hen.*7. called *Poyning s Acts*, explaining or enlarging the ſame, be ſuſpended during that Parliament, for the ſpeedy ſettlement of the preſent Affairs, and the repeal thereof be there further conſidered of.

Anſw. VVhereas their deſire to have a free Parliament called, reflecteth by ſecret and cunning implication upon Your Majeſties preſent Parliament in *Ireland*, as if it were not a free Parliament, we humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to preſent how dangerous it is to make ſuch inſinuation or intimation to your people of that Kingdom touching that Parliament, wherein ſeveral Acts of Parliament have already paſt, the validity whereof may be endangered if the Parliament ſhould not be approved as a free Parliament, and it is a point of high nature, as we humbly conceive is not properly to be diſmiſſed but in Parliament; and Your Majeſties ſaid Parliament now ſitting is a free Parliament in Law, holden before a perſon of honour and fortune in the Kingdom, compoſed of good loyal and well-affected Subjects to Your Majeſty, who doubtleſs will be ready to comply in all things that ſhall appear to be pious and juſt, for the good of the True Proteſtant Religion, and for Your Majeſties ſervice and the good of the Church and State, that if this preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved it would be a great terrour and diſcontent to all Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of the Kingdom, and may be alſo a means to force many of Your Majeſties Subjects to quit that Kingdom, or peradventure to adhere to ſome other party there, in oppoſition of the *Romiſh Iriſh* Confederates, rather than to be liable to their power, which effects may prove of moſt dangerous conſequence; and we humbly offer to Your Majeſties conſideration Your own gracious Expreſſion mentioned in the grounds and motives inducing Your Majeſty to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms for one whole year with the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, printed at *Oxford*, 19. *Octob.* 1643. And let all your good Subjects be aſſured, that as we have for theſe reaſons, and with caution and deliberation conſented to the Propoſition to peace, and to that purpoſe do continue do continue our Parliament there, ſo we ſhall proceed in the accompliſhing thereof with that care and circumſpection, that we ſhall not admit even peace it ſelf otherways than it may be agreeable to Conſcience, Honour and Juſtice. VVe alſo humbly deſire that ſuch Laws as Your Majeſty ſhall think fit to paſs, may be tranſmitted according to *Poynings* Law, and other Laws of explanation thereof, or of addition thereunto now in force with great contentment and ſecurity to Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects; but if the preſent Parliament be diſſolved, we humbly repreſent unto Your Majeſty,

Majeſty, that ſo many of your ableſt and beſt Proteſtant Subjects have been murthered or baniſhed by this Rebellion, the few or no Proteſtant free-holders will be found in the Countreys, Cities or Burroughs to elect and chuſe Knights, Citizens or Burgeſſes, which will be moſt dangerous to your Majeſties Rights and Prerogatives and good Subjects, and may beget great diſputes in after-times for the repealings of *Poynings* Acts, notwithſtanding their feigned expreſſions of their loyaltie; yet it plainly appeareth they do not repoſe ſuch truſt in your Majeſties Juſtice as becomes loyal Subjects to do, (and ſuch they pretend themſelves to be) for that they ſeek thereby to prevent Your Majeſty and your Councel of *England* and *Ireland* of ſo full a view and time of mature conſideration to be had of Acts of Parliament of *Ireland* before they paſs, as in prudence is requiſite, and hath been found neceſſary by the experience of well near 200 years; and if their Intentions were ſo clear as they profeſs, we know not why they ſhould avoid the ſtricteſt view and tryal of Your Majeſty and your Councels of both Kingdoms; this their deſire, tending to introduce a grand diminution to the Royal and neceſſary Power for the conſervation of Your Regal State and protection of your good Proteſtant Subjects there and elſewhere, and what ſpecial uſe they aim at in ſeeking ſuch a repeal, Your Proteſtant Subjects as they know not the particular, ſo can they conjecture of none, unleſs the ſaid Confederates have ſome deſign by way of ſurprize to obtrude upon Your Majeſty in their new deſired Parliament, ſome Acts of juſtification of their ill-done actions, and for condemning ſuch of your Proteſtant Subjects, as have in their ſeveral degrees moſt faithfully ſerved Your Majeſty there, which we the rather believe, ſeeing they have vowed by their Oath of Aſſociation and the Bull lately publiſhed in *Ireland* ſince the Ceſſation, the deſtruction of the Proteſtants there, when they have the Sword in their hands to put the ſame in Execution.

3. *Pro.* That all Acts and Ordinances made and paſſed in the now pretended Parliament in that Kingdom ſince the 7th day of *Auguſt*, 1641. be clearly annull'd and declared void, and taken off the File.

Anſw. VVe humbly deſire that they may particularize thoſe Orders and Ordinances, which may prejudice Your Majeſties ſervice; for we are well aſſured, that the Parliament now ſitting in *Ireland*, on ſignification of Your Majeſties pleaſure therein, will give Your Majeſty full ſatisfaction, or repeal any unjuſt Orders or Ordinances whatſoever which may be prejudicial to Your Majeſty: and there may be ſome Orders or Ordinances which may concern particular perſons in their Lives, Liberties or Fortunes, that may ſuffer unheard, by the admitting of ſo general a Propoſition, which is meerly propos'd as we humbly conceive to put a ſcorn upon Your Majeſties Parliament now ſitting there, and to diſcourage your Proteſtant Subjects who have faithfully ſerved Your Majeſty in that Parliament.

4. *Pro.* That all Indictments, Attainders, Out-lawers in the *Kings Bench* or elſewhere ſince the ſaid 7th day of *Auguſt*, 1641. and all Letters, Patents, Grants, Leaſes, Cuſtodiums, Bonds, Recognizances and all other Records, Act or Acts depending thereon, or in prejudice of the ſaid Catholicks, or any of them, be taken off the File, annulled and declared void, firſt by Your Majeſties Proclamation, and after by Act to be paſſed in the ſaid free Parliament.

Anſw. This we conceive to be a very bold Propoſition, not warranted as we alſo conceive by any Example, and tending to introduce an ill preſident in after-times, for that was never ſeen that the Records were taken off the File, but where there was ſome corruption or fraud, or ſome illegal or unjuſt carriage uſed, or concerning the procuring or making up of ſuch Records; and the ſame firſt we'll prove upon due Examination, and that may not only conceal, but in ſome ſort ſeem to juſtifie their abominable Treaſons, Murthers, Cruelties, Maſſacres and Plunders acted againſt your Majeſties Perſon, Crown and Dignity, upon the perſons of your Majeſties moſt loyal Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom, and encourage the Papiſts to do the like again; beſides the diſcouragement it may beget in your Majeſties Officers & Subjects to do their duties in the like inſurrections which may happen hereafter, which alſo may prove very prejudicial to Your Majeſties Rights and Revenues, if the Records to ſupport the Forfeitures wherein many of them are or may be grounded, ſhould be taken off the File and cancelled.

5. *Pro.* That inaſmuch as under colour of ſuch Out-lawers and Attainders, Debts due unto the ſaid Catholicks, have been granted, levied and diſpoſed of, and of the other ſide that Debts due upon the ſaid Catholicks to thoſe of the adverſe party, have been levied and diſpoſed of to publick uſe; that therefore all Debts be by Act of Parliament mutually releaſed, or all to ſtand in *ſtatu quo*, notwithſtanding any Grant or diſpoſſeſſion.

Anſw. VVe humbly conceive, that in time of peace and moſt ſetled Government, when the courſe of Law and Juſtice is moſt open and beſt obſerved, that Debts due unto the Crown actually levied and paid in to Your Majeſties uſe ought not to be reſtored, though the Records of the Forfeitures ſhould be legally reverſed, which is far from the preſent caſe, and this Propoſition tendeth to croſs that juſt Right of Your Majeſty, and to make the diſpoſition by the Confederate Papiſts Rebels, of Debts due to Proteſtants, and by the ſaid Rebels by fraud and force levied and diſpoſed in maintenance of their Rebellion, which cunningly they call by the name of *Publick uſe*, to be in equal degree to the Debts owing by the Rebels, and by them all forfeited, and many of them by Law duly levied, which is a moſt unequal and unjuſt thing, and the ſaid Propoſition cannot, nor doth make offer to have the Pope's Confederates cut off from the Debts due to them which they have juſtly forfeited, but only for a colour of conſideration to have the Proteſtants loſe ſuch Debts (juſtly due to them) as have been unjuſtly taken from them, who have done no act at all to forfeit them.

6. *Pro.* That the late Officers taken, or found upon feigned or old Titles ſince the year 1634, to intitle Your Majeſtie to ſeveral Counties in *Connaght*, *Thornond*, the County of *Typperary*, *Limrick* and *Kelkenny*, and *Wicklowe* be vacated and taken off the File, and the poſſeſſors thereof ſetled and ſecure in their ancient Eſtates by act of Parliament, and that the like Act of limitation of Your Majeſties Titles for the ſecurity of the Eſtates of your Subjects in that Kingdom be paſſed in that Parliament, as was Enacted in the 21. year of his late Majeſties Raign in this Kingdom.

Anſw. VVe know not of any Offices found, or feigned Titles, nor what the Confederates may demand, in reſpect of any graces promiſed

ſed by your Majeſty which we intend not, nor have any occaſion to diſpute, but do humbly conceive, that all thoſe who have committed Treaſon in the late Rebellion, ſubſequent to your Majeſties promiſe of thoſe Graces, have thereby forfeited the benefit thereof, together with the Lands to which the ſaid Graces might elſe have related, and ſo their whole Eſtates are now juſtly fallen to your Majeſty by their Rebellion, which we conceive is of great importance for your Majeſties ſervice to be taken into conſideration; as Firſt, with regard of the Statutes made in the preſent Parliament of *England*. Secondly, That neceſſary increaſe of your Majeſties Revenue decayed by the preſent Rebellion; Thirdly, The aboliſhing the evil Cuſtoms of the *Iriſh*, and preſervation of Religion, Laws and Government there. Fourthly, The ſatisfaction of the Proteſtant Subjects loſſes in ſome meaſure. Fifthly, The Arrears of your Majeſties Army, and other debts contracted for the War, and for preſervation of that Kingdom to your Majeſty. Sixthly, The bringing in of more Brittiſh on the Plantation. Seventhly, The building of ſome walled-Towns in remote and deſolate places, for the ſecurity of that Kingdom, and your Maieſties good Subjects there. Eightly, The taking of the Natives from their former dependency on their Chieftains, who uſurped an abſolute Power over them, to the dimunition of all Regal Power, and to the oppreſſion of the inferiors.

7. *Pro.* That all marks of incapacity impoſed upon the Natives of that Kingdom, to purchaſe or acquire Lands, Leaſes, Offices, or Hereditaments, be taken away by Act of Parliament, and the ſame to extend to the ſecuring of Purchaſes, Leaſes or Grants, already made; and that for the Education of Youth, an Act be paſſed in the next Parliament, for the erecting of one or more Inns of Court, Univerſities, Free and Common-Schools.

Anſw. This we conceive concerneth ſome of the late Plantations, and no other part of that Kingdom, and that the reſtriction herein mentioned is found to be of great uſe, eſpecially for the indifferency of Tryals, ſtrength of the Government, and for Trade and Traffick; and we humbly conceive, that if other Plantations ſhall not proceed for the ſetling and ſecuring of the Kingdom, and that if no reſtraint be made of Popiſh purchaſing, or buying of the Proteſtants out of their former Plantations, where they were prudently ſettled, though now caſt out of their Eſtates by the late Rebellion, and unable to Plant the ſame again for want of means, and therefore probably upon eaſy terms will part from their Eſtates to the Confederates; that thoſe Plantations will be deſtroyed, to the great prejudice of your Majeſties Service, and endangering of the ſafety of that Kingdom. Touching bearing of Offices, we humbly conceive that their now conformity to the Laws and Statutes of that Realm, is the only mark of incapacity impoſed upon them; we humbly conceive that they ought not to expect to be more capable there, then the *Engliſh* Natives are here in *England*: in like caſe for Schools in *Ireland*, there are divers ſetled in that Kingdom already by the Laws and Statutes of that Realm; if any perſon well affected, ſhall erect and endow any more Schools there at their own charges, ſo that the School-maſter and Scholars may be governed according to Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders of *England*, and the reſt of Free-Schools here; we cannot apprehend any juſt exception thereunto

thereunto, but touching Universities and Inns of Court, we humbly conceive that this part of the proposition savoureth of some desire to become Independant upon *England*, or to make aspersion on the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, which can never be truely happy but in the good unity of both in the true Protestant Religion, and in the Laws of *England*, (for as for matter of charge) such of the Natives that are desirous to breed their Sons for Learning in Divinity, can be well content to send them to the Universities of *Lovane*, *Doway*, and other Popish places in forreign Kingdoms, and for Civil Law or Physick to *Padua*, and other places, which draws great Treasure yearly out of your Majesties Dominions, but will send few or none of them to *Oxford* or *Cambrige*, where they might as cheaply be bred up and become as Learned, which course we conceive is holden out of their Pride, and disaffection towards this Kingdom, and the true Religion here professed; and for the Laws of the Land which are for the Common Law agreeable to *England*, and so for the greatest part of the Statutes, the Inns of Court in *England* are sufficient, and the Protestants come thither without grudging, and that is a means to civilize them after the *English* customs, to make them familiar and in love with the Language and Nation, to preserve Law in the Purity, when the Professors of it shall draw from one Original Fountain, and see the manner of the Practice of that in the same great Channel where his Majesties Courts of Justice of *England* do flow most clearly, whereas by separation of the Kingdoms in that place of their principal instruction where their foundations in Learning are to be laid, a degenerate corruption in Religion and Justice may haply be introduced and spread, with much more difficulty to be corrected and restrained afterwards by any Discipline to be used in *Ireland*, or punishment there to be inflicted for departing from the true grounds of things, which are best preserved in unity, when they grow out of the same root, then if such Universities and Inns of Court as are proposed should be granted; all which we humbly submit to your Majesties most Pious and Prudent consideration and judgment.

8. *Pro.* That the Offices and Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust within that Kngdom, be conferred upon Roman Catholicks Natives, in equality and indifferency with your Majesties other Subjects.

Answ. We humbly conceive that the Roman Catholicks, Natives of *Ireland*, may have the like Offices and Places as the Roman Catholicks Natives of *England* here have, and not otherwise; howbeit we conceive that in the generality they have not deserved so much by their late Rebellion, therefore we see not why they should be endowed with any new or farther capacities or priviledges then they have by the Laws and Statutes now in force in that Kingdom.

9. *Pro.* That the insupportable Oppression of your Subjects, by reason of the Court of Wards, and respit of Homage, be taken away, and certain revenue in Lieu thereof setled upon your Majesty, without diminution of your Majesties profits.

Answ. We know of no Oppression by reason of the Court of Wards, and we humbly conceive that the Court of Wards is of great use for the raising of your Majesties Revenues, the preservation of your Majesties Tenures, and chiefly the Education of the Gentry in the

the Proteſtant Religion, and in Civility and Learning, and good Manners, who otherwiſe would be brought up in ignorance, and barbariſm, their Eſtates be ruined by their Kindred and Friends, and continue their depending upon their Chieftains and Lords, to the great prejudice of your Majeſties ſervice, and Proteſtant Subjects, and there being no colour of exception to your Majeſties juſt Title to Wardſhips, we know not why the taking away of your Court concerning the ſame ſhould be preſſed, unleſs it be to prevent the Education of the Lords and Gentry that fall Wards in the Proteſtant Religion. For that part of this Propoſition which concerns reſpit of Homage, we humbly conceive that reaſonable, that ſome way may be ſettled for that, if that ſtandeth with your Majeſties good pleaſure, without prejudice to your Majeſty, or your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects.

10. *Pro.* That no Lord not eſtated in the Kingdom, or eſtated, and not reſident, ſhall have Vote in the ſaid Parliament, by Proxie or otherwiſe, and none admitted to the Houſe of Commons, but ſuch as ſhall be eſtated and reſident within the Kingdom.

Anſw. We humbly conceive that in the year 1641. by the Graces which your Majeſty then granted to your Subjects of *Ireland*, the matter of this Propoſition was in a fair way regulated by your utter aboliſhing of blank Proxies, and limiting Lords preſent and attending in the Parliament of *Ireland*, that no one of them ſhould be capable of more Proxies then two, and preſcribing the Peers of that Kingdom not there reſident to purchaſe fitting proportions of Land in *Ireland* within five years from the laſt of *July* 1641. or elſe to looſe their Votes, till they ſhould make ſuch purchaſes; which purchaſes by reaſon of the troubles hapning in the Kingdom, and which have continued for two years and a half, have not peradventure yet been made, and therefore your Majeſty may now be pleaſed and may take juſt occaſion to enlarge that time for five years more, from the time when that Kingdom may again be ſettled in a happy firm peace: and as to members of the Houſe of Commons, the ſame is moſt fit as we humbly conceive to be regulated by the Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom.

11. *Pro.* That an Act be paſſed in the next Parliament declaratory that the Parliament of *Ireland* is a free Parliament of it ſelf, independant of, and not ſubordinate to the Parliament of *England*, and that the Subjects of *Ireland* are immediately ſubject to your Majeſty, as in right of your revenue, and that the Members of the ſaid Parliament of *Ireland*, and all other the Subjects of *Ireland* are independant, and no way to be ordered or concluded by the Parliament of *England*, and are only to be ordered and governed within that Kingdom by your Majeſty, and ſuch Governours as are or ſhall be there appointed, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom according to the Laws of the Land.

Anſw. This Propoſition concerns your Majeſties High Court of Parliament, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and is beyond our abilities (who are not acquainted with the Records and Preſidents of this Nature) to give an anſwer thereunto, and therefore we humbly deſire your Majeſties pardon for not anſwering unto the ſame.

12. *Pro.* That the aſſumed Power or Juriſdiction in the Council-Board

Board of determining all manner of Cauſes, be limited to matters of State; and all Patents, Eſtates and Grants illegally and extrajudiciouſly avoided there, or elſewhere, be left in ſtate as before, and the parties grieved, their Heirs or Aſſigns, till legal eviction.

Anſw. The Council-Table hath aways excerciſed Juriſdiction in ſome caſes ever ſince the *Engliſh* Government was ſetled in that Kingdom, and is of long continuance in caſes of ſome Nature, as the beginning thereof appeareth not; which ſeemeth to be by preſcription, and hath always been armed with Power to examin upon Oath as a Court of Juſtice, or in the nature of a Court of Juſtice in caſes of ſome natures, and may be very neceſſary ſtill in many caſes, eſpecially for the preſent till your Majeſties Laws may more generally be received in that Kingdom, and we conceive that Board is ſo well limited by printed Inſtructions, in your Majeſties Royal Fathers time, and by your Majeſties Graces in the ſeventeenth year of your Reign, that it needeth for this preſent little or no regulating at all, howbeit they humbly referr that to your Majeſties great wiſdom and goodneſs to do therein as to Law and Juſtice ſhall appertain.

13. *Pro.* That the Statutes of the 11th. 12th. and 13th. years of Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the Staple Commodities be repealed, reſerving to his Majeſty lawful and juſt Poundage, and a Book of Rates be ſetled by an indifferent Committy of both Houſes for all Comodities.

Anſw. The matter of this Propoſition is ſettled in a fitting and good way by your Majeſty already as we conceive, amongſt the Graces granted by your Majeſty to your people of *Ireland*, in the Seventeenth year of your Majeſties Reign, to which we humbly referr our ſelves.

14. *Pro.* That inſomuch as the long continuance of the chief Governour or Governours of that Kingdom, in that place of ſo great eminency and power, hath been a principall occaſion that much Tyranny and Oppreſſion hath been uſed and exerciſed upon the Subjects of that Kingdom; that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to continue ſuch Governours hereafter but for three years, and that none once employed therein be appointed for the ſame again, until the expiration of ſix years next after the end of the firſt three years, and that an Act paſs to diſanul ſuch Governour or Governours during their Government, directly or indirectly, in Uſe, Truſt or otherwiſe to make any manner of Purchaſe or acquiſition of any Mannors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments within that Kingdom, other then from your Majeſties own Heirs and Succeſſors.

Anſw. We humbly conceive, that this Propoſition tendeth to lay a falſe and ſcandalous aſperſion on your Majeſties gracious Government over *Ireland*, and that it toucheth very high upon your Wiſdom, Juſtice and Power, and under colour of ſuppoſed Corruptions pretended to be in the greateſt Officer that Commandeth under your Majeſty there, if he continue ſo long in his Government as may well enable him to find out and diſcover the true State of the Kingdom, and the dangerous diſpoſition and deſigns of the Popiſh party there, to prevent him therein, and to turne him out from doing Service before or as ſoon as he is throughly informed and experienced how to do the ſame, and then to hold him excluded ſo long, that in all likelihood

likelihood he ſhall not live to come to that place the ſecond time, which we humbly conceive will be a great diſcouragement to any perſon of Honour and Fortune to ſerve your Majeſty in that high Truſt: and for their purchaſing Lands in that Kingdom, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to leave them to the Laws, and puniſh them ſeverely if they commit any offence, or exerciſe any oppreſſions under colour of purchaſing of any Lands or Eſtates whatſoever.

15. *Pro.* That an Act may be paſſed in the next Parliament, for the raiſing and ſetling of Trained-bands, within the ſeveral Counties of that Kingdom, as well to prevent foraign Invaſion, as to render them the more ſerviceable and ready for your Majeſties ſervice, as cauſe ſhall require.

Anſw. The having of Trained-bands in *Ireland* for the preſent, cannot (under favour) be for your Majeſties ſervice, or the ſafety of that Kingdom, for that the Proteſtants by the ſaid ſad effects of the late Rebellion are ſo much deſtroyed, that the ſaid Bands muſt conſiſt in effect altogether of the Confederates, Catholicks; and to continue them in Arms, ſtored with Ammunition, and made ready for ſervice by Muſtring and often Training, will prove, under colour of advancing your Majeſties ſervice againſt foraign Invaſions, a meer Guard and Power of the Popiſh Confederates, and by force of Arms (according to their late Oaths and Proteſtations) to execute all their cruel deſigns, for extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, and *Engliſh* Government, both which they mortally hate, however in cunning they diſſemble it, and to prevent the ſetling an Army of good Proteſtants, without which your Maieſties good Subjects cannot live ſecurely there.

16. *Pro.* That an Act of Oblivion be paſſed in the next free Parliament, to extend to all your Majeſties ſaid Catholick Subjects and their Adherents, for all manner of Offences, Capital, Criminal, and Perſonal, and the ſaid Act to extend to all Goods and Chattels, Cuſtoms, *Meſne* Profits, Prizes, Arrears of Rents taken, received, or incurred ſince theſe troubles.

Anſw. We humbly pray that the Laws of force be taken into conſideration, and do humbly conceive, that your Majeſty in Honour and Juſtice may forbear to diſcharge or releaſe any Actions, Suits, Debts or Intereſts, whereby your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, who have committed no offence againſt your Majeſty or your Laws, ſhould be barred or deprived of any of their legal remedies, or juſt demands, which by any of your Majeſties Laws and Statutes, they may have againſt the Popiſh Confederates, who are the only Delinquents, or any of their party, for, or in reſpect of any wrongs done unto them, or any of their Anceſtors or Predeceſſors, in or concerning their Lands, Goods, or Eſtates, ſince the contriving or breaking forth of the Rebellion, the ſaid Confederates having without provocation ſhed ſo much innocent Blood, and acted ſo many Cruelties as cannot be parallel'd in any Story: and we conceive it to be high preſumption in them upon ſo weak grounds to propound an Act of Oblivion in ſuch general terms, ſome of the Confederates having been Contrivers or Actors of ſuch cruel Murthers, and other Acts of Inhumanity, as cry to God and your Sacred Majeſty for Juſtice; and they having of your Majeſties Revenues, Cuſtoms, Subſidies, and other Rights of your Crown in

their hands, are disburſed by them to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds and more.

17. *Pro.* For as much as your Majeſties ſaid Catholick Subjects have been taxed with many inhumane Cruelties, which they never committed, your Majeſties ſaid Suppliants therefore, for their vindication and to manifeſt to all the the world their deſire to have all ſuch hanious Offenders puniſhed, and the Offenders brought to Juſtice, do deſire that in the next Parliament all notorious Murthers, breaches of Quarter, and inhumane Cruelties committed of either ſide, may be queſtioned in the ſaid Parliament, if your Majeſty think fit, and ſuch as ſhall appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the ſaid Act of Oblivion, and puniſhed according to their deſerts.

Anſw. We conceive this Propoſition is made but for a Floriſh, and if the Confederates be ſo deſirous to try their innocency, (as they pretend) they need not ſtay for another Parliament in *Ireland*, but ſubmit to that which is now in being, which is an equal and juſt Parliament, as in ſome of our Reaſons touching that point is expreſſed; and the offering to draw it to a new Parliament, is in effect to deſire that they may be their own Judges; for as that Kingdom is now imbroiled, and waſted, the chief Delinquents or their Confederates will be ſo prevalent a faction in the next Parliament, that they will be able, and doubtleſs will clear all the Popiſh party, how guilty ſoever, and condemn all the Proteſtants how innocent ſoever.

Theſe Anſwers to the high and unexpected Demands of the Confederates, we have have framed in humble obedience to your Majeſties directions; but being very ſenſible as of the weight and great importance of the buſineſs, ſo alſo of our own weakneſs and want of time, and well knowing that ſome of your * Majeſties Privy-Councillors, Judges and Officers of that Kingdom, are now in Town, ſent for over, and here attending by your Majeſties Command, who by their long obſervations and experience of the affaires and State of *Ireland*, are better able to give your Majeſty more full and ſatisfactory Anſwers touching the premiſes then we can, and conceiving that ** *the Collection in Anſwer to the ſaid Confederates Remonſtrance*, which we humbly preſented to your Majeſty the 17th. of the laſt Month of *April*, may in many things give your Majeſty more light, then theſe our Anſwers do or can; We humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that the ſaid Privy-Counſellors, Judges and Officers, as occaſion ſhall require, may be called upon and heard to give your Majeſty the more ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, and that to the ſame purpoſe, the Book of the ſaid Collections may be peruſed and conſidered of, as your Majeſty ſhall find moſt requiſite.

* Fol. 142.

** Since printed by *Huſbands* 1644. entituled, The falſe and ſcandalous Remonſtrance, &c. Anſwered; which (though humbly deſired and fled to upon all occaſions) was not read, p. 114.

After reading of which Propoſitions and Anſwers thereunto; the King asked the Proteſtant Agents, whether they had Anſwered unto the Rebels Propoſitions *as they were to be granted by Him*, in Law and Juſtice, and fit for the Security of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, or *prudentially* as the times were? who humbly made Anſwer to his Majeſty, That they looked upon the Rebels Propoſitions as they appeared to them *deſtructive* to his Majeſties Laws, Government, and Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland*. Then the Earl of *Briſtol* ſaid, That if they asked what by Law and Juſtice was due from the Rebels, their Anſwers were

were full; But now the King expected from the ſaid Agents *what prudentially* was fit for his Majeſty to do, ſeeing the Proteſtants were not in a Condition to defend themſelves, And that the King would not admit the Proteſtants to joyn with the new *Scots* or any other that had the Covenant. To which the Agents conceived not fit to Anſwer more then what before in their Propoſitions and Anſwers they had Humbly offered, pretending not to be Judges but ſubmiſſive Petitioners for what was committed to their Charge.

APPENDIX XIII.

Fol. 144.

The Humble Propoſitions of your Majeſties Proteſtant Agents of Ireland, *in purſuance of the humble Petition of your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, as well Commanders of your Majeſties Army there, as others preſented to your Majeſty the* 18*th. day of* April 1644. *and anſwered by your Majeſty the* 25. *of the ſame.*

1. WE moſt humbly deſire the Eſtabliſhment of the true Proteſtant Religion in *Ireland*, according to the Laws and Statutes in the ſaid Kingdom now in force.

2. That the Popiſh Titular Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Jeſuits, Friers and Prieſts, and all others of the *Roman* Clergy, be baniſhed out of *Ireland*, becauſe they have been the ſtirrers up of all Rebellion, and while they continue there, there can be no hope of ſafety for your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects: And that all the Laws and Statutes eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom, againſt Popery and Popiſh Recuſants, may continue of force, and be put in due Execution.

3. That Reſtitution may be made of all our Churches and Church Rights and Revenues, and all our Churches and Chappels re-edified, and put in as good Eſtate as they were at the breaking out of the Rebellion, and as they ought to be, at the Charge of the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, (as they call themſelves) who have been the occaſion of the Deſtruction of the ſaid Churches, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Profits and Revenues thereof.

4. That the Parliament now ſitting in *Ireland* may be continued there, for the better ſettlement of the Kingdom, and that all Perſons

duly indicted in the ſaid Kingdom of Treaſon, Felonie, or other heinous Crimes, may be duly and legally proceeded againſt, outlaw'd, tried, and adjudged according to Law: And that all Perſons lawfully convicted and attainted, or to be convicted and attainted for the ſame, may receive due puniſhment accordingly.

5. That no Man may take upon him or execute the Office of a Major or Magiſtrate in any Corporation, or the Office of a Sheriff or Juſtice of Peace in any City or County in the ſaid Kingdom, until he have firſt taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

6. That all Popiſh Lawyers who refuſe to take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, may be ſuppreſs'd and reſtrain'd from practice in that Kingdom, the rather becauſe the Lawyers in *England* do not here practice until they take the Oath of Supremacy; And it hath been found by woful Experience, that the Advice of Popiſh Lawyers to the people of *Ireland*, hath been a great cauſe of their continued Diſobedience.

7. That there may be a preſent abſolute Suppreſſion and Diſſolution of all the aſſumed, Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, which the ſaid Confederates exerciſe over Your Majeſties Subjects, both in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal.

8. That all the Arms and Ammunition of the ſaid Confederates be ſpeedily brought into Your Majeſties Stores.

9. That Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects ruin'd and deſtroy'd by the ſaid Confederates, may be repair'd for their great loſſes out of the Eſtates of the ſaid Confederates, not formerly by any Acts of this preſent Parliament in *England* otherwiſe diſpos'd of, whereby they may the better be enabl'd to re-inhabit and defend the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*.

10. That the ſaid Confederates may rebuild the ſeveral Plantation-Houſes and Caſtles deſtroy'd by them in *Ireland*, in as good ſtate as they were at the breaking out of the Rebellion, which Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects have been bound by their ſeveral Patents to build and maintain for Your Majeſties Service.

11. That the great Arrears of Rent due to Your Majeſtie out of the Eſtates of Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects at and ſince *Michaelmas* 1641. may be paid unto Your Majeſtie by ſuch of the ſaid Confederates, who have either receiv'd the ſaid Rents to the uſes of the ſaid Confederates, or deſtroy'd the ſame by diſabling Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects to pay the ſame; And have alſo deſtroy'd all or the moſt part of all other Rents or means of ſupport belonging to Your ſaid Proteſtant Subjects. And that Your ſaid Proteſtant Subjects may be diſcharg'd of all ſuch Arrears of Rents to Your Majeſtie.

12. That the ſaid Confederates may give ſatisfaction to the Army for the great Arrears due unto them ſince the Rebellion, and that ſuch Commanders as have rais'd Forces at their own Charges, and laid forth great ſums of Money out of their own Purſes, and engag'd themſelves for Money and Proviſions to keep themſelves, their Holds, and Souldiers under their Commands, in the due neceſſary Defence of Your Majeſties Rights and Laws, may be in due ſort ſatisfied, to the encouragement of others in like times and Caſes which may happen.

13. That

13. That touching ſuch parts of the Confederate Eſtates, as being forfeited for their Treaſons, are come, or ſhall duly come into Your Majeſties hands and poſſeſſion by that Title; Your Majeſty, after the due ſatisfaction firſt made to ſuch as claim by former Acts of Parliament, would be pleaſed to take the ſame into your own hands and poſſeſſion, and for the neceſſary encreaſe of Your Majeſties Revenue, and better ſecurity of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the Proteſtant Subjects living under your gracious Government there, to plant the ſame with Britiſh and Proteſtants upon reaſonable and honourable Terms,

14. That one good walled Town may be built and kept repair'd in every County of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, and endow'd and furniſh'd with neceſſary and ſufficient means of legal and juſt Government, and Defence, for the better ſecurity of Your Majeſties Laws and Rights, more eſpecially the true Proteſtant Religion in time of Danger, in any of which Towns no Papiſt may be permitted to dwell or inhabit.

15. That for the better ſatisfaction of Juſtice, and Your Majeſties Honour, and for the future ſecurity of the ſaid Kingdom and Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects there, exemplary puniſhment according to Law may be inflicted upon ſuch as have there traiterouſly levied VVar, and taken up Arms againſt Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and Laws, and therein againſt Your Majeſty; eſpecially upon ſuch as have had their hands in the ſhedding of Innocent blood, or had to do with the firſt Plot or Conſpiracy, or ſince that time have done any notorious Murther or Covert Act of Treaſon.

16. That all Your Majeſties Towns, Forts, and places of ſtrength deſtroy'd by the ſaid Confederates ſince the ſaid Rebellion, may be by them and at their Charges re-edified, and deliver'd up into Your Majeſties hands to be duly put into the Government under Your Majeſtie, and Your Laws of your good Proteſtants; And that all Strengths and Fortifications made and ſet up by the ſaid Confederates ſince the ſaid Rebellion, may be ſlighted and thrown down, or elſe deliver'd up and diſpoſed of for Proteſtant Government and Security, as aforeſaid.

17. That according to the Preſidents of former times in caſes of General Rebellions in *Ireland*, the Attainders which have been duly had by Outlawry for Treaſon done in this Rebellion, may be eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd by Act of Parliament to be in due form of Law tranſmitted and paſſed in *Ireland*, and that ſuch Traitors as for want of Proteſtant and indifferent Jurors to indict them in the proper County, are not yet indicted, nor convicted, or attainted by Outlawry or otherwiſe, may upon due proof of their offences be by like Acts of Parliament convicted and attainted, and all ſuch offenders forfeit their Eſtates, as to Law appertaineth, and Your Majeſty to be adjudged and put in poſſeſſion without any Office or Inquiſition to be had.

18. That Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects may be reſtored to the quiet Poſſeſſion of all their Caſtles, Houſes, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Leaſes, and to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Rents thereof, as they had the ſame before, and at the time of the breaking forth of this Rebellion, and from whence without due

due Proceſs and Judgment of Law they have ſince then been put or kept out, and may be anſwer'd of and for all the Mean Profits of the ſame, in the interim, and for all the time until they ſhall be ſo reſtored.

19. That Your Majeſties ſaid Proteſtant Subjects may alſo be reſtor'd to all their Moneys, Plate, Jewels, Houſhold-ſtuff, Goods and Chattels whatſoever, which without due Proceſs or Judgment in Law have been by the ſaid Confederates taken or detain'd from them ſince the contriving of the ſaid Rebellion, which may be gain'd in kind, or the full value thereof, if the ſame may not be had in kind; and the like reſtitution to be made for all ſuch things, which, during the ſaid time, have been deliver'd to any perſon or perſons of the ſaid Confederates in truſt to be kept or preſerv'd, but are by colour thereof ſtill withholden.

20. That the eſtabliſhment and maintenance of a compleat Proteſtant-Army, and ſufficient Proteſtant-Souldiers and Forces for the time to come be ſpeedily taken into Your Majeſties prudent, juſt, and gracious Conſideration, and ſuch a courſe laid down, and continued according to the Rules of good Government, that Your Majeſties Right and Laws, the Proteſtant Religion and peace of that Kingdom be no more endanger'd by the like Rebellions in time to come.

21. That whereas it appeareth in Print that the ſaid Confederates, amongſt other things, aim at the repeal of *Poyning's* Law, thereby to open an eaſie and ready way in the paſſing of Acts of Parliament in *Ireland*, without having them firſt well conſider'd of in *England*, which may produce many dangerous Conſequences both to that Kingdom and to Your Majeſties other Dominions; Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to reſent and reject all Propoſitions tending to introduce ſo great a diminution of Your Royal and neceſſary Power, for the confirmation of your Royal Eſtate, and protection of Your good Proteſtant Subjects both there and elſewhere.

22. That Your Majeſty out of Your grace and favour to your Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland*, would be pleaſed to conſider effectually of anſwering them, that you will not give order for, or allow of the tranſmitting into *Ireland* any Act of general Oblivion, Releaſe, or diſcharge of Actions or Suits whereby Your Majeſties ſaid Proteſtant Subjects there may be barred or depriv'd of their Legal Remedies, which by Your Majeſties Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom they may have againſt the ſaid Conſederates, or any of them, or any of their party, for, or in reſpect of any wrongs done unto them, or any of their Anceſtors or Predeceſſors, in or concerning their Lives, Liberties, Perſons, Lands, Goods or Eſtates, ſince the contriving and breaking forth of the ſaid Rebellion.

23. That ſome fit courſe may be conſider'd of to prevent the filling, or over-laying of the Commons Houſe of Parliament in *Ireland* with Popiſh Recuſants, being ill-affected Members; and that proviſion be duly made, that none ſhall Vote or ſit therein but ſuch as ſhall firſt take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

24. That the proofs and manifeſtations of the truth of the ſeveral matters contain'd in the Petition of Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland*, lately preſented to Your Majeſty, may

may be duly examined, diſcuſſed, and in that reſpect the final Concluſion of things reſpited for a convenient time, their Agents being ready to attend with Proofs in that behalf, as your Majeſty ſhall appoint.

In anſwer wereunto it was replied by the Committee of Lords and others of *Iriſh* affaires at *Oxford*.

1. That their Lordſhips did not think that the Propoſitions preſented by the Proteſtant Agents to his Majeſty, and that morning read before their Lordſhips, were the ſence of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*.

2. That thoſe Propoſitions were not agreeable to the Inſtructions given the ſaid Agents, by the Proteſtants of *Ireland*.

3. That if thoſe Propoſitions were drawn, they would lay a prejudice on his Majeſty and his Miniſters to Poſterity, theſe remaining on Record if a Treaty ſhould go on and Peace follow, which the Kings neceſſity did enforce, and that the Lords of the Committee apprehended, the ſaid Agents did flatly oppoſe a Peace with the *Iriſh*.

4. That it would be impoſſible for the King to grant the Proteſtants Agents deſires, and grant a Peace to the *Iriſh*.

5. That the Lords of the Committee deſired the Proteſtant Agents to propoſe a way to effect their deſires, either by Force or Treaty, conſidering the condition of his Majeſties Affaires *in England*.

To the firſt, *the Proteſtant Agents replied*, that they humbly conceived that the Propoſitions which they had preſented to his Majeſty, were the ſence of of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*.

To the Second, That the Propoſitions are agreeable to the Inſtructi- Fol. 144.
ons given to the ſaid Agents by the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and conduced to the well ſettlement of that Kingdom.

To the Third, That they had no thought to draw prejudice on his Majeſty or their Lordſhips, by putting in thoſe Propoſitions, neither had they ſo ſoon put in Propoſitions, had not his Majeſty by his Anſwer to the Proteſtant Petition directed the ſame.

To the Fourth, The ſaid Agents humbly conceived, that they were imployed to make proof of the effect of the Proteſtant Petition, to manifeſt the inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, and then to offer ſuch things as they thought fit for the Security of the Proteſtants in in their Religion, Lives, Liberties and Fortunes; That the ſaid Proteſtants had no diſaffection to Peace, ſo as puniſhment might be inflicted according to Law, as in the Propoſitions are expreſſed, and that the ſaid Proteſtants might be repaired for their great loſſes out of the Eſtates of the Rebels, not formerly by any Acts of this preſent Parliament in *England* otherwiſe diſpoſed of, which the ſaid Agents deſired might be repreſented to his Majeſty and the Lords of the Committee accordingly.

To

To the Fifth, That the ſaid Proteſtant Agents were Strangers to his Majeſties Affairs in *England*, and conceived that part more proper for the advice of his Councils then the ſaid Agents, and therefore deſired to be excuſed, for medling in the treaty further then the maniſeſting of the truth of the Proteſtant Petition, and propoſing in the behalf of the Proteſtants, according to the Inſtructions given them, which the ſaid Agents were ready to perform whenſoever they ſhould be admitted thereunto.

Touching which and other Particulars there were many motions, but the Proofs they would have inſiſted upon (by the importunity of other Affairs) never came to their due diſcuſſion.

APPEN-

APPENDIX XV.

Fol. 120.

THE SPEECH

Of His GRACE

James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere is no duty incident to the Place I have the Honour to ſerve the KING in, to which I come with leſs willingneſs, or conſcience, than to this of ſpeaking to ſuch an *Aſſembly*: And by that time I have done, you will acknowledg I have reaſon to be unſatisfied with the neceſſity impoſed by cuſtom upon all that ſit in this Place, to make Speeches; a *Cuſtom* perhaps reaſonably introduced by thoſe that did, or at leaſt thought they did it well; but ſomewhat hardly continued upon thoſe that were ſure they did it ill. And yet though I am in the *Number of the Laſt*, I will rather obey the *Neceſſity*, than hazard the Imputation of *Sullenneſs* or *Singularity*. Beſides, I do not know, but that to be ſilent at this time, and in this Place, may be a *greater Fault* than any I hope I ſhall commit in ſpeaking; for we are taught by *Infallible Authority*, and enjoyned by *Indiſpenſible Precept*, and it ſeems to be agreeable to the Dictates of *NATURE* and *REASON*, as well as of *RELIGION* and *PIETY*, that for all the Bleſſings we receive from the *Divine MAJESTIE*, we ſhould make as proportionable Returns as lie within our Power: And therefore *Publique* and *National BLESSINGS*, do require *Publique* and *Solemn CELEBRATIONS*. This was it that induced the Tranſmiſſion of that Act for an *Anniverſary Thanksgiving for his Majeſties moſt Happy RESTAURATION*; and this is it, which if it be dully, that is, ſincerely performed, is moſt like to perpetuate to us, and to our POSTERITY, all the *Happineſſes* conſequent to that *BLESSING*.

What theſe *Happineſſes* are, or at leaſt may be, if we Our ſelves obſtruct not the courſe of them, would be beſt diſcerned, and ſet off, by a *RETROSPECT* into the ſtate of things for above twenty years paſt; and by oppoſing to that *Diſmal Object* of Our remembrance the *Chearfulneſs* and *Serenity* of the *Proſpect* forwards.

If the *Miſeries* and *Deſolations* of thoſe years could be enumerated in the time I mean to allow this Diſcourſe; or if they could be deſcribed to the Life, by ſo ill an Orator as I am, they would be fewer, and more ſupportable, than I doubt the ſad experience of too many have found them to be.

I ſhall therefore only put you in mind of ſome more *Remarkable* and *Fundamental deliverances* and *Reſtitutions*, wrought by moſt *wonderful Providence*, as a thankful acknowledgment nt, as I conceive, to be the ſubject of the firſt Diſcourſe from this place, where I have the honour, how unworthily, and how unreſemblingly ſoever, to repreſent the Majeſtie of my *Great Maſter*.

This very *Seat of Royaltie* is delivered from ſome neglected Corner, or contemptible Uſe, or from a Profanation worſe than either, from the Uſurpation of mean and low Aſpirers, who having no ſhadow of right to it, had no other way to aſcend it, than by treading down and deſtroying whatever was ordained by God or Man, to fence and guard it; their extravagant Ambition tranſporting them, and darkning their underſtanding to that degree, as not to conſider how ſhort their poſſeſſion of that Throne muſt be, to the diſarming and violation of which, they themſelves had but newly ſhewn the way.

VVe ſee this Throne now reſtored to its proper place, and Natural uſe, ſurrounded and ſupported by *Peers* and *Prelates*, by *Officers*, *Magiſtrates*, and *Judges*, the Out-works, as well as Ornaments of Majeſtie.

VVe ſee it reſtored to the approach, and I doubt not to the delight of the meaneſt of the Commons, whom you Gentlemen do, nor ought not diſdain to repreſent; for they are the *Foundation* upon which *Monarchy* is built, the *ſtrength* wherewith it is guarded, and the *wealth* whereby it is ſuſtained, inriched and beautified.

It is reſtored to the *undoubted Lawful Poſſeſſour*, the *Off-ſpring* of a long-continued *Race of Princes*; in whom all the *Conteſted Titles* of former Ages are met, without the pretence of a *Competitor*, and in whom all the *Vertues* of the *Princes* of thoſe Ages are united, without the ſeverity (to ſay no worſe) of ſome of the Great and Warlike; and without the as harmful weakneſſes of others of more devout and peaceable diſpoſitions: A PRINCE that hath given frequent proof, that though he loves and ſeeks peace for his Subjects ſakes, he fears not War for his own.

This Sword, the Inſtrument of conferring Military Honour, and the Emblem of inflicting Puniſhment, is delivered from the ridiculous Stage-like Pageantry of later times, and from a more execrable and Tragical Abuſe, from cutting off the moſt Innocent, and defending the moſt guilty.

VVe ſee it now by the viſible immediate hand of God reſtored, and put into that *Hand* that only had *His Commiſſion* to bear and uſe it; and let it be *Our Prayer*, That he bear it long, and that he may bear

bear it long, that he bear it not in vain, but to the *terrour* and *extermination* of *Evil-doers*, and to the *ſupport* and *Protection* of thoſe that do well.

The *King* himſelf, whoſe *Throne* and *Sword* theſe are, is accountable to God, and we to God for him, for many and *great deliverances*; He is delivered from the Murtherers of his *Father*, and the Uſurpers of his *Inheritance*; from their reſtleſs endeavours to deſtroy his Perſon, and to blaſt his Fame; from their open violence, and ſecret contrivements againſt both; from Exile, and all the Afflicting conſequences of that miſerable ſtate of a King; from comfortleſs wandrings from Protections; from cold Receptions; from narrow ſupports; and from ſuch applications for them, as were more unſupportable, than the want of them could be to him that was born, and delights to give, rather than receive them. He is deliver'd from a continual tormenting Anxietie for the danger of his Friends, and the oppreſſion and ſlavery of his Countrey; from the importunity of impertinent Arguments, drawn from his misfortunes, to draw him from his Religion; and from a neceſſity of hearing, and bearing with the Reproaches and Revilings caſt upon our then Deſolate Church, only becauſe ſhe was deſolate, and made ſo by her own *unnatural Children*.

From this dejected, deſpiſed, and in all humane appearance, deſperate condition, he is raiſed and reſtored to the Throne of his Fathers, to his Native Countrey, become more dear and valuable to him, by his Experience of others; to the free and uncontrol'd exerciſe of the Religion he was bred in, to a capacity of making Royal Retribution for any kindneſs he hath received abroad or from home: and which is the greateſt earthly Felicity, ſo good a KING as he could wiſh, he is not only reſtored to, but by the love of his People, without the chargeable, and many times dangerous aſſiſtance of Strangers, who are not over-tender, nor much diſtinguiſhing betwixt the party they come to aſſiſt, and that they come to ſubdue, when they are made Umpires in ſuch Quarrels; for they rarely employ their Auxiliary Treaſure and Blood, purely out of Generoſity and Juſtice; which may in Romance be found the ultimate end of ſuch Aſſiſtance, but ſeldom in the truth of *Hiſtory*.

Here it may be obſerved, that if the revolt and deviation of our Nations from their KING, and from *Monarchy* it ſelf, was the moſt unreaſonable and prodigious that any Age hath known, their voluntary uncompelled Return to both, is as much without Example: nor indeed could that Return have been ſo miraculous, if the Revolt had not been ſo prodigious. And it may alſo be worth the obſerving, that as the firſt moſt bloody Eruption from Peace to Rebellion, took birth in this Kingdom, ſo from hence came the firſt Overtures to Peace and Submiſſion.

By and with the Kings deliverance and Reſtitution, our Church is delivered from Contempt, Sacriledge and Deſolation, and reſtored to a due veneration, a competent improving ſupport, and to fair beginnings of Decency and Order.

Our Laws are delivered from corrupt, incompetent Interpreters, from monſtrous, unnatural expoſitions and applications, and Juſtice is reſtored to the diſtribution of upright, learned, lawfully ſworn and authorized Judges.

The nobleſt Acts of *Loyaltie* ſhall now no more receive the judgment due to the fouleſt Treaſon, due to the unrighteous Judges, that pronounced it without Authority in the Perſons, or Juſtice in the Sentence. High Courts of Juſtice ſhall no more uſurp that name, nor our Benches be crouded or oppreſſed with the throng and wicked weight of thoſe that ought rather to have ſtood manacled at the Bar. A happy change to thoſe for whoſe deſtruction thoſe extravagant Tribunals were erected, and a ſecure change to all; for it hath been often an obſerved Method in God's never-failing Juſtice, to catch *Cruelty* and *Oppreſſion* in thoſe very ſnares they had prepared for others.

All Men are delivered from the intanglements of two-edged Oaths; from the conflicts raiſed by them in Mens Breſts, betwixt Conſcience and conveniency, betwixt the proſtitution of Conſcience, and the ruine of their Fortunes; than which a harder, a more *Tyrannical choice* cannot be obtruded upon Chriſtians: For here the *election* was not, *Swear thus againſt your Conſcience, or you ſhall have no part in the Civil Government, no Office in the Army, no Benefice in the Church*; but, *Swear thus, or you ſhall have no Houſe to put your Head in, no Bread to ſuſtain your ſelves, your Wives and Children.*

To conclude theſe Obſervations, who is not delivered from ſome *Oppreſſion*, and reſtored to ſome *Advantage*? Even thoſe that ſhall loſe *the wages of iniquitie*, their ill-got poſſeſſions, ſhall be delivered from the *oppreſſion of a bad*; and if they have any, ſhall be *reſtored to a good Conſcience*; if they have none, they were not in the *Kings*, and I hope will not be in *Your* care.

Thoſe that ſhall be kept out of their ancient Eſtates, the *Inheritance of their Fathers*, through the defect of their *Qualifications*, and by the All-diſpoſing *Providence of God*, who was not pleaſed to make them active Inſtruments in this *Happy Change*, are delivered from Tyrannous Confinements, cauſeleſs Impriſonments, and a continual fear of their lives: The good Land lies afore them, their induſtry is at Liberty, and they are reſtored to the freedom of Subjects, and protection of the Laws; If an *Iriſh Papiſt* be oppreſt, they ſhall relieve him; if the blood of the meaneſt of them be ſhed, it ſhall be ſtrictly enquired after: Let this ſtate be compared with that they were in before the *King's Reſtitution*, and it will be found the greateſt loſer has got ſomething by it.

As it is *our duty* thus thankfully to *commemorate* theſe *great things* done for us; ſo it is *our duty* to *endeavour* in our ſeveral *Stations*, to *improve* and *ſecure* them to *Our ſelves*, and *Our Poſterity*: And ſure the moſt *Natural way* to that end, is to call to mind, and avoid *thoſe Errours* that brought us into thoſe *miſeries* from which we are *redeemed.*

Many are the *cauſes too boldly aſſigned*, for the Calamities theſe *Nations* ſo long laboured under; But in ſuch *Inquiſitions* the *verdict* is ſeldom impartially brought in, the *Jury* are too often the *Criminals*: But I think I may ſafely ſay, that *one*, and that a *fundamental cauſe*, was, that the *late King* was *maliciouſly repreſented* to the People; I am ſure the *Freedom*, *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Happineſſes* they were told they ſhould *enjoy without him*, proved miſerable and fatal *deluſions*.

Let

Let us miſtruſt thoſe that ſhall uſe the ſame Arts, leſt they involve us in the ſame miſery; and let us judge of the *King's intentions* to His People, by His *Publique Acts* of grace and bounty; by His mild and eaſy Government; by His deſire and endeavours to make His Subjects happy at home, and renowned abroad; and by the reluctancy of His Nature to juſt ſeverity, when the wickedneſs or frenzy of the worſt Offendors extort it from him.

That ſomething will be amiſs in the Adminiſtration of the moſt perfect Government in this World, muſt be expected; but whoever ſhall think that theſe things are to be *rectified by force upon the Government*, and that effected, propoſes to acquieſce, and return to *Obedience*; cannot *know himſelf* ſo well, as to be ſure, that *Opportunity* and *ſucceſs* may not ſuggeſt more *inordinate Appetites* to him; And there are thoſe alive that know, how far further than their *firſt intention*, the *Reformers* of our times were led on, till the unwarrantable force they had raiſed, grew *too ſtrong* for their *Management*, flew in their faces, and in concluſion, *acted thoſe villanies*, that I dare ſay their *Souls abhorred*; but neither their *Policy* or *Power* could reſtrain.

VVe have had *ſad experience*, and let us be the wiſer for it, in how *ſhort a time*, in how *few days*, the *induſtry* of *many years*, nay, of *an Age*, may be deſtroyed and laid waſte, when *Rage and Rapine* are let looſe. If once *Sedition* grow too ſtrong for the *Law*, and *Rebellion* for the *Magiſtrate*, ſo that the *Law* is *ſilenced*, or the language of it corrupted, or inverted, and the *Magiſtrate* removed as *burthenſom* and *unneceſſary*, let us remember what variety of *miſery* and *miſchief* is brought upon *the people*; how unſupportable their *ſufferings* are, and how Intolerable their *fears of ſuffering* they know not what more, by whom, or how long. Let the people remember how *many*, and how *chargeable* their *Maſters*; nay how many and *chargeable* the *changes* of their *Maſters* were, when once they fooliſhly *affected the miſery*, indeed the *impoſſibility of having none*.

VVhen *Miſrepreſentations* had taken *place* and *root* in the minds of the people, their heart grew *narrow* and *barren*, towards the *King*; thoſe that ſoon after rob'd them both, perſwading them to keep their *purſes full for them to empty*.

This cloſe *Oratory* is ſeldom *unſucceſsful*; but what the people got by following this *thrifty Counſel*, ſome have taken the pains to compute, and it is found, that the *Impoſitions* laid and levied upon the people, to ſupport *Uſurpation* and *Tyrannie*, in a few *bad years* came to more, than the moſt chargeable *Princes* had raiſed in ſome Ages to *conquer Enemies* and *Infidels* abroad, whileſt this was *employed* to make *Enemies* of *Friends*, and little better than *Infidels* of *Chriſtians* at home.

I confeſs this *Animadverſion* is not ſo ſeaſonable now, or proper to be *applyed* to you, who in your *Liberalities* have outgone all *Example*, and prevented *even the Kings wiſhes*; nor are thoſe *Liberalities* the *leſs*, but the *more* valued by Him, that he intends to *apply them* intirely to the ſecurity and improvement of a *true Proteſtant*, and a *right Engliſh Intereſt* in this Kingdom.

There is nothing that declares, indeed that conſtitutes perfect Union, and a *happy Harmony*, ſo much as *mutual truſts* and *confidence*,

and

and the interchange of *gifts* and *benefits*; it is so in private *Friendship*, and it is much more so, in that good *Intelligence* which must make a *King and His people happy*.

The *King* has trusted you as far as ever *King* trusted Subjects; and He has given you more than ever any *King* or *Lord of Ireland* had to give.

You have trusted *the King with all you had*, and all *you* had to pretend to; and you have given *Him more* than he thought of to desire; Let it not therefore *be apprehended*, that this *Commerce* must cease by the *Prodigality* on both sides, as if there were no more to be *given* or *received*: No, my *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, protection from *Forreign Invasion* and *Rebellion* at home, the due and uncorrupt administration of *Government*, and of the *Laws*, and under them the *advancement* and *encouragement* of *Piety* and *Learning*, *Trade*, and all sorts of *Industry* and *Improvements*, are benefits that may to the *end of time*, descend from the Throne to you and yours: And a due subjection to that Government, and obedience to those Laws, and application to that Piety and Learning, to that Trade and Industry, and to those Improvements, may be as lasting Retributions from the People to the Throne.

I should here end this unusual Exercise, but that I am commanded by the *King* to let you know, that as He is abundantly satisfied with those demonstrations of *Duty*, *Loyalty* and *Affection* you have given him, during the whole time of your sitting, so he looks with great *Pleasure* and *Delight* upon those *Acts* of *Grace* and *Bounty* that have past from him to you; and he commands me to be sure not to forget to assure you, upon all Proper Occasions, that all his *Promises* shall be *inviolably observed*; and that he will *consent* to whatever else may make this *Kingdom flourishing* and *happy*, whether it shall be the Enacting of *new* and *profitable*, or the *repeal* of *old unuseful*, or *burthensom Laws*.

To say *any thing* of, or from *my self* in this place, may be *Presumption*; but to say nothing to *you*, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, to whom I owe so much, must be *Ingratitude*. You have before and since *My Arrival*, been pleased to make *many* and *obliging Expressions* of *your Approbation* of the *Kings choice* of Me for this Government: I have great reason to fear, both the *King* and *you* consulted *your Indulgence* to Me, more than *your judgement* of Me.

Yet without much *Presumption* or *Vanity*, I think I may say, thus far the *King* and *you* may be excusable, that He chose, and You approved a *Person*, whose Fortune and Family must prosper or decay, must Ruine or Subsist by and with this Kingdom. This has not perhaps always been the case, and it is possible mean *Abilities* thus stimulated, may be more *profitable and industrious* than greater, actuated by less, or by *contrary Incentives*. There are upon me all imaginable *Obligations* to apply all that is in me, to the *safety* and *prosperity* of this Kingdom: Those of *duty*, *fidelity* and *thankfulness* to the best, and most bountiful *Master* in the World; those of *Retribution* and *Gratitude* to you, for extraordinary and liberal manifestations of *kindness* and *affection*, and those

thoſe ſelf-preſervation and Happineſs: Hence it may be concluded reaſonably and naturally, that my endeavours will be hearty and faithful; and my failings, which ſhall be as few as I can, unvoluntarily, and therefore the more pardonable.

You will preſently, when I am retired, be at liberty to adjourn your ſelves to the time you deſired.

Referrable

Referrable to fol. 326.

A form of Divine Service to be used October 23d. *appointed by Act of Parliament* Anno Regni Car. 2di. 14. die 27. Sep. 1662. *to be kept and Celebrated as an Anniversary Thanksgiving in this Kingdom of* Ireland.

Anno Regni Car. 2di. 14. die 27. Sep. 1662.

THe begining of the Service to be according to the Form of the Common-Prayer: then proper *Psalms*, as 3. 9. 12. 46. 144.
Proper Lessons for the First, 2 *Chron.* 13. or *Jer.* 30.
For the Second Lesson, *Mat.* 9. or *Acts* 5. or *Acts* 22.
And after the Collect for the *Sunday*, this following Collect.

ALmighty God and heavenly Father, who out of thy most wise and watchful Providence, and tender mercies towards us thine unworthy Servants, hast been pleased, as at all other times, so on this day, to prevent the extreme malice, mischievous imagination, and bloody intention of our Enemies, by revealing so wonderfully, and opportunely their Rebellion, and cruel Enterprises, plotted against our dread Soveraign Lord the King, and the whole State of this Realm, for the subversion of this Government, and the utter extirpation of the truth of thy Gospel, and pure Religion professed amongst us. We most humbly praise and magnifie thy glorious name for thine infinite goodness in this our marvellous deliverance. We confess it was thy mercy, thy mercy alone (most merciful Father) that we were not consumed. And therefore not unto us, not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be ascribed all honour and glory, in all Churches of the Saints throughout all Generations. For thou Lord didst discover unto thy Servants the snares of death; thou didst break them, and we were delivered. Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our Enemies that delight in blood; infatuate their Councils, enfeeble their strength; put fear in their hearts, and accomplish this thy mercy in our safety and future deliverance. And to that end, strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Lord Lieutenant, the Nobility, and Magistrates of the Land with Judgment, Justice, and Power to restrain such workers of Iniquity, who pretend Religion and practise Rebellion, and devour thine Inheritance. This Lord we crave at thy merciful hands, together with the continuance of thy powerful Protection over our dread Soveraign, the whole Church, and these Realms, and the speedy Conversion of all our Enemies, and that for thy dear Sons sake Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

After

This was to be plac'd fol. 80. Appendix. xiv

An Account of what the ſubduing the Rebellion of Ireland, *begun the 23d. of* October, 1641. *hath coſt, and what Damage t*
ſtants *there have ſuſtained thereby, and what Lands have been forfeited and diſpoſed of to Adventurers, Souldiers, and othe*
and what to the Iriſh, *and now in their poſſeſſion: Abſtracted out of the Accounts of Moneys in the Exchequer, during ſu*
any regular Accounts were made up, and by probable and rational Eſtimates, for the time in which no Accounts were kep
ſon of the general Rebellion and Confuſion, and out of the Surveys, Decrees, and Settlements, made by his Majeſty's Com
for executing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation in Ireland.

1. Moneys receiv'd and iſſued from the 6th. of *July*, 1649. to the 1ſt. of *November*, 1656. being 7 years and 4 months, according to an Account thereof, remaining as a Record, in the Auditor-General's Office in *Ireland*.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Tranſmitted out of *England, in ſpecie*	1566848	13	4
Aſſeſſments in *Ireland.*	1309695	14	11½
Rents of forfeited and ſequeſtred Houſes, Lands, Fiſhings, &c.	161598	8	7½
Tythes ſequeſtred	135524	3	2½
Cuſtoms and Exciſe	252474	18	10½
Preys of Cows, Horſes, and other Goods, taken from the Rebels, and for other caſual Revenue	083258	18	

l.	*s.*	*d.*
3509396	17	0½

Money iſſued in *England* towards tranſporting Armies, raiſing Recruits, buying and ſending over Proviſions of all ſorts for the Army, and other Moneys iſſued by Warrant from the then Council, or the Committee of the Army in *England*, which was not accounted for in *Ireland*, the Warrants and Accounts being never tranſmitted thither, of which there is a Reference in the account of Record, in the Exchequer above-mentioned, which is eſtimated to be as much, if not more, than the above ſum of 3509396 *l.* 17 *s.* 0½ *d.* In that all Cloths, Linnen and Woollen, Stockings, Shooes, Boots, Horſes, Saddles, Arms, Ammunition, Tents, Bread, Cheeſe, and all other eating Proviſions, were ſent from *England*, and the price thereof deducted from the weekly Pay of the Army, and not brought to Account, and ſo eſtimated as above

l.	*s.*
3509396	17

The Charges of the Armies in the ſeveral Provinces of *Ireland*, from the 23d. of *October*, 1641. the time the Rebellion broke out, to the 6th. of *July*, 1649. from whence the Account is ſtated, as above, being about 7 years and 9 months, when no regular Accounts were or could be kept, by reaſon of the Confuſion in which the Kingdom was by the Rebellion, there may be by probable Eſtimate added, without any Allowance, for Proviſion of all ſorts, after the Rate of what was paid the Army after the 6th. of *July*, 1649. when Proviſions were deducted

l.
3760068

The Loſs of Rents for 14 years, from *October* 1641. until the year 1655. reckoning the Land but at 12 *d.* an Acre yearly, is 7608264 *l.* 6 *s.* and reckoning all the Corporations, Houſes and Tithes, but at a Moiety thereof, comes to

l.	*s.*
11412396	9

22191258

Beſides the Loſs by the Devaſtation of Houſes, Orchards, Gardens, Improvements, Houſhold-ſtuff, Corn, Cattel, and the impairing the value o to that time, not to be eſtimated, but in reaſon to be accounted, as much as before is computed for all other Charges, Loſſes and Expences, if more, the ſame extending to the whole Kingdom.

2. By the Surveys of *Ireland*, there is in *Ireland*, as forfeited by the Rebellion, and belonging to Proteſtants, not forfeited, of Plantation-counting 21 Foot to the Perch, and 160 Perches to the Acre, in the reſpective Provinces, the quantity of Land hereafter mentioned.

	a.
Leinſter	2603520
Munſter	3255874
Ulſter	2777875
Connaght	2231680

The which Lands are divided and diſtributed, as by the Surveys and Records of the Court of Claims will appear, as followeth:

	a.	a.
To the Proteſtants, and others, that proved their conſtant good affection, including the Bogs, Loughs, and Mountains in *Ireland*	6110292	
To Adventurers	396054	
To the Officers and Souldiers	1442839	
To the Officers that ſerved his Majeſty againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*, before the year 1649.	278041	
To his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, as Regicides Lands	111015	2717549
To Proteſtants on Proviſoes by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	383975	
To the Biſhops for their Augmentations, of which ſome have poſſeſſion	118041	
Reſerved to his Majeſty as un-diſpoſed, upon the account of *Lewis Dyke*, and *Thomas Conyngham*, being ſet out on fraudulent Adventures	14006	
Left of courſe Lands un-diſpoſed, the Title to the greateſt part whereof was doubtful	73578	
Reſtored unto the *Iriſh* upon Decrees of Innocency	965270	
Reſtored to them by ſpecial Proviſoes in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	408083	2041108
Set out upon their Tranſplantations of *Connaght* and *Clare*, over and above what is confirmed to *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who purchaſed Intereſts there from the *Iriſh*	667755	

So that the *Iriſh*, notwithſtanding the Rebellion, and their great complaints of loſing all their Lands, are reſtored unto, and poſſeſſed of, alm half of all the Lands formerly accounted forfeited by the Rebellion. Beſides, that the 2717549 Acres granted to the *Engliſh*, hath coſt as before the loſs of hundreds of thouſands of Men murthered by, and killed in ſubduing the ſaid Rebels the ſum of 22191258 *l.* 3 *s.* 0½ *d.* And account ſaid 2717549 Acres to be worth 12 *d. per* Acre, one Acre with the other yearly, they will come to 135876 *l.* 9 *s.* which for the Purchaſe there years Purchaſe, comes to 1358764 *l.* 10 *s.* After which Rate, the Lands granted to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, are not the 15th. part, of what ney expended in ſubduing the ſaid Rebellion, would have bought, and accounting the Devaſtations, and the loſs of many thouſands of Mens Live thing.

Referrable to fol. 326.

A form of Divine Service to be used October 23d. *appointed by Act of Parliament* Anno Regni Car. 2di. 14. die 27. Sep. 1662. *to be kept and Celebrated as an Anniversary Thanksgiving in this Kingdom of* Ireland.

Anno Regni Car. 2di. 14. die 27. Sep. 1662.

THe begining of the Service to be according to the Form of the Common Prayer: then proper *Psalms*, as 3. 9. 12. 46. 144. Proper Lessons for the First, 2 *Chron.* 13. or *Jer.* 30. For the Second Lesson, *Mat.* 9. or *Acts* 5. or *Acts* 22. And after the Collect for the *Sunday*, this following Collect.

ALmighty God and heavenly Father, who out of thy most wise and watchful Providence, and tender mercies towards us thine unworthy Servants, hast been pleased, as at all other times, so on this day, to prevent the extreme malice, mischievous imagination, and bloody intention of our Enemies, by revealing so wonderfully, and opportunely their Rebellion, and cruel Enterprises, plotted against our dread Soveraign Lord the King, and the whole State of this Realm, for the subversion of this Government, and the utter extirpation of the truth of thy Gospel, and pure Religion professed amongst us. We most humbly praise and magnifie thy glorious name for thine infinite goodness in this our marvellous deliverance. We confess it was thy mercy, thy mercy alone (most merciful Father) that we were not consumed. And therefore not unto us, not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be ascribed all honour and glory, in all Churches of the Saints throughout all Generations. For thou Lord didst discover unto thy Servants the snares of death; thou didst break them, and we were delivered. Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our Enemies that delight in blood; infatuate their Councils, enfeeble their strength; put fear in their hearts, and accomplish this thy mercy in our safety and future deliverance. And to that end, strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Lord Lieutenant, the Nobility, and Magistrates of the Land with Judgment, Justice, and Power to restrain such workers of Iniquity, who pretend Religion and practise Rebellion, and devour thine Inheritance. This Lord we crave at thy merciful hands, together with the continuance of thy powerful Protection over our dread Soveraign, the whole Church, and these Realms, and the speedy Conversion of all our Enemies, and that for thy dear Sons sake Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

After

This was to be plac'd fol. 80. Appendix. xiv

An Account of what the ſubduing the Rebellion of Ireland, *begun the 23d. of* October, 1641. *hath coſt, and what Damage the* Proteſtants *there have ſuſtained thereby, and what Lands have been forfeited and diſpoſed of to Adventurers, Souldiers, and other* Engliſh, *and what to the* Iriſh, *and now in their poſſeſſion: Abſtracted out of the Accounts of Moneys in the Exchequer, during ſuch time as any regular Accounts were made up, and by probable and rational Eſtimates, for the time in which no Accounts were kept, by reaſon of the general Rebellion and Confuſion, and out of the Surveys, Decrees, and Settlements, made by his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, for executing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation in* Ireland.

		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1. Moneys receiv'd and iſſued from the 6th. of *July*, 1649. to the 1ſt. of *November*, 1656. being 7 years and 4 months, according to an Account thereof, remaining as a Record, in the Auditor-General's Office in *Ireland*.	Tranſmitted out of *England, in ſpecie*	1566848	13	4			
	Aſſeſſments in *Ireland*	1309695	14	11½			
	Rents of forfeited and ſequeſtred Houſes, Lands, Fiſhings, &c.	161598	8	7½	3509396	17	0½
	Tythes ſequeſtred	135524	3	2½			
	Cuſtoms and Exciſe	252474	18	10½			
	Preys of Cows, Horſes, and other Goods, taken from the Rebels, and for other caſual Revenue	083258	18				
Money iſſued in *England* towards tranſporting Armies, raiſing Recruits, buying and ſending over Proviſions of all ſorts for the Army, and other Moneys iſſued by Warrant from the then Council, or the Committee of the Army in *England*, which was not accounted for in *Ireland*, the Warrants and Accounts being never tranſmitted thither, of which there is a Reference in the account of Record, in the Exchequer above-mentioned, which is eſtimated to be as much, if not more, than the above ſum of 3509396 *l.* 17 *s.* 0½ *d.* In that all Cloths, Linnen and Woollen, Stockings, Shooes, Boots, Horſes, Saddles, Arms, Ammunition, Tents, Bread, Cheeſe, and all other eating Proviſions, were ſent from *England*, and the price thereof deducted from the weekly Pay of the Army, and not brought to Account, and ſo eſtimated as above					l.	s.		
					3509396	17		
The Charges of the Armies in the ſeveral Provinces of *Ireland*, from the 23d. of *October*, 1641. the time the Rebellion broke out, to the 6th. of *July*, 1649. from whence the Account is ſtated, as above, being about 7 years and 9 months, when no regular Accounts were or could be kept, by reaſon of the Confuſion in which the Kingdom was by the Rebellion, there may be by probable Eſtimate added, without any Allowance, for Proviſion of all ſorts, after the Rate of what was paid the Army after the 6th. of *July*, 1649. when Proviſions were deducted					l.		
					3760068		
							l. s. d.
							22191258 3 0½
The Loſs of Rents for 14 years, from *October* 1641. until the year 1655. reckoning the Land but at 12 *d.* an Acre yearly, is 7608264 *l.* 6 *s.* and reckoning all the Corporations, Houſes and Tithes, but at a Moiety thereof, comes to					l.	s.	
					11412396	9	

Beſides the Loſs by the Devaſtation of Houſes, Orchards, Gardens, Improvements, Houſhold-ſtuff, Corn, Cattel, and the impairing the value of Land unto that time, not to be eſtimated, but in reaſon to be accounted, as much as before is computed for all other Charges, Loſſes and Expences, if not much more, the ſame extending to the whole Kingdom.

2. By the Surveys of *Ireland*, there is in *Ireland*, as forfeited by the Rebellion, and belonging to Proteſtants, not forfeited, of Plantation-Acres, accounting 21 Foot to the Perch, and 160 Perches to the Acre, in the reſpective Provinces, the quantity of Land hereafter mentioned.

	a.	Acres
Leinſter	2603520	
Munſter	3255874	10868949
Ulſter	2777875	
Connaght	2231680	

The which Lands are divided and diſtributed, as by the Surveys and Records of the Court of Claims will appear, as followeth:

	a.		
To the Proteſtants, and others, that proved their conſtant good affection, including the Bogs, Loughs, and Mountains in *Ireland*	6110292		
To Adventurers	396054		
To the Officers and Souldiers	1442839		
To the Officers that ſerved his Majeſty againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*, before the year 1649.	278041		
To his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, as Regicides Lands	111015	2717549	10868949
To Proteſtants on Proviſoes by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	383975		
To the Biſhops for their Augmentations, of which ſome have poſſeſſion	118041		
Reſerved to his Majeſty as un-diſpoſed, upon the account of *Lewis Dyke*, and *Thomas Conyngham*, being ſet out on fraudulent Adventures	14006		
Left of courſe Lands un-diſpoſed, the Title to the greateſt part whereof was doubtful	73578		
Reſtored unto the *Iriſh* upon Decrees of Innocency	965270		
Reſtored to them by ſpecial Proviſoes in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation	408083	2041108	
Set out upon their Tranſplantations of *Connaght* and *Clare*, over and above what is confirmed to *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who purchaſed Intereſts there from the *Iriſh*	667755		

So that the *Iriſh*, notwithſtanding the Rebellion, and their great complaints of loſing all their Lands, are reſtored unto, and poſſeſſed of, almoſt one half of all the Lands formerly accounted forfeited by the Rebellion. Beſides, that the 2717549 Acres granted to the *Engliſh*, hath coſt as before (beſides the loſs of hundreds of thouſands of Men murthered by, and killed in ſubduing the ſaid Rebels) the ſum of 22191258 *l.* 3 *s.* 0½ *d.* And accounting the ſaid 2717549 Acres to be worth 12 *d. per* Acre, one Acre with the other yearly, they will come to 135876 *l.* 9 *s.* which for the Purchaſe thereof, at 10 years Purchaſe, comes to 1358764 *l.* 10 *s.* After which Rate, the Lands granted to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, are not the 15th. part, of what the Money expended in ſubduing the ſaid Rebellion, would have bought, and accounting the Devaſtations, and the loſs of many thouſands of Mens Lives for nothing.

This was to be placed for 60. Appendix xiv

After the Litany, this Prayer for the Second Collect.

O Eternal God, in whom we live, move, and have our being, and by whom alone we are protected in all our dangers and distresses; we thy people, and sheep of thy Pasture, do acknowledge our selves above all others, infinitely bounded unto thy heavenly Majesty for thy many unspeakable benefits daily conferred and heaped upon us; especially for the enlightning us with thy heavenly truth, and planting thy Gospel amongst us; for placing over us a most gracious King, a faithful Professour, and Defender of the same, a wise and vigilant Lieutenant. And as at this time especially we praise thee for the discovery and prevention of the bloody and treacherous designs of the Enemies of thy Truth and People: We laud and magnifie thy Glorious name for these thy Mercies, and will ever shew forth thy praise from generation to generation: for it was thy goodness alone that we were not delivered over for a prey unto their Teeth. Thy prudence not our foresight, thy love not our merit, that we appear this day before thee: That the Enemy did not triumph in our utter destruction, nor root up the Vine which thy right hand had planted. O Lord God of hosts look down from Heaven, and behold, and visit this thy Vine, water it with thy blessing, and make it to fill the Land to the astonishment of our Enemies; but unto the joy of all that wish well unto our Sion: So will we not go back from thee; but will serve thee in fear and holiness all the days of our lives, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Third Collect after the Litany.

O Most Gracious Lord God, we of this Nation, whom thou didst snatch as a brand out of the fire of the late horrid Massacre, we this day assembled before thee, do with shame, and sorrow acknowledge, and confess, That our Sins had most justly provoked thee to Wrath, when thou didst suffer those men of blood to make their Sword fat with the Slaughter of so many thousand Innocents. And we may as justly fear, that our not being made better by thy former Judgements, thou mayest be compelled to make thy Sword sharper, and return upon us in greater fury, because our sins are greater, more bold, more provoking: in particular our neglect and contempt of thy sacred Ordinances, our vain and false swearing (for which the Land mourns) our unchristian uncharitableness, and shameful intemperance, our sacriledge, and covetousness, hypocrisie, slandering, and deep security in the midst of all our sins and dangers. These together with a glorying in our impieties, might in justice have brought upon us a sudden and horrible destruction. But contrary to the method of thy proceedings against others, thou hast spared us, thereby woing us to return unto thee by unfeigned Repentance. Thou hast magnified thy mercy towards us, that we may magnifie thee, as we do this day, this memorable day, O Lord, for thy patience, and long suffering, notwithstanding all our provocations: we repent O pardon; we return, O vouchsafe to receive us, and enable us to walk worthy of thy great past deliverance, by a more strict, and

holy future obedience, for the merits of Jesus Christ our only Saviour, and Redeemer. Amen.

At the second Service this Fourth Collect, to be said after the Collect for the King.

MOst merciful and bountiful Lord God, seeing thou hast been graciously pleased to preserve thy most unworthy people from total desolation, and dayly to follow us with the blessing of peace and good Government; make us therefore, O Lord, in all thankfulness to be obedient to thy will in all things; to be faithful and constant in our duty to the King, and to all that are in Authority under him; to be sincere in thy worship; zealous of good works; of one faith, and one mind, studying to be quiet, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as God for Christs sake hath forgiven us: so that when every one in his several place shall labour to advance the good both of Church and State, and by a through Reformation of our lives, shall become a people whom thou mayest take delight to bless; then thy Judgements which we have deserved, and therefore fear, may be averted, and our sinful Souls saved in the day of the Lord Jesus: Then with one heart and voice we may all praise thee in thy Church, and always sing joyfully; that thy loving kindness is ever more, and more towards us, and the truth of the Lord endures for ever. These mercies, we most unworthy to ask, humbly beseech thee to grant, for the benefit of this Church and Nation, and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour, and Redeemer. Amen.

For the Epistle *Nehem.* 4. from ver. 7. to ver. 16. or 2 *Cor.* 1. from ver. 3. to ver. 11.

For the Gospel, *Mat.* 14. from ver. 23. to ver. 34. or *Mat.* 15. from ver. 1. to ver. 13. or *Mat.* 5. from ver. 1. to ver. 14.

And then proceed as in the Book of Common Prayer.

Other Particulars We might add, but how can We conclude better then with the voice of the Church for so wonderful a deliverance from so unnatural and inhuman a Conspiracy, which hath produced (besides other horrid effects) this Abbreviate of so sad a Tragidy, and the expence of so vast a Treasure?

Omissions

Omiſſions containing ſeveral Additions to the Hiſtory.

FOl. 9. line. 23. *Crime*] which for the Honour of thoſe Gentlemen (rather then that it's undeniably true) I would willingly believe, it being eaſy to be made out, that many of theſe inſtigated, if not headed, the Commonalty afterwards

Fol. 10. l. 25. *of Lands*] though the Law heretofore was held otherwiſe, and much of his Majeſties Revenue ſtands upon that Title.

Fol. 13. l. 39. *Epiſtle*] which expreſſion of his is the more to be took notice of, in that (being a prime Inſtrument of State) He hath more Grounds then others to build theſe Conjectures upon.

Fol. 28. l. 12. *Rebellion*] the Commiſſion Granted to the Lord *Gormanſton* was as follows.

By the Lords, Juſtices, and Council.

W. Parſons. Jo. Borlaſe.

RIght Truſty and well beloved. We greet you well. Whereas divers and moſt diſloyal and malignant Perſons within this Kingdom, have traiterouſly conſpired againſt his Majeſty, his Peace, Crown, and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conſpiracy, are traiterouſly aſſembled together in a Warlike manner, and have moſt inhumanly made deſtruction and devaſtation of the Perſons and Eſtates of his Majeſties good and loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, ſlain and impriſoned great Numbers of them. We out of our care and zeal for the common good, being deſirous by all means to ſuppreſs the ſaid Treaſons and Traitors, and to conſerve the Perſons and Fortunes of his Majeſties loving Subjects here in ſafety; and to prevent the further ſpoil and devaſtation of his Majeſties good People here, do therefore hereby require and authorize you to Levie, Raiſe, and Aſſemble all, every, or any the Forces, as well Footmen as Horſemen within the County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the Command in chief of all the ſaid Forces, and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as Commander of them in Chief to arm, array, divide, diſtribute, diſpoſe, conduct, lead, and govern in Chief the ſaid Forces according to your beſt diſcretion; and with the ſaid Forces to reſiſt, purſue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, kill and ſlay, as well by Battle as otherwaies, all and ſingular the ſaid Conſpirators, Traitors and their Adherents according to your diſcretion; And according to your Conſcience and diſcretion to proceed againſt them, or any of them, or by Martial Law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accuſtomed in time of open Rebellion; and alſo to take, waſt, and ſpoil their or any of their Caſtles, Holds, Forts, Houſes, Goods and Territories, or otherwiſe to preſerve the lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his Majeſties favour and mercy, and to forbear the devaſtation of their, or any of their Caſtles, Holds, Forts, Houſes, Goods, and Territories aforementioned, according to your diſcretion: Further hereby requiring

and authorizing you to do, execute and perform all and ſingular ſuch other things for Examination of perſons ſuſpected, diſcovery of Traitors and their Adherents, parlying with, and granting protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages and other Conveniences, ſending and retaining Eſpials, Victualing the ſaid Forces, and other things whatſoever conducing to the purpoſe aforementioned, as you in your diſcretion ſhall think fit, and the neceſſity of the ſervice require, further hereby requiring and authorizing you as Commander in Chief, to conſtitute and appoint ſuch Officers and Miniſters reſpectively, for the better performance and execution of all and ſingular the premiſes, as you in your diſcretion ſhall think fit: And do hereby require and command all and ſingular his Majeſties Sheriffs, Officers, and Miniſters, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of *Meath*, and the borders thereof, upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majeſty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you in the doing and Executing of all and ſingular the premiſes. This our Commiſſion to continue during our Pleaſure only, and for the ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. Given at his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, *November* 1641.

To our very good Lord *Nicholas Gormanſtowne. Vic. Com.*

R. Dillon. Jo. Temple.

Ja. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

Fol. 86. l. 45. *Osburn's Caſtle*] as alſo of the notable ſervice of *Ballially* in the County of *Clare*, well defended by *Bridgeman* and *Cuff*, though ſlenderly ſuccoured by *Bowatty* (how oft ſoever invoked) of whoſe neglect they were not a little ſenſible.

Fol 88. l. 39. *a Careful General's*] not upon diffidence that his Commands (entruſted to others) would be the inſufficienter executed: No, his Souldiers had long experienced (even *the beſt of Quality* amongſt them) that no commands were to be diſobeyed; But that the Souldier (ſeeing his General to ſhare in labour) might undergo the like with more willingneſs and courage. Examples of hardſhip, born by ſuch as might have eaſe, wonderfully work on thoſe who can have no exemption.

Fol. 97. l. 4. *Laws of the Land*] This Oath of Aſſociation (the later Paragraph excepted) was the 26th. of *July* 1644. in the General Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* at *Kilkenny* declared, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Burgeſſes of that houſe, full and binding, without addition of any other words thereunto, and enjoyned to be took by all ſorts of People.

Fol. 104. l. 28. *That War*] and (by ſome ſpeeches) it was apprehended that the drift in requiring ſubſcriptions, was to engage the Army againſt his Majeſty; in deteſtation whereof ſome Officers rent the Book of Subſcriptions in pieces.

Fol. 105. l. 303. 8000 *men.*] A neceſſity the State was then unhappily reduced to, and (as his Majeſty takes notice) that his Miniſters (who ſuffered the return of his Army and their quartering in the City) were not to be blam'd if they durſt not ſuffer the Souldiers to march farr, or ſtay long in the Enemies Country, when there was but 40. Barrels of Powder in all the Store.

Fol.

Fol. 106. l. 14. *their Weight*] and afterwards by the King's approbation with C. R. with a Crown on one ſide, and the value on the other.

Fol. 120. l. 4. *with* 300 *l.*] In as much as their General *Bourk* (having a good opinion of his Gallantry) ſent a Summons ſignifying, That He was commanded by the Councel of *the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland*, to demand the delivery of the Caſtle to his hands for the uſe of his Majeſty, and if not deliver'd upon this Summons, Mercy was not to be expected, although (for his part) He deſired not the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, yet if ſuch a Paper-houſe ſhould be kept againſt him (who had ſuch an Army, ſuch Artillery) a day longer, he could not (by the practice of VVar) be cenſur'd cruel if no Quarter were given a terrible Minace, and (conſidering the force he had and the Weakneſs of the Houſe) not irrational.

Fol. 140. l. 32. *their Concurrence*] In *November* 1643. the Parliament in *Ireland* ſitting, the Houſe of Commons had in debate a Remonſtrance declaring the Inhumanity of the Rebels, that it might be recommended to the King, a Committee was ſent from the Houſe to the Lords Juſtices, who adviſing with the upper Houſe (at that time very thin, and highly influenc'd) were anſwer'd, That there were greater matters of State to be conſidered, ſo nothing further proceeded thereon.

Fol. 155. l. 44. *with the Rebels*] which *Perinchief* writes * was procured by the *Scots* to make their *Ware* more valuable. *Fol. 61.

Fol. 156. l. 6. *witneſſing the Concluſion*] which, as the Ceſſation, His Majeſty profeſſeth * to have been forced to during the late troubles, and was compelled to give the *Iriſh* a full Pardon for what they had before done amiſs upon their return to their Duty, and their Promiſe of giving Him a vigorous Aſſiſtance, which (how anſwer'd by their obedience) hereafter appears. * In his Declaration for the ſettlement of *Ireland*, fol. 10.

Fol. 167. l. 39. *into England*] who carried with them theſe Propoſitions from the Lord Lieutenant to the Parliament of *England*.

1. That the ſaid Lord Lieutenant will proſecute the VVar againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels as vigorouſly as he ſhall be enabled thereunto by the Parliament of *England*, and that he will faithfully ſerve the Crown of *England* therein.

2. That whilſt he hath the Government of this Kingdom and the Command of the Armies therein, none of the ſupplies of Men, Moneys, Arms, Munition, Victuals or any other Proviſions of what kind or nature ſoever, which ſhall by the Parliament of *England* be ſent over, or joined with the Forces already under his Command, nor any of the ſaid Forces now under his Command, nor any other Forces that ſhall be under his Command, ſhall in any wiſe be employed either within this Kingdom, or without it, but by the expreſs Direction of the ſaid Parliament of *England*.

3. That he will not upon any Command, or by virtue of any Power or Authority whatſoever, enter into any Treaty with the ſaid *Iriſh* Rebels, or conclude any Peace or Ceſſation with them without the conſent and expreſs Command of the King and Parliament of *England*.

4. He will engage himſelf to the true performance of all theſe things by

by Oath or any other means that can be propos'd to a Man of Honour and Conſcience.

Septemb. 26. 1646. *Ormond.*

Which he frequently inſiſted on in his Treaty with the Parliaments Commiſſioners, who ſeem'd not (before) to be acquainted therewith, or thought it expedient (upon the Treaty) to receive the ſame from him, which (however) as moſt important He inſiſted upon, as alſo to have Directions from His Majeſtie ere he would deliver up the Hoord, or render up the Garriſons (in his Power) to their hands, waving (notwithſtanding) the firſt Propoſition rather than that ſhould be any lett to the Treaty, which (in concluſion) ended in delivering up all to the Parliament.

Fol. 169. l. 29. *in the Iriſh*] concluding thereby that there would not be only a loſs of the Kingdom, but of thouſands of Proteſtants, and together with them the Proteſtant Religion alſo.

Fol. 177. l. 41. *other Conſiderations*] As that the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland* muſt be preſerv'd by the *Engliſh*, and not by the *Iriſh*.

Fol. 184. l. 21. *and Eloquence*] as follows in theſe words.

To the Honourable Commiſſioners from the Parliament of ENGLAND.

The humble Anſwer and Petition of the Proteſtant Clergy of the City of *Dublin*.

Humbly ſhewing,

THAT whereas we having received from your Honours by *Anthony Dopping* Eſquire, a Meſſage conſiſting of two branches; one of *Demand*, *Whether the Miniſters will officiate in their ſeveral Churches, not uſing the Book of Common Prayer?*

The other a Conceſſion to this effect; *That ſuch as will officiate, may uſe the Directory, or ſuch Service as is agreeable to the Word of God; but not uſe the Book of Common Prayer.*

We hereto with all meekneſs and lowlineſs of minds return this our joint Anſwer.

1. That foraſmuch as we ſee and know, that the Proteſtants of this City, for the moſt part, are much grieved in heart for the want of the daily accuſtomed Service of God in the two Cathedrals, and the Pariſh Churches of this City, and for their late being deprived of us and our Miniſtery, which they have long enjoyed; We are very much troubled, and are very ſorrowful in our ſelves for their grief: We acknowledg our ſelves bound to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt unto the People, and are ſo far from a voluntary deſertion of our Churches, People, Miniſtery, and the exerciſe thereof, as that we ſhall rejoyce

in

in nothing more, than that we may finish our course with joy, and the Ministry which we have received of the Lord *Jesus*, to testify the grace of God.

2. That we have been and still are effectually debarred from our Churches, and the exercise of our Ministry by your Honours *Injunction and Command*, bearing date the 24. of *June*, 1647. wherein you require the discontinuance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the receiving of the Directory, &c. which *Injunction* lies still upon us, with the danger of *non-protection* in case we disobey the same.

3. That we cannot consent with a good conscience to the discontinuance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and receiving the Directory in lieu thereof, or any other private form of publick Service for the reasons exhibited, and alledged in our * Answer the 22. of *June* last, whereto we humbly annex these Reasons following, amongst others which we debated upon in our mutual conference the 25. of *June*, and on the same day touched some of the Heads of them before your Honours.

* Which being given in writing, the *Copies* cannot be recovered, though the *main* of what is *there* insisted on, is *here* repeated.

I. VVe all at our Ordination or being made *Presbyters*, have (among other things) made this solemn Promise before God, which we account the same with or little different from an Oath, *that we would so minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the same.*

II. VVe have often taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, and sworn that the *King's Highness is the only supreme Governour of this Realm, as well in all spiritual and Ecclesiastical things, or causes, as temporal, and that we shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, &c. granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom.* Now should we receive a Directory printed, or any other form without Royal Authority, we do not conceive how this can stand with this our Oath.

III. As the Act of Parliament 2 *Eliz.* still in force in this Kingdom, expresly commands the use of this Book of *Common-Prayer*, so it forbids *Common-Prayer* or Administration of the Sacraments otherwise or after any other manner or form, with any private dispensation whereof we cannot comply, we being bound to the obedience thereof, *not only for fear of penalty, but for conscience sake*, Rom. 13. 5.

IV. VVhereas the Book of *Common-Prayer* is one main part of the Reformation established in the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*; the laying aside thereof and the receiving of the Directory or any other form would be, we conceive (considering the present state and circumstances of things) a departing in this from the Communion of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

V. It is evident, that as the Constitution of a Law in any matter Ecclesiastical, the order ever observed in the Church since Kings became *nursing Fathers* thereto, was, is, and ought to be this, That it first pass the consultation and determination of a lawful Ecclesiastical Council; and then, that it receive the sanction and confirmation of the civil Supreme Magistrate; for this gives it the formal strength and vigour of a Law outwardly obliging, and that gives it materiality

ty and ſubſtance, and ſupplies ground ſufficient to make it a Law inwardly obliging Chriſtian People to receive it. So in the promulgation and execution of that Law, concerning a matter Eccleſiaſtical, there was and is this order obſerved: Firſt, the ſupreme civil Magiſtrate remands and recommends it to the Eccleſiaſtical Governours, and they deliver it to the reſt of the Paſtors, and they to the People. So that the immediate actual reception of an Order Eccleſiaſtical by the Miniſters, is from the hand of the Biſhop or Ordinary. And upon this is founded that ſolemn Promiſe made before God by every Miniſter at his Ordination, That he will reverently obey his Ordinary, and other chief Miniſters, unto whom the Government and Charge over him is committed, following with a glad mind their godly admonitions, and ſubmitting himſelf to their godly judgments.

Since then in this matter concerning the Book of *Common-Prayer*, all the required premiſſes were fulfilled, and that any other form, that for the preſent we can uſe, wants all of them, we cannot without breach of our Promiſe forementioned, and diſordered anticipation or neglect of the judgment of our Ordinances, receive any ſuch or other form, conſidering the King's Command concerning the only uſe of the Book of *Common-Prayer* expreſſed in the Act of Parliament is ſtill in force, and the Commands and Conſtitutions of our lawful Convocation of the Biſhops and Clergy, ſtill live and ſpeak unto us, in the Canons made in the year 1634. whereof the third thus expreſly, *That Form of Liturgie or divine Service, and no other, ſhall be uſed in any Church of this Realm, but that which is eſtabliſhed by Law, and comprized in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* VVhich Canon with all the reſt is confirmed and publiſhed by His Majeſties Authority under the great Seal of *Ireland*.

VI It may be added, that the Reformed *Church* of *Ireland*, under the Government of our dread Soveraign the King, is and ever was reputed a free National Church, and not ſubordinate unto or depending upon the convocation of any other Church. And hence it was, that till the Convocation held at *Dublin*, *Anno* 1634. the Articles of the Church of *England* were not held, or reputed the Articles of the Church of *Ireland*, and when they were received, they were not received in any acknowledged ſubordination to the Church of *England*, but for manifeſtation of our agreement with that Church in the confeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as is expreſſed in the firſt Canon. Hence it is, beſides that our Canons were not impoſed by the Church of *England*, nay when ſomewhat highly the Clergy was invited to ſubmit to the Book of *Engliſh* Canons, the Convocation utterly refuſed the ſame, and framed a new Book of Canons for the Church of *Ireland*. Should we therefore receive or admit of any other form, without the Authority of this Church, we ſhould be held and eſteemed before God and the World, guilty of unconſcionably betraying of the Liberty of the free National Church of *Ireland*.

☞ Where by what was controverted by ſome, (as if the Reception of the *Engliſh* Articles aboliſh the *Iriſh*) it was evident there was no ſuch Intention.

VII. The Book of *Common-Prayer* hath been in uſe in this Church from the beginning of the Reformation; we have preached for it, and recommended it to the people as a form of God's publick Worſhip

ſhip and Service: the people of God in this City for the moſt part generally do love it, have been edified by it, are loath to part from it, and earneſtly deſire the continuance of it. Now ſhould we conſent to the taking it away, and receive or uſe any other form not eſtabliſhed by Law, we ſhould not avoid the guilt of Sin, it being all one *to deſtroy that which is well built*, as to build *that which a man once deſtroyed*, which in the Apoſtles judgement (*Gal.* 2. 8.) *renders a man a tranſgreſſor.*

And withall we ſhould, as matters ſtand, give great offence and ſcandal to the Conſciences of our Brethren, and ſo ſin againſt them, who deſerve better at our hand, and for whom Chriſt dyed.

VIII. Laſtly, that reaſon given by the Univerſity of *Oxford* in this point is not to be forgotten, that by our leaving of the Book of Common-Prayer and receiving any other Form, we ſhould condemn the Church and State for the penalties and cenſures againſt Recuſants, and juſtifie them in their accuſations and imputations of injuſtice and tyranny, wherewith they boldly charge both our Churches of *England* and *Ireland.*

The premiſſes conſidered, as we hope your Honours diſcern hereby, that we have not lightly or obſtinately or out of faction, or any ſpirit of oppoſition forborn the exerciſe of our Miniſtry ſince your Honours injunction; ſo we do now with all humility preſent theſe our fervent Petitions to your Honours.

1. *That you would be pleaſed, in pity and compaſſion to the Proteſtants of this City and to us the Miniſters, who elſe by your Injunction aforeſaid, are indangered to be expoſed to baniſhment, loſs of eſtate, and of preſent ſubſiſtance, with our wives and families; to reſtore us to our Churches, Miniſtry, and exerciſe thereof, by permitting of us to uſe the Book of Common-Prayer, in our ſeveral Cathedral and Pariſh Churches, as formerly we uſed the ſame, before your Injunction aforeſaid, and to grant us your Protection therein, till ſuch time as further order be taken by a Convocation of the Clergy, and an Act of Parliament in this Kingdom: and in the mean time we ſhall endeavour to demean our ſelves in the whole courſe of our Miniſtry, with ſuch Chriſtian faithfulneſs and moderation, as that we ſhall (by the help of God) give no juſt occaſion of offence.*

2. *That in caſe your Honours ſhall be pleaſed to grant this Petition, which we hope you will, if after our ſtay and reſidence here, we, or any of us ſhall be by the impoſal of any thing againſt our Conſciences be forced hereafter to depart the Kingdom, we may then reſpectively have free paſſes and convenient time to remove our perſons, families, and goods.*

3. *That during the time of our reſidence here, we may enjoy the profits, benefits and meanes of our ſeveral Church-livings for our ſubſiſtance, which are due or allotted to us by the Law of the Land and Acts of State.*

4. *That whereas the * monthly faſt obſerved hitherto by command of authority on a Friday, was grounded upon the horrid Rebellion of the Iriſh Papiſts, begun, and the danger we were all in, as on that day, wherein the Rebells came to this City to ſurpriſe it, and the evening of that day, was the time wherein that bloody treachery,*

* 30. of *April* 1642. mentioned fol. 77.

and conſpiracy was diſcovered, that we may be permitted ſtill to keep the monthly Faſt on that day, being a day of preparation for the monthly Communion according to our cuſtom theſe five years paſt.

And we ſhall ever pray, &c.

Delivered the 9th. day of July, 1647.
Subſcribed as followeth.

Ed. Laonenſis.	Gilbert Deane.
Jac. Margetſon, *Since* Armachanus.	Dud. Boſwel.
Ben. Culme.	Rob. Parry.
Ambr. Anngier.	Joan. Creighton, Can.
Ja. Sybold.	Edw. Syng. *Since* Arfeitenſis.
Godf. Rhodes.	Rob. Dickſon.
Hen. Hall. *Since* Ep. Academ.	Rand. Ince.
Joſ. War.	Henry Byrch.
Jo. Brookbank.	Rich. Powel.

Fol. 190. l. 36. *the Loyalliſts* An. 1603.] After that the Nuncio was driven to *Galoway*, He the 2d. of *Auguſt* took an occaſion to expoſtulate with the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, about one of the Provincial Fathers of the *Franciſcans* being by the Preſidents Souldiers clap'd up in *Clare-Caſtle*, wondring ſo pious and true a Catholick ſhould permit a Subject of the Apoſtolick See (to which the Clergy are only accountable) to be ſo uſed by Laicks; unto which the * 8th of of *Auguſt* the Marqueſs excellently replied, That unknown to him the Father was (at the Command of the ſupream Council) taken, and by their order was to be brought to *Kilkenny*; He reverenced the Clergy, but could not recede from the Order of that Council, for that the Holy Church gives not *Protection* to Criminals, or the God of Peace *Impunity* tothe Seditious, enlarging well on that Subject; concluding that if (under pretext or title of the Immunities of the Church) any ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, There would be ſoon an end of the State and Temporal juriſdiction. And having been thus entertained by the Nuncio, the Marqueſs freely propoſes to Him theſe Queſtions *, That He might underſtand the difference betwixt the Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical Authority.

* 342.

* 344. *Carul* An. Hib. 314.

Quædam percontationes Reverendiſſimo Domino Nuncio a *Clanrichardiæ* Marchione propoſitæ.

1. *Quâ poteſtate, vel Authoritate Nuncius Regiæ Magiſtatis ſubditos à fide ſua & obedientia Statuto Regni, Regnique Ordinibus debitâ abducat?*

2. *Quâ poteſtate vel Authoritate Tribunos & Centuriones creet, militemque conſcribat, Qui nihil in communem hoſtem molitus Catholicorum Majeſtatis ſubditorum caſtella paſſim expugnet, prædas agat, omnia compilat?*

3. *Quâ*

3. *Quâ poteſtate vel ratione hominibus perjuris faveat, eoſque contra Rectores, univerſique regni Ordines teneat ac tueatur?*

4. *Quâ poteſtate manifeſtos proſcriptos perduelles in retinendis ac propagandis validis munitionibus contra eos. Qui Regni clavum tenent, animet & ſuſtentet?*

5. *Quâ poteſtate Regiæ Majeſtatis obſequium profeſſos, Ejuſque in hoc regno proinde Præfectis adhærentes, quos poteſt, excommunicatos carceribus mancipet, alioſque omnes promiſcue excommunicet?*

To which no Anſwer (that I could ever diſcover) was returned, but his *Will.* Or that of *Anaſtaſius*, *I will command but not be commanded.*

Fol. 190. l. 49. *The Pope Himſelf.*] But before we proceed to that, we ſhall be ſo juſt, that wherein the ſupream Council diſowned the Nuntio's Exorbitances, Oppreſſions and Diviſions through his Inſolency we ſhall manifeſt their reſentment: acquainting you firſt that the Nuntio (diſliking the Ceſſation) writes ſomewhat ſharply to the Supream Council inveighing (with more then ordinary deteſtation) againſt the Lord *Inchiquin*, telling them that it was known through *Europe* how he had ſack'd *Caſhell*, ſlain in St. *Patrick's* Church with horrible Sacriledge ſeveral Prieſts and Women at the Altar, and afterwards compelled many Counties to pay Contribution, and at laſt (even before the Walls of *Kilkenny*) inſulted over the chief Magiſtrate: To which the Supream Council having replied with much reſpect and ingenuity, they (as to this of the Lord *Inchiquin*) told the Nuntio that what he did he did as an Enemy. But upon the Ceſſation (the means to induce a Peace) *Caſhell*, the Cathedral, and all the Churches thereabouts would fall into their Hands, putting the Nuntio further in mind, *That* when there was but a rumour (only) of agreeing with the Parliamentary *Scots*, he was forward to encourage them to joyn in that Aſſociation; *That* their Treaſure was low, that *Jones* had all neceſſary ſupplies from the Parliament, whilſt they lack'd even Corn, *That* the Confederate Commiſſioners (*Ferns* and *Plunket*) returned from *Rome* onely with ſome Reliques, but no Money. Which working nothing upon the Nuntio, (who the 27. of *May* Excommunicated all that adhered to that Ceſſation) the ſupream Council in their Declaration of the 3d. of *June* firſt admoniſhed both ſeculars and Regulars (as all of their Aſſociation) *That* they no wiſe moleſt any of their reſpective Subjects, Prieſts, or Religious, for perſevering in their Loyalty or (in purſuance thereof) for approving the late Ceſſation made by them with the Lord Baron of *Inchiquin*: Which not prevailing, they (in perſuance of the Oath of Aſſociation) the 20th. of *June* 1648. enjoyned this Oath to be taken by all the Confedrate Catholicks.

I A.B. *do ſwear and proteſt before God, and his Saints and Angels, that I will to the uttermoſt of my power obſerve the Oath of Aſſociation, maintain the Authority of the Supream Council, and the Government eſtabliſhed by the general Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, notwithſtanding the preſent Excommunication iſſued forth by the Lord Nuncio, and four Biſhops, againſt the Concluders, Maintainers and Adherents thereof, and unto the Ceſſation concluded with the Lord Baron of* Inchiquin, *and notwithſtanding any*

other Excommunication to be iſſued upon the ſaid Ground; againſt which Excommunication, and thoſe who iſſued it, I do appeal unto his Holineſs as the indifferent Judge. And I do further Swear, that (to the Hazard of my life) I will ſuppreſs and oppoſe any Perſon or Party that ſhall ſtand in Arms in oppoſition of the ſaid Aſſociation.

So help me God.

And that their further ſence (which they ſeemed to be much ſatisfied in) might be fully known, We ſhall here give you their Prolocutors following Letter (who though he joyned with the Confederates) we muſt (from our knowledge of his Parts and Affections) aſſure you (in his own Nature) was not averſe to the *Engliſh* intereſt.

Concilii Catholicorum Regni *Hiberniæ* Denunciatio ad Nuncium.

Domine mi,

PRæceptum mihi eſt ab hoc Generali Regni Conventu, Dominationi tuæ ſignificare varias Oppreſſiones, Diviſiones, Exorbitantia Crimina, & Capitales Offenſas, Quas à Dominatione tua à tribus annis jam penè elapſis in hoc regno commiſſas, & hoc ipſo Tempore in ineffabile Religionis Catholicæ detrimentum, Nationiſque jam tam Antiquæ quam Catholicæ ruinam ac Subverſionem, ſediſque Apoſtolicæ dedecus continuatas ac perpetratas, fœderati Hiberniæ *Catholici ex ſua Officioſa & filiali in ſummum Pontificem reverentiâ nimiâ & inauditâ apud ullam Nationem patientiâ hactenùs toleraverunt, & in hunc uſque diem tolerant, tandem compuliſſe hæc Generalia Comitia ad valida & legitima ejus Preſidia recurrere pro conſervandis Reliquiis Majorum Regni commodorum jam ad proximum integræ Ruinæ punctum actibus tuis, pravaque rerum Adminiſtratione redactorum. Quapropter Dominationem tuam certiorem faciunt, Declarationem,* ac Proteſtationem contra te paratam, & ad ſuam Sanctitatem brevi mittendam eſſe, cujus argumenti partem aliquam (quam tibi placebit notare) incluſum ſcriptum continet, ac deinde ad iter Romam verſus ſuſcipiendum, ibique te contra accuſationem illam defendendam quam primùm parare. Ac interim Dominatio tua ſub interminatione pœnarum, cæteroqui tam divinarum quam humanarum legum vigore incurrendarum, cavebit, ne per ſe, aut per ullum aliud Inſtrumentum, directè, aut indirectè, ullis Regni ſeſe hujus rebus immiſceat. Maneo* Kilkenniæ 19. Octobris 1648.

Dominationis tuæ admodum amicus, de mandato Comitiorum Generalium,

Rich. Blaka, Prolocutor.

Of which and the Conſequences thereupon, ſee *Walſh* f. 581. &c. Where the Clergy (eſpecially Regulars) oppoſed the Supream Authority of the Confederates.

But we ſuſpect this Denunciation of theirs was rather deluſive then entire, for that afterwards we ſhall finde many of the Members of this Council (though it drove the Nuncio out of the Kingdom) ſtomach'd his Majeſties Authority ſeated in his Excellency.

Fol. 228. l. 46. *or allay*] In anſwer to whoſe Revolt it's ſaid (beſides what may be drawn from the *Munſter* Remonſtrance) that Fol. 146.
thoſe Towns declared (with the Lord *Inchiquin*) for the King, in hopes that the Marqueſs would ſo have adjuſted the Differences betwixt them and the *Iriſh*, that there might have been ſuch a viſible power left in Him, as to have managed the Government anſwerable to the Dignities of his Office, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtants and their Religion: But when they perceiv'd that the firſt was ſlighted and the latter not aſcertain'd (nay in effect at the Confederates mercy) they again reflected on their own ſecurity and their Religion, in hope that though they adhered to the Parliament (who at that time had ſhaken off the Regal Power, whereunto they never aſſented) there might yet be a poſſibility (through a Change) to reinveſt all again in the Royal Line with a Preſervation (in the interim) of themſelves and their Religion, which were like wholly to be ruin'd by a joint compliance with the Confederates.

Fol. 265. l. 25. *was Light*] And had he done otherwiſe, his Provoſt Marſhal's Commiſſion (being grounded on the King's Proclamation of the firſt of *January* 1641. to proſecute the Rebels with Fire and Sword, and by Orders of the State forbidden alſo to allow any Quarter to thoſe whom they found in Arms, eſpecially all Prieſts, known Incendiaries of the Rebellion and prime Actors of exemplary Cruelties) might have been brought to have anſwer'd his Contempt at a Councel of VVar.

Fol. 282. l. 25. *Power*] *touching the Articles* of the Rendition, of which ſome Queſtions have riſen eſpecially about *Waterford*, In as much as *Ireton* in vindication thereof publiſhed *There* this *Manifeſt* by way of *Warning* to ſuch as he intended to free the City of, which I am the willinger to inſert, for that the Behaviour of the Inhabitants, the Nature of the Place, and the Genius of the *Iriſh* (devoted to Superſtition) are hereby more clear and ſignificant.

WHEREAS upon the Rendition of the City of *Waterford* to the State of *England*, Articles of Agreement between Commiſſioners on my part, and others of theirs, for and on the behalf of the Soldiers and Citizens of *VVaterford*, it was agreed and concluded (amongſt other things) that all the Inhabitants of the "ſaid City ſhould have liberty to carry away their Goods to what "place they pleaſe within this Dominion or beyond the Seas within "the ſpace of three Months, and ſhould have them protected for their "uſe in the mean time, paying equal Contribution with the reſt of "their Neighbours; And that ſuch of them as ſhould deſire, and be "thought fit to ſtay, ſhould enjoy their Goods there or diſpoſe of "them otherwiſe during their ſtay, paying the like Contribution; "and when they ſhould deſire, or have warning to depart, ſhould "have three Months time from the *warning* given on their part for the "removal of what they have remaining, with ſafe conducts anſwer-"able in the ſeveral caſes aforemention'd reſpectively, as in the 7th. "Article of the ſaid Agreement is expreſt; I have now thought fit to give them *warning to depart* according to the intent of the ſaid Article, whereof all the Inhabiters that then were and yet are within the *ſaid City, and have not had ſuch warning* perſonally otherwiſe, are

are hereby to take notice of it, from the tenth day of *February* inſtant at their perils, and though no other reaſon need be given for the doing of a thing ſo conſonant to, and agreeing with, both the *letter*, and declared intention of the *Article*, yet (for more full, and clear ſatisfaction to all that deſire it) I think it not amiſs to publiſh and declare the reaſons inducing me to it, as followeth.

First, I held my ſelf bound (in diſcharge of that truſt I have from them I ſerve) to put all places of ſtrength now within our power, into ſuch a poſture and condition, before our taking the Field, as that I may (through the bleſſing of God) give a good account of them to thoſe that have intruſted me. And this I thought I could not do without timely giving of ſuch *warning* to the people of this City; who, by their principles and practices (at leaſt for the moſt part) do appear, ſo far diſaffected to us, and the Cauſe and Intereſt we ſerve in, and ſo unlikely to be faithful and truſty to us, (if we ſhould truſt them to ſtay there) eſpecially conſidering that there is yet no Caſtle, or Cittadel, whereby that City can be ſecured from being in the power of the people that inhabit it, without leaving great numbers of Soldiers to overpower them. I need not ſay much to demonſtrate their unfitneſs to be (in ſuch a caſe) confided in by us, their actions ſpeaking ſo loud and large as they do, to that purpoſe, telling us, they are our Enemies; witneſs their practices all the time of this VVar, but more eſpecially in their carriage of late: As to the firſt, all know, and they cannot be ignorant, that the City of *Waterford* hath been one of the chief places in this Dominion which hath maintain'd and upheld the trade of Piracy upon the *Engliſh*, both by receiving the Goods ſo taken by others from the *Engliſh*, and thereby much encouraging thoſe Thieves and Robbers in their wicked Practiſes, and alſo by ſetting forth and maintaining Ships or Frigats of their own for the ſame Pyratical trade. To their carriage of late (eſpecially ſince our endeavouring the reducement of the place) their continued obſtinacy even almoſt to utmoſt extremity and their refuſing all overtures made to them for returning them to their due obedience, and delivery up of that place upon good terms for themſelves (even when it was in their own power to have done it, * having no Garriſon at all in it to over-power them, till they received one from the Enemy, and fetch'd it in with their own Boats from the other ſide of the River in view of our Army then treating fairly with them) are ſufficient arguments of their unfitneſs to be truſted by us in ſo much power of betraying ſuch a place, to the party they ſo much adhere unto, in their judgments and affections. And to this purpoſe I ſhall deſire them but to remember what was offered by the Lord Lieutenant, and refuſed by them when we came * firſt againſt the City; and what trouble, hazard, and expence they have put us to, then and ſince; As alſo what was offered by us a ſecond time in the Treaty at *Dunkit*, and by the Letters proceeding (that occaſion'd it.) And how it was received by them, as ſome of them yet preſent in the City, (acting then as Commiſſioners in the name of the reſt) well know. And how at † laſt they neceſſitated us to march down with our whole Army and Artillery againſt them before they would deliver, and we have no reaſon to think, they had delivered then, but the extremity of ſickneſs, and want of proviſions (together with their own fears of danger)

* Lord General *Farrall*, *vid.* f. 230. putting by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*.

* In *December* 1649. in confidence of the weakneſs of his Forces, and the wetneſs of the Seaſon.

† *Auguſt* 20. 1652.

ger) induced them to it seeing us come prepared in every respect (through God's blessing) to have forc'd them, if they had not yielded: And whether persons that do their utmost to the last in holding out a place against us, upon such an account as they did, be fit to be let stay in that place with us (where they may have such opportunities of betraying it, when the Army may be ingaged at a remote distance) I leave to all rational men to judge, considering we are free by the Articles to turn them out upon due warning.

A further ground leading me to conclude them unfit to be trusted by us in such a case, and in the power of such a place, is, the consideration of those principles in their Religion (owned and pursued by the people of this Nition more evidently than in many others, and so by them in that City) tending in endless violence, injustice, falshood and treachery towards us, whereever they find opportunity, as That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks (which in their sense are all persons not of their Religion) but that (at least) where the keeping of it is to the prejudice, and the breaking of it may be of advantage to the Catholique cause, it may be broken, and any thing (in a manner) is lawful to be done for the advantage of that Cause (at least) if it be with the allowance or dispensation of their Ghostly Fathers; And how dangerous and unsafe it is to keep persons of such differing and destructive principles to the Cause and Interest we serve, in such places of strength and so much in the power of the Inhabitants, I wish them only to make it their own case, and then judge: And though such principles be denied or disowned in the expressions of some, yet sure I am, nothing hath been more clear in the practices of the generality of the people of that Religion in this Nation: as appears in the several times of their Rebellion against the lawful authority which God had set over them (to whom * they have several times sworn to be true and faithful, and as often broke their faith and obligations as engaged) and especially in this Rebellion, by the Murders and Massacres of so many innocent *English* Protestants (in the beginning of it) living in peace and Trust quietly by them: And that this is still their practice (suitable to such principles) I desire those that question it, but to look upon the late actions of many of those that (upon their fair professions to us, and our trust in them for faithfulness or (at least) for innocent and peaceable demeanors towards us) have received protection from us, who, notwithstanding, do (most of them) make it their daily business to do us all the mischief they can (wherever they see an opportunity) and for that purpose do harbor, entertain and encourage those many Tories, in every corner, that, otherwise durst not come into our Quarters, nor could subsist in them undiscovered, or do that mischief as they do, and escape yet from all our Forces and Garrisons (in every corner ready to pursue them) but that (as they are assured and find) the *protected people are friends to them*, * and in their hearts Enemies and false to us, notwithstanding all their professions to the contrary: nay many of the protected people themselves, upon every slight occasion or ground of hope of doing mischief to us, do frequently run from their Habitations, join with the Enemy in Arms, and deliver up their Castles to them; And though, for the shame and ill consequences of such principles to themselves (if owned and profest by them) many do dis-

* The Chief of every *Sept* who formerly at the beginning of each K. since the Conquest swore Allegiance.

* *Tories, Woodkerns*, or any that oppose the Parliament.

diſclaim any ſuch opinions, yea perhaps (from the ſence of thoſe evil conſequences) may, in their preſent and private Judgments, condemn them; yet whilſt they hold entire communion with that Catholick Church (as they account it) which maintains, or holds forth the ſame, and implicitly reſolve their private judgments into the belief or determination of that Church, or (however) do own and adhere to a power (both forreign and adverſe to us) in their Pope, and Clergy, which, they acknowledg, can bind and loſe their conſciences without limitation; It muſt needs follow, that upon the determinations or allowance of that Church, or the injunctions or abſolutions of that power, they muſt, when it comes to trial, unleſs they will renounce that Communion and Dependance, account themſelves not only abſolvable thereby, from all obligations of humane right or duty towards us, to the contrary; but alſo obliged, by an higher bond, and duty, to anſwer and purſue any Injunctions of that CHURCH, or power, in any ways of violence and treachery towards us, which for the upholding or advancement thereof, ſhall be required, or warranted thereby, and they ſhall ſee any opportunity for. Now though theſe and many more ſuch conſiderations and experiences may ſuffice, both to juſtifie us in, and awaken us to, the providing for ſecurity to our ſelves and our Cauſe, againſt ſuch a generation, by all ways, to which, in common Juſtice, we are free (as by this *warning* out theſe Inhabitants in this caſe) and not to truſt them in ſo viſible a power and opportunity to betray or hurt us (as their continuance in that City beyond the period of this *warning* they would have) yet, in humanity and our common Chriſtian charity we cannot but pity Men, ſo miſerably blind-folded and captivated in deluſions (as the generality of them appear) and heartily wiſh and pray, that neither they nor any other might any longer be ſo; and we do not deſire their hurt or prejudice, further than juſtice and neceſſity (for our own and the publick ſafety) do require; and therefore (even in this *warning* given) we have not only conſulted the juſtice and neceſſity leading to it, but alſo the conveniency of time (as to them) for doing of it, that it might be at ſuch a ſeaſon, as might be moſt convenient or leaſt prejudicial to them alſo, which I judge the time of the period of this *warning* to be, in regard that (being in the beginning of *May*) it is the moſt fitting ſeaſon for perſons in ſuch conditions, to provide for themſelves, either by hiring or building themſelves places of Habitation in ſome parts near adjoyning (to be allotted them for that purpoſe) or to march, if they ſo deſire it, by Land, or take a Voyage by Sea, to thoſe places unto which they ſhall deſire to go. And that all may ſee, who do not wilfully ſhut their eyes, that our end is, not to ruin them and inrich our ſelves, but only, to act in order to publique ſafety and ſecurity, I do reſolve (where I can find a ſufficient Character or mark of diſtinction concerning any perſon or perſons, that have not had a hand in the firſt years Rebellion, and Maſſacres, or have diſcovered themſelves to be Friends to the Intereſt and People of *England*, or have not been known to have been eminently active in the proſecution of the War or holding out of that City againſt us) to difference them (*by favour and reſpect ſhewn*) from others, and, in all other caſes, wherein mercy and favour may be ſhewed (without prejudice to publick juſtice and ſafety)

"I do

"I do intend it, and particularly in that of Orphans and Aged and de-
"crepid people and Widdows, whoſe condition is the moſt to be pitied
"in regard many of them may not be able to help themſelves, but if
"they ſhould be turned out with the others immediately, might ſuffer
"much by it, I ſhall therefore take the beſt care and courſe I can for them, to prevent any of thoſe inconveniences that may otherwiſe fall upon perſons in their conditions, and to do for them, as near as I can ſuitable to what their neceſſities may require, and the Condition and State of Affairs under my charge can admit: as, either by continuing them, or ſo many of them in Town, as ſhall be thought fit, or (for thoſe of that condition that do go out) by allotting for them ſome places, near hand, ſuch as may (by induſtry and care of any Friends in their behalfs) be, in moſt reſpects, equal to what benefits they have in Town, or at leaſt contribute competently towards their livelihood and ſubſiſtence, at preſent, until either the ſtate of our Affairs or frame of their Spirits be known to be altered as may admit their return, or a further proviſion for them. Given at *Waterford*, *March*, 1650.

H. IRETON.

Fol. 316. l. 23. *Conſideration*] No mention yet of the King, He was not to be named, though there were but few that ſaw Him not at a diſtance improving each Gale to further his Return, in as much as they continued till *May* 1660. then readily accepting of the Kings Declaration from *Breda*.

Fol. 319. l. 34. *Eminent Sufferings*] for regulating of whoſe Intereſts a Court of Claims was afterwards inſtituted, wherein if the exact Method and Inſtitution ordered by his Majeſties Commiſſion (grounded on the Act of Settlement) were not regularly perſued, It's agreed on by All, *that the Commiſſioners were no loſers by their Imployment*. And that the houſe of Commons (who knew beſt their own ſenſe of ſo important an Act) might have no excentrical proceedings thereupon, they preſented to his Grace an Inſtrument * with Rules and Directions for the Commiſſioners proceedings. "That diſ-
"covering a Cloud (through the Interpoſition of ſome Malevolent
"Planet) it might remain (whether perſued or no) as a Record of their
"Endeavours, That the hard Fate and Ruine of an Engliſh Intereſt
"in *Ireland* might not bear date under the beſt of Kings, under ſo
"vigilant a Lord Lieutenant, under the firſt, and if not prevented, like to be the laſt Proteſtant Parliament there; Which Inſtrument hath ſince magnified that houſe, juſtly ſenſible of intervening Evils.

*By their Speaker, 13. *Feb.* 1662.

TO THE

READER.

Reader,

IN *the Preceding* History *we curſorily mention'd the execrable Barbariſms the* Iriſh *committed* in their Inſurrection, *briefly reflected on in* The * Remonſtrance of the Clergy to the Houſe of Commons in *England* 1642. *out of which, other Examinations, and Authentick Proofs in the* Archives *at* Dublin, *we have collected the enſuing* Murthers, *reducing them to Counties readier for every ones view; Not mentioning the Rebels Mercy, Plundering, Stripping, or Expoſing the Engliſh to Cruelties worſe than Death:* All *being ſhort of that* Number *which (had we time) would ſoon compleat a Volume, eſpecially could we have recover'd Archdeacon* Biſſe *his Examinations taken in* Munſter *(with greater Artifice than Juſtice ſmother'd) who (as an Eminent and Worthy Perſon on the ſame Account the* 12th *of* October 1678.*) was moſt inhumanly Murther'd by the* Iriſh *(as He by the late Conſpirators) expreſſing that to be the*

* Cited in our Hiſt. f. 51, 52.

 Cauſe

Cauſe, viz. The Examinations that were then taken: *Yet what we have here Collected, with Dr.* Robert * Maxwell's *Examination (whoſe Integrity and Candor* None *ever yet dar'd Queſtion) I am confident exceeds* the Martyrologie *of former Ages, and (as a ſolid Divine ingeniouſly, as well as truly obſerv'd on the Faſt-day,* Wedneſday *the* 13th *of* November, 1678.*) is a Wonder, even to Amazement, That more* Arts of Cruelty *have been found out by the* Romiſh Clergy *(propagating their Religion) than* the Heathen Perſecutors *ever reach'd to.*

* Since (viz. 24th of *March* 1643.) Biſhop of *Kilmore.*

A Collection of Murthers in ſeveral Counties of Ireland *committed ſince the* 23^d *of* October, 1641. *abſtracted out of certain Examinations taken by Virtue of Commiſſions under the Great Seal of* Ireland, *which ſaid Particulars are ſingled (amongſt infinite others of that kind) pointing to the Circumſtances, and the Names of the Perſons (or ſome of them) murthering or murthered: The fuller Evidence of which may be found (according to the Quotations) in the Archives of* Dublin, *now in Poſſeſſion of the Clerk of the Council.*

The County of *Antrim.*

THE Rebels confeſſed to this Deponent that they killed in one Morning 954 in this County: And that beſides them, they ſuppoſed they had killed 1100 or 1200 more in that County. } Dr. *Maxwell's* Examination, C. *Armagh*, p. 11, 12.

The County of *Armagh.*

Proteſtants in Multitudes forced over the Bridge of *Portnedown*, whereby at ſeveral times there were drown'd in the River of *Banne* above 1000. } *Gertrude Carliſle*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 3. *Chriſtian Stanhaw*, C. *Armagh*, & *Owen Frankland*, p. 2. *Marg. Bromley*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *Rich. Newberry*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2. *Elinor Fullerton*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2. Dr. *Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 11, 12. *Henry Read*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1. *Elizabeth Price*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *Jone Conſtable*, C. *Armagh*, p. 3. *Thomas Green*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *William Clerk*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *Edw. Saltenſtall*, *Geo. Littlefield* } C. *Armagh*, p. 3

Great

Great Numbers of Proteſtants drown'd at *Corbridge* and *Kynard* in the County of *Armagh*. — Dr. *Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 12. Alex. *Crighton*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1. Will. *Holland*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 3.

Mr. *Fullerton*, Clerk, Mr. *Aubrey*, Mr *Gladwich* murthered in the way towards *Portnedown*. — *William Clerk*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *John Montgomery*, C. *Monaghan*.

Many others Murther'd; 5 murther'd ſoon after the beginning of the Rebellion; 50 murther'd at *Blackwater-Church*; 20 drown'd near the Water of *Callon*, and ſeveral others murther'd. — *Marg. Fillis*, *Chriſt. Stanhaw*, *Owen Frankland*, *Anne Smith*, *Margaret Clerk*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *Elinor Fullerton*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Mr. *William Blundell* drawn by the Neck in a Rope up and down *Blackwater* at *Charlemont* to confeſs money; and three weeks after He, with his Wife and ſeven Children, drown'd. Four and fourty at ſeveral times murther'd: A Wife compell'd to hang her own Husband; with ſeveral other notorious murthers. — *Edw. Saltenſtall*, *Geo. Littlefield*, C. *Armagh*, p. 9.

Mr. *Robinſon* the Miniſter, his Wife, and three Children, and ſeven more murther'd. — *Marg. Bromley*. C. *Armagh*.

Two and twenty Proteſtants put into a thatch'd houſe in the Pariſh of *Kilmore*, and there burned alive. — *Anne Smith*, *Marg. Clerk*, *Marg. Fillis*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1. *Chriſt. Stanhaw*, *Elin. Fullerton*, *Elinor Matchet*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2. *Jone Conſtable*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1, 2.

The Lord *Cauſield* murther'd. — Capt. *Jo. Perkins*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 3.

Dr. *Hodges*, with 43 more, murther'd within a quarter of a mile of *Charlemont*. — *Eliz. Price*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1, 2.

The Wife of *Arnold Taylor* great with Child, had her belly ripp'd up, then drown'd. *Thomas Maſon* buried alive. — *Eliz. Price*, C. *Armagh*, p. 8, 9.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children, caſt into a Bogg-pit in the Pariſh of *Dumcrees*: Many more murther'd. — *Thomas Green*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Fifteen hundred murther'd in three Pariſhes; 27 more murther'd; Mr. *Cambell* drown'd. — *James Shaw*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Three hundred Proteſtants ſtripped naked, and put into the Church of *Loghgall*, whereof about 100 murther'd within the Church; amongſt whom *John Gregg* was quarter'd alive, his Quarters thrown into the face of *Richard Gregg* his Father. The ſaid *Richard* was after there murther'd, having received ſeventeen or eighteen wounds, after cut into Quarters in this Deponents (his Wife's) Preſence. Such as were not murther'd were turn'd out a begging amongſt the Iriſh naked, and into the cold, moſt of which were killed by Iriſh Cripples, their Trulls and Children. — *Alice Gregge*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

One

One hundred and eighty drown'd (at twice) at the Bridge of *Callon*. — Capt. *Anthony Strafford*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

One hundred (ſome ſay two hundred) more in a Lough near *Ballimackilmorrogh*. — Capt. *Anthony Strafford*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Mr. *Gabriel Conſtable*, and his Mother 80 years old, murther'd. — *Jone Conſtable*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Five hundred murther'd at *Armagh*, beſides 48 Families murther'd in the Pariſh of *Killaman*. — Capt. *John Perkins*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 6; *Anth. Strafford*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Three had their Brains knock'd out with a Hatchet within the Church of *Benburb*; 8 Women drown'd in a River under the ſame Church; *Chriſtopher Glover* murther'd. — *John Parry*, C. *Armagh*, p. 2.

Lieutenant *James Maxwell* (by order from Sir *Phelim O Neil*) was dragg'd out of his Bed (raving in the height of a burning Fever) driven two miles and murther'd; his Wife, great with Child, ſtripp'd ſtark naked and drown'd in the *Blackwater*, the Child half born. — Dr. *Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 9. *John Parry*, C. *Armagh*, p. 3.

Mr. *Starkey* (about 100 years old) and his two daughters ſtrip'd naked, the Daughters forced to ſupport and lead their Father (he being not able to go of himſelf) and having gone three quarters of a mile, were all three drown'd in a Turfpit. — Dr. *Maxwell*, C. *Armagh*, p. 9. Capt. *John Perkins*, C. *Tyrone*, p. 6, 7.

Divers Engliſhmen in the Pariſh of *Levilegiſh* murther'd. — *John Cregge*, C. *Armagh*.

Mrs. *Howard*, Mrs. *Franklan* (both great with Child) and ſix of their Children murther'd. — *Katherine Harcourt*, C. *Armagh*.

The County of *Caterlagh*.

Richard Lake hang'd at *Leighlin-bridge*, 16 more hang'd near that Place, two murther'd near *Caterlagh*, two Women hang'd up by the hair of their heads all night, the next day being found ſtill alive, they were murther'd. — *James Shaw*, C. *Caterlagh*, p. 1.

At or near *Leighlin-bridge* three Men with their Wives and Children murther'd, one Woman and her Daughter murther'd, a Woman newly deliver'd of two Children, the one of them had his Brains beaten out againſt the Stones, and after thrown into the River *Barrow*, the other deſtroy'd; about 40 Engliſh murther'd thereabouts. Almoſt all the Engliſh about *Gowran* and *Wells* hang'd and murther'd. — Dame *Anne Butler*, C. *Caterlagh*, p. 1. *Joſeph Wheeler* Eſq. C. *Kilkenny*. Sir *John Temple* f. 129.

The

The County of *Cavan.*

Many Proteſtants forced over the Bridge of *Belturbet* in the County of *Cavan*, and there drown'd. — *William North*, C. *Cavan*, p. 2. *John Whitſon*, C. *Cavan*. *Arth. Culm* Eſq. C. *Cavan*, p. 6. *Rob. Bennet*, *Rich. Smith*, *Jone Killin*, C. *Cavan*, p. 1. *Symon Weſtham*, C. *Cavan*, p. 3. *Marm. Batemanſon*, C. *Cavan*, p. 1. *John Stephenſon*, C. *Cavan*, p. 3. *Jane Cuthbertſon*, *Elizabeth Poke*, C. *Cavan*, p. 1. Mr. *Rich. Parſons*, C. *Cavan*, p. 6.

Adam Bayly and ſeveral others murther'd at *Kilkolly* in the County of *Cavan*. — *Jane Cuthbertſon*, C. *Cavan*, p. 1, 2. *Alex. Anderſon*, C. *Cavan*, p. 5. *Jennet Kerns*, C. *Cavan*, p. 1. *Symon Grame*, p. 1.

William Rocket drown'd near *Belhorbet*. — *Sarah Ranſon*, C. *Fermanagh*.

Several Scotch Families deſtroy'd, two of the *Hovies* and *Abraham Jones* murther'd, with ſeveral other murthers committed at *Butlers-bridge*. — *Rich. Parſons*, C. *Cavan*, p. 5, 6.

A diſtracted Gentleman run through with a Pike, he laughing the while. — *Symon Weſnam*, C. *Cavan*, p. 3.

The County of *Clare.*

Chriſtopher Hebditch and ſixteen more Engliſh Proteſtants murthred at or near the Caſtle of *Inchecrony*. — *Bertrice Hebditch*, C. *Clare*, p. 1, 2.

The County of *Cork.*

Thomas Lencome and his Wife hang'd at their own door; *John Seller* a Miller cut in pieces hard by *Roſs*; *John Carpenter* and his Wife hang'd in Mr. *Morgan*'s Wood, and their 3 Children ſtarv'd in the Place; *Mary Tukeſbury* hang'd near thereunto; Mr. *Tamuſe* a Chirurgion-barber kill'd in the Streets of *Roſs* by one *Chriſtopher Cloud*. — *Peter Perce* of *Roſs-carborough*, C. *Cork*.

The County of *Donnegall.*

William Mackenny and his Mother in Law, and his Wife great with Child, murther'd, his ſaid Wife having her belly ripped up, and the Child cut out of the Womb. — *Ralph Dutton*, *Anne Dutton*, C. *Donnegall*, p. 2.

Robert

Robert Akins Clerk, and thirteen more murther'd at *Caſtledoe*. — *Mulrony Carol*, C.*Donneg*,p.1.

Sixty perſons that came in Boats from *Killala* murther'd by the *Mac Swines* and *O Boyles*. — *Andrew Adair*, Eſq.C.*Mayo*,p.5

The County of *Down*.

Eighty forced to go on the Ice on *Logh-earn* till they brake the Ice, and were drown'd. — *Peter Hill* Eſq. C. *Down*, p.13, 14.

Mr. *Tudge* (the Miniſter of *Newry*) Lieutenant *Trevor* and his wife, and 24 more (ſome count 50) murther'd and cut in pieces at the Paſs of *Ballonery*. — *Peter Hill* Eſq. C.*Down*, p.13. *Eliz. Pierce*, C. *Down*, p.1. Capt.*Hen.Smith*, C.*Down*, p.7. *Arth.Macgennis*, C.*Down*, p.1.

Divers murther'd at *Caſtle-Iſland* and *Down*. — *Will.Gore*, C.*Down*, p.1.

A Scotchman, an Engliſhman, & a Welchman impriſoned in the Stocks at *Newcaſtle*, where they lay without breeches upon raw Hides, that their joints rotted, inſomuch that when two of them were afterwards hang'd, one of their feet fell off by the Anckle. — *Eliz. Pierce*, C.*Down*, p.2.

A Scotchman being driven out of the *Newry*, was knock'd on the head by the Rebels; yet recovering himſelf, came naked again into the Town, whereupon the Rebels carried him and his wife out of Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skein rip'd up his wives belly, ſo as a Child drop'd out of her womb. — *Owen Frankland* of the City of *Dublin*, Sir *John Temple*. Hiſt.p.96.

A Dier's wife of *Roſs-Trevor* was kill'd at the *Newry*, and her belly rip'd up by the Rebels (ſhe being great with Child of two Children) who threw her and her Children into a ditch, and that he, this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of her Children. — *Philip Taylor*, C. *Armagh*, Sir *Je. Temple* Hiſt.p.97.

The Rebels confeſſed that Col. *Brian O Neil* kill'd about 1000 in this County, beſides 300 kill'd at *Killelagh*. — Dr. *Maxwell's* Examination.

At *Servagh-bridge* 100 drown'd, more 80, more 60, more 50, more 60, 27 men murther'd. — Cap.*Hen.Smith*, C.*Down*, p.7.

The County of *Dublin.*

About the 28th of *December*, 1641. the wife of *Joſeph Smithſon* Miniſter, was carried from *Deans-grange* near *Dublin* to *Stellorgan*, from thence to *Powerſcourt*, and there ſhe and her ſervant hang'd. — *Joſeph Smithſon*, C. *Dublin*, p. 1.

Henry Maudeſley hang'd at *Moore-town*. — *Geo. Caſhell*, C. *Dublin*, p. 1.

Mr. *Pardoe* a Miniſter, and *William Rimmer* a packet Poſt, murther'd at *Balrothery*, Mr. *Pardoe* being afterwards caſt on a Dunghill, and his head eaten with Swine. — *Tho. Clitheroe* Clerk, C. *Dublin*, p. 2.

Derrick Hubert of *Holm-Patrick* Eſq murther'd the 2d of *December*, 1641. — *Marg. Hubert*, C. *Dublin*, p. 1.

Nicholas Kendiff murther'd near *Dublin* ſince the Ceſſation. — *John Johnſon*, C. *Dublin*, p. 1.

Robert Fagan murther'd at *Clunduff*. — *Marg. Fagan*, C. *Dublin*.

The County of *Fermanagh.*

Arthur Champion and 16 more murther'd at *Shanock-Caſtle*; at another time 24; at another time two more murther'd. — *William Ban*, p. 2. *Patrick O Bryan*, C. *Ferman.* p. 2. *Rob. Aldrick*, C. *Monaghan.* *Eliz. Dowsbury*, C. *Fermanagh.*

One *Fermency* killed, and 14 hanged. — *Eliz. Fletcher*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 1. *Marg. Fermency*, C. *Fermanagh.*

Seven hang'd at one time, and divers others put to death. — *Marg. Barlow*, C. *Fermanagh.*

Eighty (ſome write 150) Men, Women, and Children, burn'd and killed in the Caſtle of *Liſgorl* in the County of *Fermanagh*. — *Matthew Brown*, C. *Monaghan.* *Alice Champian*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 3. *Jo. Sympſon* Gent. C. *Fermanagh.*

Ninety Proteſtants murther'd at *Moneagh-Caſtle*, 80 at *Tullagh-Caſtle*; near *Cordiller* three hang'd; one more hang'd. — *Tho. Wenſlow*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 1, 2.

Mr. *Middleton* and 100 more murther'd by *Rowry Mac-Guire* at *Caſtleskeagh*. — Sir *John Dunbar's* Relation.

Fourteen Proteſtants hang'd. — *Rob. Flack*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 2, 3.

Fourty Proteſtants in the Pariſh of *Newtown* murther'd. — *John Parry*, C. *Fermanagh.*

Eighteen (ſome write ſeventeen) half hang'd in the Church of *Clowniſh*, and ſo buried. — Mrs. *Aldrich*, Sir *John Temple* Hiſt. p. 95.

Thirty murther'd in the Pariſh of *Clankelly*. — *Hugh Stokes*, C. *Fermanagh.*

Twelve more murther'd in *Newtown*. — *Robert French*, C. *Fermanagh.*

William Ogden murther'd. — *Anne Ogden* his wife, C. *Ferman.*

Parſon *Flack* and 40 more (after promiſe of ſafe conveyance to *Balgſhanon*, drown'd by *Rowry Mac-Guire* and his Confederates. — Sir *John Dunbar's* Relation.

One

One hundred fifty and two (another says 100) murther'd at *Tully*, after quarter given or promised them. — *Rob. Aldrich*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1. *Rich. Bourk*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 1.

Fifteen hang'd at *Lowtherstown*; two murther'd at *Kynally*. — *Rich. Bourk*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 1.

A Child of *Thomas Strattons* of *Newton* boild to death in a Chaldron. — *Marg. Parkin*, *Eliz. Barsill*, Sir *John Temple*'s Hist. p. 101.

The County of *Gallway*.

Mr. *Adam Novell* and six more, hang'd and murther'd by the Lord of *Clanmorris*. — *Will. Shuttleworth*, C. *Gallway*.

Hugh Langridge murther'd near *Loghreogh*, having received near sixteen wounds, and his Son having nine wounds and left for dead, yet recovered. — *Ralph Lambert*, C. *Gallway*, p. 1, 2

Mr. *Corbet* an ancient Minister, had his head cut off by two young Cowheards near *Loghreogh*. — Idem p. 2.

The Son of an Englishman murther'd; a Child so beaten as he died within three days. — Idem p. 2, 3.

Sixty five Protestants (some say eighty, some ninety, many of them Ministers) were murther'd at the Bridge of *Shreel* alias *Shruel*, *Ludovicus Jones* being amongst the rest hurried there to that intent, but escaped and died at *Dublin* 1646. aged 104. — *Eliz. Bucanan*, C. *Mayo*, p. 1. *Hen. Bringhurst*, C. *Mayo*, p. 2, &c. *John Goldsmith* Clerk, p. 6. *Hen. Langford*, *Rob. Brown*, *James Brown* C. *Roscommon*, p. 3. *Thomas Johnson*, C. *Mayo*, p. 3. *Andrew Adaire* Esq. C. *Mayo*, p. 5 *Thomas Hawit*, C. *Mayo*, p. 3.

The County of *Kerry*.

Mrs. *Whittell*, her husband, and eight more murther'd on Sir *Valentine Brown*'s Lands; *John* and *Simon Heard* killed near *Castlehaven*; Goodman *Cranbee* his wife and children murther'd; seven drown'd by *O Doinfaint*'s Rebels. — *John Heard* and *Fortune* his wife of *Kilarney* in the County of *Kerry*.

Anthony Field's wife and seven more destroy'd by Sir *Valentine Brown*'s Tenants. — *Anthony Field*, C. *Kerry*.

Mrs. *Burrill* kill'd in her house by her own Servant; *Laurence Parry*, his two Sisters, and Mr. *Edward Lassell* starv'd to death; Mrs. *Hussie*, her son and daughter, and many more killed going from *Macrone* to *Cork* (with a Convoy which the Lord *Muskerry* did allow her) within a mile of *Cork*. — *Eliz. Willington*, C. *Kerry*.

The County of *Kildare*.

Ralph Heyward (having turn'd to Maſs) was murther'd, his wife and children hang'd, the one at her neck, the other at her girdle; a Dog and a Cat hang'd with them. — *will. Hewetſon* Clerk, C. *Kildare*

Robert Woods ſhot to death. — *will. Collis*, C. *Kildare*, p. 1.

John Morley, his wife and children, and one *John Plivie* (after they were turn'd to Maſs) murther'd. — *Robert Brown*, C. *Kildare*, p. 1.

The County of *Kilkenny*.

About the 20th of *December*, 1641. the Proteſtants were ſtripped naked at *Kilkenny*, and whereas ſome of thoſe ſtrip'd People with Ropes of Straw covered ſome part of their nakedneſs, the Rebels ſet the Straw on fire, thereby burning and grievouſly ſcorching them. Six Souldiers and two Boys having quarter given them, were nevertheleſs hanged at *Kilkenny*. — *John Maior* of the City of *Kilkenny*, p. 1, 3.

A young Girle ſtrip'd about *Eaſter* 1642. in the City of *Kilkenny* by a Butcher, her belly rip'd up that her Intrals fell out; where the Maior (upon Complaint of the Mother) bade away with her and diſpatch her, whereupon the mother received ſeventeen or eighteen wounds, and her other Child was alſo extreamly wounded, and all forced out of the City by Men, Women, and Boys, throwing ſtones and dirt at them, ſo as the two Children died in a Ditch. — *will. Parkinſon*, C. *Kilkenny*, p. 4. *James Benn*, City *Kilkenny*, p. 1, 4. *John Maire*, City *Kilkenny*, p. 2, 3. *Anne Madeſly*, C. *Kilkenny*, Sir *John Temple* Hiſt. p. 96.

At *Kilkenny* ſeven Engliſhmen hang'd, and one Iriſhman becauſe he was taken in their company. — *Anne Madeſly*, C. *Kilkenny*, p. 1.

Twelve murther'd at the *Graige*, one of them (being a woman great with child) had her belly rip'd up, the child falling out alive, and a child of a year and a half old hang'd. Another of them named *Robert Pyne* (being twice hang'd up) was caſt into his Grave, where he ſate up, ſaying, *Chriſt receive my ſoul*, and ſo was buried quick. — *Joſeph Wheeler* Eſq. Commit. *Kilkenny*, p. 5.

An old man hang'd, and afterwards drag'd up and down till his Bowels fell out. — Idem p. 5.

Chriſtopher Morley and two Engliſh boys at *Caſtle-Comer* hang'd. Another had his head clove, and before he was dead, hung on his Father's Tenter-hooks. — *will. Parkinſon*, C. *Kilkenny*, p. 2. *Jo. Watkinſon*, Clerk Com. *Kilkenny*, p. 2.

About

About sixty men, women, and children more murther'd at the *Graige*; many of them buried alive. — *Jo. Maine* City *Kilkenny*, p. 3, 4

At *Balincolough*, within four miles of *Ross*, *April* 1642. *John Stone* of the *Graige*, his son, his two sons in Law, and his two daughters were hang'd; one of his daughters being great with child, had her belly rip'd up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned. — *Owen Frankland* of the City of *Dublin*.

In *Kilkenny*, *Richard Philips* and five other Souldiers under Capt. *Farrall* (a Captain on his Majestie's Party) were (by the command of the Lord *Mountgarret*) at the end of an House hang'd to death about *Easter*, 1642.

The King's County.

Mrs. *Jane Addis* of *Kilcoursie* (after her going to Mass) murther'd in her House in *Fox Country Com. Regis*, having a child not a quarter old; the Murtherers putting the dead woman's Breast into the child's mouth, bade it suck English bastard, and so left it. — *Margery King*, King's County, p. 1. *James Dowdall*, K.C. p. 3. *John Wild*, C. *Westmeath*, p. 1. *Thomas Fleetwood*, C. *Westmeath*, p. 5, 6.

Arthur Scot murther'd at *Lissooney*, having twenty wounds given him: Another Englishman hang'd at the same place. — *Thomas Scot*, C. *Regis*, p. 2.

Two men murther'd at *Philips-town*. — *James Dowdall* K.C. p. 3.

Seven murther'd at the *Birr*. — *Rich. Wilkinson*, K.C. p. 2.

Thomas Horam hang'd at *Philips-town*. — *Hugh Robert*, K.C. p. 1.

Henry Bigland and eleven more hang'd and murther'd about *Knocknemeis*. — *Rob. Bigland*, K. C.

A woman aged eighty years stripped naked in frost and snow by two daughters of *Rowry Coghlan* of *Fercall-wood*, before whose door she died. — *Henry Ayliff*, K. C. p. 1.

John Lurcan murther'd and chopped in pieces. — Idem p. 6.

Four English murther'd at *Terence Coghlans* House (*Kilkolgan*) about *December* 1641. — *Tho. Le Strange* K.C. p. 5.

Two and twenty widows, and several stripped naked, who covering themselves in a House with straw, the Rebels fired the straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them; and they had been burn'd had they not been rescued by others, who turn'd them out naked in frost and snow, so as many died, yea the children died in their mothers arms. — *Magdalen Redmain*, K.C. p. 1. *Isabel Porter* alias *Bryan*, K. C. p. 1, 2.

The

The County of *Lytrim.*

Mr. *William Liſton* and Mr. *Thomas Fullerton* (Clerks) kept two days without meat or drink, and then murther'd near *Mannor Hamilton* 24 of *January* 1641. — *Andrew Adaire*, C. *Mayo*, p. 6.

An Engliſh child taken by the heels, had its brains daſh't out againſt a block of Timber. — *Andrew Adaire*, C. *Mayo*, p. 6.

The County of *Limerick.*

A Miniſter, his wife, and four children murther'd by *Hugh Kenedy* and his followers near *Limerick.* — *Anne Sherring*, C. *Tipperary.*

The County of *Londonderry.*

Six hundred Engliſh murther'd at *Gervagh* by Sir *Phelim O Neil.* — Dr. *Maxwel.*

The County of *Longford.*

Many cruelly murther'd at *Longford* after quarter promiſed. — *Rich. Martin*, C. *Longford*, p. 1. *Eliz. Traſford*, C. *Longford*, p. 2. *Iſabel Allen*, C. *Longford*, p. 1.

William Steel and four others hang'd at a Windmill near to *Racleen* till they were half dead, and then cut in pieces by the Rebels. — *John Stibbs*, C. *Longford*, p. 1. *Suſanna Steel*, C. *Longford*, p. 2.

The wife of *Henry Mead* hang'd; the ſaid *Henry* himſelf being placed in a Ring amongſt the Rebels, each ſtabbing of him as he was forced to flie from ſide to ſide, and ſo continued till his ſhoulder and breaſt were cut in two with a Bill-hook. — *Suſanna Steel*, C. *Lanford*, p. 2.

George Foſter, his wife and child, and the wife of *John Bizell* murther'd at *Ballinecorr*; one other drown'd; ſome children there buried alive. — Eadem p. 3.

The County of *Lowth.*

Eighteen of the Lord *Moore*'s Servants murther'd at *Mellifont* by Col. *Cole Mac Bryan*, *Mac Mahon* and his Followers, who would not ſuffer them to be buried. — *John Montgomery*, C. *Monaghan.*

The

The County of *Mayo*.

About ſeven and twenty Proteſtants, beſides Children drown'd in the Bay or Harbour near *Killala*, by the Inſtigation of the Friers. — *Hen. Bringhurſt*, C. *Mayo*, p.8.

Thirty or forty Engliſh (formerly turn'd Papiſts) drown'd in the Sea near *Killala*. — *John Goldſmith* Clerk, p.8.

A young boy (Mr. *Montgomerie*'s ſon) killed by one that had been his School-maſter; the boy the while crying, *Good Maſter do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will.* A man wounded and buried alive. A Miniſter murther'd after he had gone to Maſs: another hang'd near *Ballyhen*. — Idem p.9.

At the *Moyne* alias *Mogne*, 59 Proteſtants ſtripped naked, and after barbarouſly murther'd; ſome encreaſe the number much. — *Tho. Hewet*, C. *Mayo*, p.6. *Hen. Langford*, C. *Roſcommon*, p.3.

William Gibb and his wife (both very old) murther'd at the *Moyn*. — *John Shrewly* Clerk, C. *Sligo*.

One hundred and twenty men, women, and children ſtripped naked, and after murther'd at *Bellick* alias *Belleeke*. — *Andr. Adaire* Eſq. C. *Mayo*, p.4, 5.

George Buchanan mortally wounded, was near the *Strade* buried alive by *Edmond O Maghery* and his followers. — *Thom. Hewet*, C. *Mayo*, p.6.

Auguſt 1643. the wife of *John Gardiner* of the Barony of *Carrogh*, having leave, and a Convoy of two Iriſhmen, to viſit her children at *Bellick*, was by the ſaid Convoy cruelly murther'd. — Idem p.7.

At the *Moyn* the Rebels forced one *Simon Lepers* wife to kill her husband, and then cauſed her ſon to kill her, and then hang'd the ſon. — *John Rutledge*, Sir *John Temple*'s Hiſt. p. 100.

The County of *Meath*.

Near *Navan* the ſon of *James Wignall* murther'd about *Novemb.* 1641. — *James Wignall* C. *Meath*, p.1, 2.

Mrs. *Heglin* and her daughter, with two children, murther'd at *Wilkins-town* by two men hired thereto for two barrels of wheat; and *Robert Robin* murther'd near Sir *William Hill*'s Houſe. — *William Midcalf*, C. *Meath*. *James Pennicook*, C. *Meath*, p.2, 3.

Mr. *John Ware* murther'd at *Moylagh*. — *William Potter*, p.1, 2.3.

Four more hang'd at the *Navan*. — *Dennis Kelly*, C. *Meath*, p.1.

An Engliſh woman (a Papiſt) murther'd at *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*'s Houſe at *Clonard*. — *James Dowdall*, K. C. p.3.

The

The murther of *Thomas Preſſick* and others at *Trim*. — See for that part of a Letter from Mr. *Richard Tanniſon* of *Trim*, Miniſter, *April* 13. 1674. to an honourable and right reverend Perſon. In the firſt year of the late horrid Rebellion, &c. as in annexed paper.

The County of *Monaghan*.

Many Proteſtants hang'd at *Carrick-mac-croſs*. — *Robert Branthwait.* *Robert Boyle* Clerk, p. 1. *Jane Hughes* *Eliz. Williams* p. 2. All of the County of *Monaghan*.

Sixteen Proteſtants at once hang'd at *Clouniſh*; ſeveral others there alſo hang'd; and ſixteen women and children drown'd in a Turf-pit. — *Rob. Aldrich*, p. 3. *James Gowen*, p. 2. *Hencragh Beamond*, p. 1 C. *Monaghan*. *Francis Winn*, C. *Fermanagh*, p. 1.

The Deponent's father and ſon murther'd. — *Eliz. Northop*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1.

Richard Blancy Eſq. hang'd. — *Geo. Cottingham* *Hen. Steel* C. *Monagh*, p. 1.

Some murther'd in *Monaghan*. — *Bridget Leigh*, C. *Monagh*, p. 1.

Seven murther'd in the *Fews*, Enſign *Lloyd* and others murther'd, and one buried quick. — *Jo. Mongomry*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 11. *Jane Hughes*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1.

John Hughes and 24 murther'd.

Eighteen murther'd. — *John Martin*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1.

Seventeen men, women, and children drown'd at *Ballyroſs*. — *Eliz. Clerk*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 1.

Many murther'd, and four drown'd. — *Geo. Cottingham*, C. *Monaghan*.

Cornet Clinton and his Grandchild drown'd; many others murther'd. — *Will. Holland*, C. *Monaghan*, p. 2.

The Queens County.

Five murther'd, wherof one was an Engliſh woman (turn'd to Maſs) great with child, who was ſhot. — *John Carpenter*, Queen's County, p. 2.

John Nicholſon and his wife murther'd by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* and his Servants on the Sabbath-day, the firſt Deponent hardly eſcaping death for burying them. *Elizabeth Baſkervile* ſays that Mrs. *Fitz-Patrick* blam'd the murtherers becauſe they brought not Mrs. *Nicholſons* fat or greeſe wherewith ſhe might have made Candles. — *Walter Diſhcome*, Q. C. p. 1. *Emanuel Beale*, Q. C. p. 1. *Thomas Berry* *John Berry* Q. C. p. 1. *Eliz. Baſkervile*, Q. C. p. 2.

Thomas

Thomas Keyes (a Juſtice of Peace of the Queens County) Eſq. aged 66. and *Thomas Dubbleday* hang'd near *Burroughs Caſtle*, and *Dubbleday* ſhot as he was hanging, both being firſt ſtripped naked, gored and pricked in ſeveral Parts of their Bodies. — *Thom. Holt*, Q.C. p.1,2,3. *Elinor Reges*, Q. C. p. 1. *Samuel King*, Q.C. p.2.

Amy Mamphins husband murther'd, and ſhe compelled to ſtand in his blood, and ſhe being ſtripped naked, was drawn by the Hair through Thorns, and after ſent away. — *Amy Mamphin*, Q. C. p.1.

An Engliſh Girl half hang'd, and ſo buried. — *Joſeph Wheeler* Eſq. C. *Kilk.* p.2.

Six Engliſh hang'd by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* after quarter given 1641. — Lieut *Hen. Gilbert*, Q.C. p.1.

Near *Kilfeckell* an Engliſh man and his wife and four or five children hang'd by command of Sir *Morgan Kavanagh*, and Mr. *Robert Harpole*, all afterwards caſt into one hole, the youngeſt child (not fully dead) putting up the hand, and crying *Mammy, Mammy*, yet buried alive. — *William Parkinſon* Eſq. C. *Kilkenny*, p.4.

Mary Harding put in the Stocks and whip'd to death, and her husband ſtarv'd to death by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* and his Followers, after they had given him all their Goods in his Promiſe to relieve them and theirs. — *Joan Bidel* of *Montrah.*

The County of *Roſcommon.*

Sixteen Engliſh hang'd at *Ballilegue* by *Oliver boy Fitz-Gerald* of *Bellilegue*. — *Edw. Pierſon*, C. *Roſcommon*, p.1.

Nine murther'd at *Ballinafad*, whereof four were children, and one woman great with child, through whoſe belly the Rebels thruſt their Pikes as ſhe was hanging, becauſe (as they ſaid) the child ſhould not live. — *Eliz. Holywell*, C. *Roſcommon*, p. 1.

John Price and ſeveral others murther'd in *Athlone*. — *John Dodwell*, C. *Roſcommon*, p.2

William Stewart had Collops cut off him being alive, fire coles put into his mouth, his belly ripp'd up, and his entrals wrapped about his neck and wriſts. — *Andr. Adaire* Eſq. C. *Mayo*, p.6.

The County of *Sligo*.

Mr. *Thomas Stewart* Merchant, and ſeven and thirty Proteſtants put into the Goal of *Sligo*, all except two or three murther'd there the ſame night, by divers breaking in upon them at midnight; for proof whereof ſee the Examinations of — *Edw. Braxton*, C. *Sligo*, p. 1. *Amy Hawkesworth*, C. *Roſcommon*. *Ralph Lambert* C. *Gallway*, p. 3. *Hen. Langford*, *Rob. Brown*, *James Brown* } C. *Roſc.* p. 1, 2, 3. *Will. Welſh*, C. *Sligo*, p. 3.

Four murther'd that day in the Streets of *Sligo*. — *John Harriſon* Eſq. C. *Sligo*, p. 1. *John Goldſmith* Clerk, C. *Mayo*, p. 8.

Elizabeth Beard was killed in the River by a Friars man. — *Jane Stewart*, C. *Sligo*, p. 1. as her Examination before Sir *George Shirley*.

A Friar with ſome Souldiers undertaking to conduct Mr. *Thomas Walker* a Miniſter, his Man, and two Gentlewomen from *Roſerk* to *Abbeyboyle*, the Friar riding away, they fell into an ambuſh laid for them, where Mr. *Walker* (being on his knees at prayer) they cleft his skull to his mouth, kill'd his man, and ſtripped the women, one of which was afterwards murther'd at *Ballymoate*. — *John Shrawly*. Clerk, C. *Sligo*, p. 1, 1.

Five and forty men, women, and children murther'd and deſtroy'd near *Ballyſekerry* — Idem p. 2.

Mr. *William Ollifant* Clerk, ſtripp'd half naked at *Temple-houſe*, and after drag'd with a rope about his neck at a Horſe-heels up and down, becauſe he would not turn Papiſt; another Miniſter at the ſame time murther'd, 1641. — *Andrew Adaire*, C. *Mayo*, p. 4. *Jane Brown*, p. 7. *John Harriſon* Eſq. p. 1.

At *Ardneglas* and *Skreen* about thirty Proteſtants, men, women, and children murther'd. — *Hen. Langford*, C. *Roſc.* p. 3.

Ten men, women, and children buried alive near *Titemple* or *Temple-houſe*. — *Andr. Adaire* Eſq. C. *Mayo*, p. 4

In *Sligo* the Rebels forced one *Lewis* the younger to kill his Father, and they hang'd the Son. — *John Rutledge*, Sir *John Temple's* Hiſt. p. 100.

The

The County of *Tipperary*.

January 1641. fifteen men, women, and children, Proteſtants, murther'd in *Caſhell*, and near *Caſhell* three or four Children murther'd by a Convoy. — *Edw. Banks* Clerk, p. 1, 2.

Four and twenty Engliſh (after they had revolted to the Maſs) murther'd at the Silver-mines. — *Anne Sherring*, C. *Tipperary*, p. 1. *Rich. Bourk* C. *Fermanagh*, p. 3. *John Powell*, C. *Tipperary*, p. 1. *William Tims*, C. *Tipperary*.

James Hooker Gent. and Mr. *John Stuckley* and ſix more murther'd on Sir *Richard Everet*'s Land; Mr. *Richard Walker* and ten more hang'd at *Rathell*. *George Crawford* and above fifty more murther'd. *Joyce* a Maid of Mr. *Walkers* buried alive; Mr. *Carr*, Mr. *Carter*, and ſome eighteen more hang'd and murther'd near *Caſhell*; Mr. *Daſhwood* (to whom the Rebels gave Quarter and Convoy to *Michaels-town*) by one *Prender-gaſt-Prender* murther'd on his own Land. — *Anne Long* widow, C. *Tipperary*, Examination.

The County of *Tyrone*.

Robert Bickerdick and his wife drown'd in the *black Water*; *Thomas Carliſle* put to death; *James Carliſle* and his wife alſo murther'd; and ſo were about 97 more. — *Gertrude Carliſle* C. *Tyrone*, p. 2, 3.

The murther of Mr. *John Mather* and Mr. *Blyth* (both Clerks) in or near *Dungannon*, though Mr. *Blyth* had Sir *Phelim O Neils* Protection; and ſixty Families of the Town of *Dungannon* murther'd. — *John Perkins* Eſq. C. *Tyrone*, p. 1. *Anthony Stratford*, C. *Armagh*, p. 1.

Near three hundred murther'd in the way to *Colrain* by direction from Sir *Phelim O Neil* and *Firlagh* his Brother. — Idem *Perkins*, p. 6.

In and about *Dungannon* three hundred and ſixteen murther'd; between *Charlemont* and *Dungannon* above four hundred murther'd; drown'd at and in the River of *Benburb* and *Blackwater* 206. — Idem *Stratford*, p. 1.

Thirteen murther'd one morning by *Patrick mac Crew* of *Dungannon*; Two young Rebels did murther in the County of *Tyrone* one hundred and forty women and children; the wife of *Bryan Kelly* of *Loghgall* murther'd five and forty with her own hands. — Idem *Stratford*, p. 1.

At a Milpool in the Pariſh of *Killamon* were drown'd in one day 300. — Idem p. 2.

Eighteen Scotch Infants hang'd on Clothiers Tenterhooks; and one young fat Scotchman murther'd, and Candles made of his Greaſe; another Scotchmans belly ripp'd up, and the end of his ſmall guts tied to a Tree, then he drawn about till his guts were pulled out, that they might try (ſaid they) whether a Dogs or a Scotchmans guts were longeſt. — Idem p. 3.

The County of *Weſtmeath.*

In *Kilbeggan* a boy and two women hang'd, one of them having a ſucking child, deſired it might be buried with her, knowing it would ſuffer afterwards, but it was caſt out and ſtarved to death. — *John Naghtin*, C. *Weſtmeath*, p. 2

William Sibthorp Pariſh-Clerk of *Mollingar* hang'd; *Edmund Dalton* and Mr. *Mooreheads* Son murther'd. — *Thomas Fleetwood* Clerk, C. *Weſtmeath*, p. 6, 7, 8.

The County of *Wickloe.*

Edward Snape and two others hang'd (*Nov.* 1641.) in *Knockrath-Park.* — *Thom. Hollway*, C. *Wickloe.*

John the Son of *William Leeſon*, ſtripp'd and hang'd at *Balligarny*, *Nov.* 1641. — *Will. Leeſon*, C. *Wicklo*; *Eliz. Leeſon*, C. *Wicklo* p. 1.

A young child of (a year and quarter old) the Deponents taken from her back, thrown and trodden upon that it died, the Mother and three other children ſtripp'd naked, ſo as the ſaid Children died; this was done upon the Lands of *Bordkillamore* about the 11th of *Novemb.* 1641. — *Anne Hill*, C. *Catherlagh*. p. 1.

The *Scene* of which *Murthers* was ever ſo deeply impreſt on the *Engliſh*, that, though they were ſufficiently enclined to *be generous* where they found *the Iriſh* reſolute and gallant, yet *they* never took any conſiderable City, Fort, or Caſtle by Agreement, but it was conſtantly inſerted (amongſt the Articles) *that* the benefit of whatever they allow'd ſhould not extend to any *that* had been Guilty of murthering the *Engliſh*, or adhering to *them* ſince the 23 of *October*, 1641. *Nor* to any Officer or Souldier that had taken away the Lives of any of the Engliſh, or others after quarter given, *or to ſuch* as ſate in the firſt General Aſſembly or Council, *or* acted upon any Commiſſions

missions or Powers derived from either; and *that all* (who commanded in the first year of the Rebellion) should be liable to a Trial at Law for any Action committed since the 23 of *Octob.* 1641. But how far *these Provisoes* were observ'd, when his Majestie's gracious Declaration the 30th of *Novemb.* 1660. (for the Settlement of each Interests) came in force, is better understood by the *Records* of the Age, then to be descanted on *now*.

An Alphabet of the Counties wherein such Murthers (as are here mentioned) were committed.

Counties.	fol.	Counties	fol.
Antrim	109	*Leytrim*	118
Armagh	ibid.	*Limerick*	ibid.
Catherlagh	111	*Londonderry*	ibid.
Cavan	112	*Longford*	ibid.
Clare	ibid.	*Lowth*	ibid.
Cork	ibid.	*Mayo*	119
Donnegall	ibid.	*Meath*	ibid.
Down	113	*Monaghan*	120
Dublin	114	*Queens County*	ibid.
Fermanagh	ibid.	*Roscommon*	121
Gallway	115	*Sligo*	122
Kerry	ibid.	*Tipperary*	123
Kildare	116	*Tyrone*	ibid.
Kilkenny	ibid.	*Westmeath*	124
Kings County	117	*Wickloe*	ibid.

Dr.

Dr. Robert Maxwell *(since Biſhop of* Kilmore*) his Examination, worthy deliberate and ſerious Reflexions, but not here to be flied to as quoted in the Abſtract, That only to be ſought for in the Archives of* Dublin.

DOctor *Robert Maxwell*, Rector of *Tynon* in the County of *Armagh*, ſworn and examined: and firſt touching the nature of the Rebellion, depoſeth and ſaith, that (to begin higher than the 22th of *Octob.* 1641.) at the coming in of the Scots to *Newcaſtle*, he obſerv'd Sir *Phelim O Neil*, *Tirlagh oge O Neil* his Brother, *Robert Hovenden* Eſq. deceaſed, and generally all his Popiſh Neighbours overjoyed; and at their peaceable disbanding as much caſt down and dejected, calling the Engliſh baſe degenerate Cowards, and the Scots diſhonourable Bragadochies, who came into *England* not to fight, but to ſcrape up wealth, merchandizing their honours for ſums of money. But he, this Deponent, did not much heed thoſe diſtempered ſpeeches, as every where riſe in thoſe days, and as proceeding from bankrupt and diſcontented Gentlemen; and the rather becauſe many in *Ireland* at that time, meaſuring the Scots Laws by their own, accompted the Scots ſubjection not much better than Rebellion, although ſince by the Event their Judgments are now rectified; yet he asked what they meant to be thus ſad at good News, but joyful at evil? They ſaid, if the two Kingdoms had gone by the ears, they hoped the Earl of *Strafford* (whoſe Government had been moſt avaritious and tyrannical) would (in regard of his forwardneſs) have periſhed in the Combuſtion. But this he, the Deponent, thought not worth the informing, becauſe what they ſaid moſt men thought from the disbanding of the Scots, until the breaking out of the preſent Rebellion. He obſerved alſo frequent and extraordinary meetings of Prieſts and Fryars almoſt every where under colour of Viſitations, and at the firſt ſummons of Fryars (to the number of two or three thouſand in a Company) they would uſually meet together for a twelvemonth before the Rebellion, who, with others of the ſame ſtamp, borrowed what ſums of money they poſſibly could from the Brittiſh, and often without any apparent neceſſity; neither did it afterwards appear what they did with the money ſo borrowed, for they would not pay any man a penny. And the Deponent further ſaith, That in *April* 1641. there went a report amongſt the Iriſh (the Deponents next Neighbours) that the Earl of *Tyrone* was ſeen with Sir

The Conſpirators joy'd at the coming in of the Scots, dejected at their going out from *Newcaſtle*.

The Iriſh before their grand Eruption, borrowed what they could of the Engliſh.

Sir *Phelim O Neil* in the Wood of *Ballynametaſh*, but upon Examination they denied it; yet ſince the Rebellion they told the Deponent, That a great man out of *Spain* was at that time with him, but they would not name him; and about three years before that, one *Prieſt mac Caſe* came from *Rome* with the Pope's Bull for the Pariſh of *Tynon*, and (being kept out by Sir *Phelim*) talked freely of a Rebellion plotted and intended by him and others: Upon which the Prieſt went to *Dublin* to inform the Lord Deputy * thereof, by whom (being examined) he either ſaid nothing to the purpoſe, or was not believed, or was taken off by Sir *Phelim*. And further ſaith, That Sir *Phelim O Neil* (a little before the Rebellion) brought two Hogſheads of Gunpowder from *Dublin*, under colour of Wine, by *Patrick O Dogherty* Vintner of *Kynard*; he bought a great part thereof by ten or twelve pounds in the name of moſt of the Gentry in the Country. This he bragged of to the Deponent afterwards; and that he likewiſe told this Deponent, (when the Lord *Magwyre*, and other Rebels, were taken in *Dublin*) his man, *James Warren*, and Friar *Paul O Neil*, were apprehended amongſt them, having ſent them thither a little before to aſſiſt and attend the Iſſue of the buſineſs, but ſaid, that upon Examination at Council-table, they were both diſmiſſed contrary to his expectation. He ſaid alſo, *that ſome Lord or other ſpoke for them* †. This Deponent further ſaith, That he heard Sir *Phelim O Neil* (upon his firſt return from *Strabane*) ſay, that this Plot was in his head five or ſix years before he could bring it to any maturity: but ſaid that after *it was concluded by the Parliament* (meaning the Popiſh party) he was one of the laſt men to whom it was communicated. He ſaid likewiſe, That to bring about his own ends, he had formerly *demeaned himſelf as a fool* in all great mens Company, but that he hoped (by that time) the greateſt of them ſaw, that Sir *Phelim O Neil* was no ſuch fool as they took him for: And further ſaith, That he, this Deponent, heard Sir *Phelim*'s Brother *Tirlagh oge O Neil* ſay, that this buſineſs (meaning the Rebellion) *was communicated by the Iriſh Committee* (meaning the Popiſh Iriſh) *unto the Papiſts in* England, *who promiſed their aſſiſtance; and that by their advice, ſome things formerly reſolved upon were altered*; ſaying, it was a good Omen, and undoubted ſign of Divine Approbation, *that the Parliament here ſhould ſend over a Committee, the major part whereof were Papiſts.* He alſo affirmed, that when the Proteſtants of the lower Houſe in *Ireland* withdrew themſelves apart unto *Chicheſter-Hall*, *The Papiſts at the ſame time*, (never dreaming the Deponent ſhould live to tell it again) *debated, concluded, and ſigned a combinatory Writing of this Rebellion under their hands in the* Tollbooth *or* Tolſell; which (he ſaid) that Seſſion drew on, and haſtned ſooner than it was intended: and when the Deponent anſwered, That the Papiſts in all former Parliaments (which either of them had ſeen) uſually, and without exception, conſulted apart as often as they pleaſed: He replied in great choler, *But ſo did never the Proteſtants before.* And this Deponent further ſaith, That in *Decemb.* 19. 1641. he the Deponent heard Sir *Phelim* in his own Houſe, and in the hearing of Mr. *Joſeph Traverſe*, and others, ſay, *That if the Lords and Gentlemen* (meaning Popiſh) *of the other Provinces, then not in Arms, would not riſe, but leave him in the*

* *Chriſtopher Wendiford*, Eſq.

Powder (otherwiſe then by ſuch little Quantities not to be parted with) ſo ordered by the State.

† See the Hiſtory, f. 20.

* A Favour not the firſt of that kind.

The Engliſh Papiſts charg'd with the knowledge of the Iriſh Rebellion.

The Gentry (beſides thoſe of *Ulſter*) accuſed.

the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant ſigned with their hands, and written in their own blood, that ſhould bring them to the Gallows; and that they ſate every day at Council-board, and whiſpered the Lords Juſtices in the ear, who were as deep in that buſineß as himſelf. And ſaith alſo, That on the third day after this Rebellion began, *Torilagh oge O Neil*'s wife (a moſt bloody woman, and natural Daughter to the late Earl of *Antrim*) told this Deponent, that all *Ireland* was in the ſame caſe with *Ulſter*; for (ſaid ſhe) my Brother the Earl of *Antrim*, hath taken the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, having lately moved thither for the ſame purpoſe, and not to pleaſe the Dutcheſs (as was given out) and my brother *Alexander mac Donnell* (according to the general Appointment) hath taken the Town and Caſtle of *Carrickfergus.* He, the Deponent, then asked what they meant to do with thoſe whom they had diſarmed and pillaged? She ſaid, as long as their preſervation ſhould be deemed conſiſtent with the publick ſafety, they ſhould injoy their lives; when otherwiſe, better their enemy periſh than themſelves: which was but a very cold comfort to a Freſhman priſoner (as my ſelf was). And alſo ſaid, That Sir *Phelim O Neil* told this Deponent in *December* laſt, that his ſtock in money amounted to 80000 ſterling, wherewith he ſaid *he was able to maintain an Army for one year, though all ſhifts elſe failed.* And that Captain *Alexander Hovenden* told him, that as ſoon as his brother Sir *Phelim* was created Earl of *Tyron*, and great *O Neil*, he wrote Letters, and ſent them by Friars to the Pope, and Kings of *Spain* and *France*, but would not diſcover the *Contents.* And further ſaith, That about the firſt of *March* laſt, the ſaid *Alexander* told the Deponent, *that the Friars of* * *Drogheda* (by Father *Thomas* brother to the Lord of *Slane*) *had the ſecond time invited Sir* Phelim *thither, and offered to betray the Town unto him*, by making, or diſcovering (the Deponent knoweth not whether) a breach in the Wall, through which he might march ſix men a breaſt. The Deponent ſaw this Friar the ſame time in *Armagh*, whom Sir *Phelim* took by the hand, and brought to the Deponent, ſaying, *This is the Friar that ſaid Maſs at* Finglaſs *upon Sunday morning, and in the Afternoon did beat Sir* Charles Coote *at Swords.* I hope, ſaid the Friar, to ſay Maſs in *Chriſt-Church Dublin* within eight weeks. And further Depoſed that he, this Deponent, asked many, both of their Commanders and Friars, what chiefly moved them to take up Arms: They ſaid, *Why may not we as well, and better fight for Religion, which is the Subſtance, than the Scots did for Ceremonies, which are but Shadows? and that my Lord of* Stratford's *Government was intolerable.* The Deponent anſwered, That that Government, how inſupportable ſoever, was indifferent, and lay no heavier upon them, then on him, and the reſt of the Britiſh Proteſtants. They replied, *That the Deponent, and the reſt of the Britiſh, were no conſiderable part of the Kingdom; and that over and above all this, they were certainly informed, that the Parliament of* England *had a plot to bring them all to Church, or to cut off all the Papiſts in the Kings Dominions, in* England *by the Engliſh Proteſtants* (or as they call them, Puritans) *in* Ireland *by the Scots.* And further depoſeth, That he asked (as ſeeming very careful of their ſafety) what hope of Aid they had? and from whom?

as

It is a known Truth, that though he took not the Caſtle, yet all his Horſes in the Stable were both ready furniſhed and in good equipage, which by ſeveral was obſerv'd and wonder'd at.

*As is evident in the Hiſtory, f. 63.

Reaſons why the Rebels aſſumed Arms.

as alſo what diſcreet and able men they had to imploy as Agents to their Friends beyond the Sea? They ſaid, if they held out this next Winter, they were ſure and certain in the Spring to receive Aid from the Pope, *France*, and *Spain*; and that the Clergy of *Spain* had already contributed five thouſand Arms and Powder for a whole year then in readineſs. They ſaid, *their beſt and only Agents were their Prieſts and Friars, but eſpecially the forenamed* Paulo Neil, upon whoſe coming (with advice from *Spain*) they preſently opened the War; and that ſince the War began, in the very dead of Winter, he both went with Letters, and returned with Inſtructions from *Spain* in one Month, profeſſing the good Cauſe had ſuffered much prejudice *if he had been hanged in* Dublin. And this Deponent further ſaith, That he demanded why ſometimes they pretended a Commiſſion from the King, at other times from the Queen, ſince all Wiſemen knew that the King would not grant a Commiſſion againſt himſelf, and the Queen could not. They being Commanders and Friars, ſaid, *That it was lawful for them to pretend what they could in advancement of their Cauſe*: That many of the Garriſon Souldiers (now their Priſoners, whom they determined to imploy in the War, and to train others) would not ſerve them in regard of *their Oath*, unleſs they were made ſo to believe: That *in all Wars, rumours and lies ſerved many times to as good purpoſe as Arms, and that they would not diſclaim any advantage.* But they ſaid for the Queen (in regard, as a Catholick, ſhe had enemies enough already) they would command their Prieſts publickly (at Maſs) to diſcharge the people from ſpeaking of her *as a Cauſe, or Abetter of the preſent Troubles.* And the Deponent alſo asked Sir *Phelim O Neil*, what his demands were without which his Lordſhip and the reſt would not lay down Arms? At firſt he told this Deponent, *That they required only Liberty of Conſcience.* But afterwards as his Power, ſo his Demands were multiplied. *They muſt have no Lord Deputy, great Officers of State, Privy Councellors, Judges, or Juſtices of Peace, but of the Iriſh Nation; no ſtanding Army in the Kingdom; all Tythes payable by Papiſts to be paid to Popiſh Prieſts; Church Lands to be reſtored to their Biſhops; All Plantations, ſince* primo Jacobi, *to be diſannulled, none made hereafter; no payments of debts due to the Britiſh, or reſtitution of any thing taken in the Wars; all Fortifications and Strengths to be in the hands of the Iriſh, with power to erect and build more, if they thought fit; all Strangers (meaning Britiſh) to be reſtrained from coming over; all Acts of Parliament againſt Popery and Papiſts, together with Poynings Act to be repealed, and the Iriſh Parliament to be made Independent.* But ſaith, that others told him, this Deponent, that although *all theſe Demands were granted*, yet Sir *Phelim* for his own part was not reſolv'd to lay down Arms, unleſs his Majeſty would confirm unto him the Earldom of *Tyrone*, with all the ancient Patrimony and Priviledges belonging to the *O Neils* *. And further ſaith, that in *March* 1641. *Alexander Hovenden*, by Sir *Phelim*'s direction, ſent from the Camp before *Drogheda* a † Prophecy ſaid to be found in the Abbey of *Kells*, importing that *Tyrone*, or Sir *Phelim* (after the Conqueſt and Settlement of *Ireland*) ſhould fight five ſet Battels in *England*; in the laſt whereof he ſhould be killed upon *Dunſmore-heath*, but not before he

Paul O Neil, a prime Inſtrument in the Rebellion.

How the King and Queen came to be charg'd with the Rebellion.

Reaſons why the Queen not to be nam'd.

Sir *Ph. O Neil*'s Motives to the Rebellion.

* Commiſſions (however ſo large without the title of *O Neil*) not ſatisfactory.

† The Vanity Sir *Phelim* was heightned with.

he had driven King *Charles*, with his whole Poſterity, out of *England*, who ſhould be afterwards *profugi in terra aliena in æternum.* The Paper it ſelf, with the Deponents whole Library, to the value of ſeven or eight hundred pounds, was lately burnt by the Scots under the Conduct of the Lord Viſcount *Montgomery*: ſince that Prophecy the Deponent ſaith, he hath often ſeen Captain *Tirlagh mac Brian O Neil*, a great man in the County of *Armagh*, with many others, no mean Commanders, drinking Healths upon the knee to Sir *Phelim O Neil*, *Lord General of the Catholick Army in* Ulſter, *Earl of* Tyrone, *and King of* Ireland. But the Deponent profeſſeth (*in verbo Chriſtiani*) he did never pledge that Health; although ſometimes he fled it with hazard of his life, if he had been obſerved. And this Deponent further ſaith, That *Art oge O Neil* his eldeſt Son (whoſe name if it be not *Art*, he hath forgotten) now, and of a long time a Captain, and one of the ſtouteſt Rebels in the County of *Armagh*, was, as he told the Deponent, in *Dublin* at School, and dieted at an Aldermans houſe, whoſe name he alſo doth not remember in the beginning of the rebellion, and that being found in *Dublin*, the Alderman aforeſaid became bound at Council-board in one thouſand pounds for his forth-coming; but afterwards ſeeing how buſineſs ſorted, he came unto this young man, and ſaid, *Boy, get you gone, and ſhift for your ſelf:* Alas, ſaith he, Sir, you are bound for me in one thouſand pounds. *No matter Boy*, ſaid he, *I muſt looſe that and many thouſands more:* whereupon he ſaith he fled upon foot, and eſcaped to the Army about *Drogheda* that ſame night. And further ſaith, That in *May* 1642. Captain *Walter White* told *Edward Bleeke* an Engliſhman, and the Deponent, in *Hovenden*'s Garden, that amongſt others, *Roger Moore*, or *Moore* and *Bryan O Neil* were deſigned to take, and man the Poſtern door of the Caſtle of *Dublin*; and that he was in *Dublin*, and himſelf of the Plot, that told them this of his own knowledge. It may be enquired if there were any more *Bryan O Neils* in Town at that time then one; the Deponent durſt not ask what *Bryan* he meant. And further ſaith, That *Tirlogh oge O Neil* told him in *Armagh*, three or four days before the Iriſh Army went to *Strabane*, that the Lady of *Strabane* had by Letters invited Sir *Phelim* thither, aſſuring that the Town ſhould be betrayed unto him, or yielded, he knoweth not whether: And Sir *Phelim* himſelf (at his return from taking *Strabane*) told him the ſame over again; yet he ſaid, when he came to the Caſtle to avoid ſuſpicion, they ſhot ten or twelve ſhots over him. He told the Deponent likewiſe, that nothing withſtood his preſent marriage with the ſaid Lady, but the want of a Diſpenſation impetiable from their Lord Primate for a Vow which ſhe made not to marry for three years to come. He ſaid alſo, That at his entrance into the Caſtle, the Ladies Prieſt (a Scotch Jeſuit) exacted, and miniſtred an Oath unto him, that he, and thoſe his noble Cavaliers, came thither for the propagation of the Catholick Faith, and not in any way to violate the Lady, ſince it is reported very credibly that they are married. Captain *Alexander Hovenden* told the Deponent, that when Sir *Phelim* brought her to *Kynard* from her own Caſtle of *Strabane*, ſhe did pray him to burn and raze it, leaſt thereafter it might be uſeful to the Scots, and was of opinion Sir *Phelim* did very ill in neglecting ſo good advice. The Deponent, and

The perfidiouſneſs of the City Aldermen to the State.

Sir *Phelim O Neil*'s carriage at *Strabane*.

and the reſt of the Britiſh, expected much favour by her means, but immediately after her coming to theſe parts, the Sword was let fly, whether at her intreaty or not, the Deponent cannot affirm. More the Deponent hath heard, but becauſe it is not Treaſon, and ſhe is a Lady nobly deſcended, he will not publiſh it. And further the Deponent ſaith, That in *March* laſt a Footman of the Earl of *Antrims* was denied lodging, as was reported by Mrs. *Hovenden*, Sir *Phelim*'s mother, which gave much occaſion of Diſcourſe in the Country, and that he heard Dr. *Daly* ſay, *That Sir* Phelim *would never have undertaken the Province of* Ulſter, *if he had not been perſwaded that the ſaid Earl would have taken up Arms as ſoon as himſelf*; and he himſelf hath heard others ſay, that his approbation of the buſineſs was as much as theirs; but that when it came to Action, *he durſt not ſhew his face in the field for fear of diſcompoſing his clothes*: And that *Owen mac Clymon* (at his parting from the Earl in *March* laſt, as himſelf reported to divers in the Country) told him that the common Cauſe ſuffered by his Non-concurrence: But he replied, *The buſineſs was already ſpoiled, eſpecially in* Ulſter, *by bloodſhed and robbery; and that he would not declare himſelf, either one way or other, until after May-day following.* And the Deponent hath heard many of the Rebels call Sir *Phelim* a Confident of the Earls, for letting him go when he was taken Priſoner by the Captain of *Charlemont*, ſaying, That he deſerved to looſe his Head for ſome words he ſpake, going through *Armagh*, about the laſt of *April*, or firſt of *May* laſt, *viz. That he ſaw nothing amongſt them but deſolation and execrable cruelty; for which God's wrath, and the King's juſt revenge hung over their heads, and would very ſpeedily overtake them.* As he rode through the Pariſh of *Derenooſe*, he would very gladly (although the Deponent is a ſtranger unto him) have ſeen him the ſaid Deponent, but could not procure the Friars Guides to ſend a meſſenger for him; they were afraid (as ſome of them told him afterwards) that he would have reſcued the Deponent, but he the Deponent thinketh, they more feared, leaſt he might have laboured to divert his Lordſhip from joyning with them, which was then preſently expected: ſo that a man can ſee no part of *this Tragedy wherein there is not a Devil or a Friar, or both.* And the Deponent further ſaith, That he was certainly informed by the chief of the *O Donnellies* and *O Lappans*, and many others, whereof ſome were very near unto Sir *Phelim*, and it is generally reported in thoſe parts, where the Deponent lived, that Mrs. *May*, Widow to Mr. *Edward May* late of *Dublin* (a meer Iriſh woman, whom the General long kept *for his fancy*, and thereafter married out of Conſcience) is and was ever (ſince the Rebellion began) Sir *Phelim*'s chief and unſuſpected Intelligencer; that he addreſſed all his Packets ſent to *Dublin* unto her, and by her means, and for the moſt part by *Owen mac Clymon* aforeſaid, and other of her Servants received Anſwers; perhaps the truth may be found out by ſuddain ſearch for Letters, or unexpected examination of her and her Servants apart. And alſo ſaith, that he hath heard many of the Rebels ſay amongſt themſelves, that they feared nothing ſo much, as the corrupting and ſpoiling of their Harveſt: and that if *G. M. Monroe* had put three thouſand men in the Towns of *Armagh*, *Dungannon*, and *Monaghan*,

The Earl of *Antrim* expected to have joyn'd with Sir *Phelim O Neil.*

The Reaſons why *Antrim* complied not

Mrs. *May* of *Dublin*, Sir *Phelim*'s Intelligencer.

Monroe's Neglect.

before they were burnt, he had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of all the Corn in the three Counties, without which they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt this Winter. And ſaith moreover, That Sir *Phelim O Neil*, his deputed Lieutenants and Governours (in all their Commiſſions, Paſſes, and Warrants) leave out theſe words (*in his Majeſties name*) yet if any be tendred by the Brittiſh in the old ſtile, they ſeldom except againſt them *de nomine*, and as ſeldom ſign them.

The laſt that ſuffered were thoſe who had complied.

And the Deponent alſo ſaith, that the laſt, *who were devoured, were Apoſtates through fear, and Revolters to Popery, who (though but a very handful) yet ſuch was their inſatiable thirſt of blood, they could not ſpare them.* And further ſaith, That it was credibly told him, that the Rebels (leaſt they ſhould hereafter be charged with more murthers then they had committed) commanded their Prieſts to bring in a true account of them; and that *the perſons ſo ſlaughtered* (whether in *Ulſter*, or the whole Kingdom, the Deponent durſt not enquire) *in March laſt, amounted unto one hundred, fifty four thouſand.* Sir *Phelim O Neil* asked the Deponent very ſcornfully once in *Armagh*, and in the hearing of many, why the Scots in ſo many weeks came not to relieve or revenge the Death of their Countreymen? The Deponent durſt not reply in this ſo dangerous a queſtion; but one that ſtood by ſaid, *That they did wiſely to ſtay until his Lordſhip made them more elbow room.* This Riddle was ſoon after interpreted upon the March of the Scottiſh Army from the *Newry* back to *Carrickfergus*, by the bloody Maſſacre of above five thouſand of the Brittiſh in three days. About two hundred perſons, within ſeven weeks after, that were relieved by the Lord *Conways* Army, ſent for the ſame purpoſe, ſo that the Deponent doth confidently ſay, that now of all the *Royal Plantation* in *Ulſter*, there doth not remain alive two hundred more amongſt the Rebels. And further ſaith, That a Nephew of *Art. O Neil's*, Brother to *Henry O Neil* Lord of the *Fewes*, told him, this Deponent, that his Uncle the ſaid *Art.* had but one Scotchman upon his Land, and that about two days foregoing, gave directions to have him murther'd, thereby to give to Sir *Phelim* a proof of his zeal in the common Cauſe, from which there was a ſuſpicion he meant to Revolt. And further ſaith, that there went a common report amongſt the Iriſh in *Armagh*, that the Biſhop of *Derry* had undertaken to betray the Town of *Derry* unto Sir *Phelim O Neil*, which he remembring, or being put in mind thereof at *Strabane*, as he told the Deponent upon his return, he reſolved from thence to have written unto him a Letter, promiſing to be with him ſuch a night, and deſiring admittance at the Gate appointed. This Letter, ſaid he, I intended to ſend by a Priſoner, with whom (upon ſearch finding this Letter) the Scots (without more examination) would have cut the Biſhop into Collops, but he ſaid ſomewhat put this project out of his head. He may in time do as much for others, as then he intended to do for the Biſhop, wherefore the Deponent thought this paſſage not worthy the inſerting. And the Deponent further ſaith, That *Tirlagh oge O Neil*, then Governour of *Armagh*, cauſed an Engliſh Ditcher to be killed upon a proof made, that he ſhould ſay he was a better preacher then *James Uſher* Primate of *Armagh*: this he did (as he ſaid) to ſuppreſs *Browniſme* in his Government. And further ſaith, That amongſt the

154000 ſlaughtered by the Prieſts eſtimate.

The Scots deſtroyed.

Sir *Phelims* deſign to have cut off Dr. *Bramhall* Bp. of *Derry*.

the Rebels he hath ſeen ſome laugh and wonder at the Engliſh for keeping their words or proteſtations given to the Iriſh; and ſome ſaid in mockery, that this was a ſecret Confeſſion of the Proteſtants, that the Papiſts were not Hereticks: and for ſome inſtance of extream cruelty uſed by the Iriſh in *Ulſter*, the Deponent ſaith, that by ſpecial command from Sir *Phelim O Neil*, they dragged the Deponents brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his bed in the rage and height of a burning Fever, and leaſt any of his Acquaintance or Friends ſhould bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he knew neither what he did or ſaid: and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and ſixty pounds which he owed him. And that his Wife *Grizell Maxwell*, being in Child-birth, the Child half born, and half unborn, they ſtript ſtark naked, and drove her about an arrow flight to the *Blackwater*, and drowned her. The like they did to another Engliſhwoman in the ſame Pariſh in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour (if not more unnatural and barbarous) then the roaſting of Mr. *Watſon* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. That a Scotchwoman was found in the *Glyn-wood* lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb, cut out of the Cawl. That Mr. *Starky*, Schoolmaſter at *Armagh*, a Gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of one hundred years of age, they ſtripped naked, cauſed two of his Daughters (Virgins) being likewiſe naked, to ſupport him under each arm, not being able to go of himſelf, and in that poſture carried them all three a quarter of a mile to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the luſt of their eyes and the cruelty of their hearts with the ſelf ſame objects at the ſame time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any Engliſh beaſt, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there waſte till they had no more fleſh upon their backs; ſo that ſometimes a beaſt would live two or three days together in that Torment. The like they did at *Armagh*, when they murther'd *Hugh Echline* Eſq. they hang'd all his Iriſh Servants, which had any ways proved faithful or uſeful unto him during this Rebellion. And as touching exemplary conſtancy in Religion, the Deponent ſaith, that *Henry Cowell* Eſq. a gallant and well-bred Gentleman, was murthered, becauſe he would not conſent to marry a beaſtly Trull, *Mary ny Neil*, a near Kinſwoman of Sir *Phelim*'s: He was proffered his life without the Blowſe if he would have gone to Maſs, but he choſe rather to dye then do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to Maſs unto *Robert Echline*, Son to the above-named *Hugh Echline*, a Child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he alſo refuſed it, ſaying, *He ſaw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own.* And the Deponent farther ſaith, That his, and the reſt of the Britiſh chief and beſt Friends amongſt the Rebels were, Mrs. *Katherine Hovenden* Widow, Mother to Sir *Phelim O Neil:* ſhe preſerved four and twenty Engliſh and Scots in her own houſe, and fed them for ſeven and thirty weeks out of her own ſtore; and when her Children took her away upon the approach of an Army, ſhe left both them, and this Deponent, to their liberty, and gave them free leave to eſcape: many more ſhe would have ſaved, but that while ſhe lay ſick ten weeks of an Ague, none of them were ſuffered to come near

The Depo-nents Brother murther'd, and his Wife drown'd.

Watſon roaſted alive.

Others barba-rouſly mur-ther'd.

Cruelties to Beaſts.

Echline and his Son conſtant in the Faith.

Sir *Phelim*'s Mother chari-table.

near her, ſhe ſwooned twice, as was ſaid, when ſhe heard that ſix and fifty were taken out of the Deponent's Houſe, and murther'd in one day. *She uſed often to ſay, ſhe had never offended the Engliſh, except in being Mother to Sir* Phelim *and Captain* Alexander Hovenden, Son to Mrs. *Hovenden*, and half Brother to Sir *Phelim*; he conducted five and thirty Engliſh out of *Armagh* to *Drogheda*, whereof ſome were of good quality, when it was thought he had ſecret directions to have murthered them: twenty more he ſent ſafe to the *Newry*, and would truſt no other Convoy then himſelf. It is to be obſerv'd, that all others periſhed under colour of Convoys, except only thoſe whom he undertook. At the Deponents Requeſt he ſaved *Armagh* twice from burning, and would have ſaved it the third time, but that he lay ſick of a Fever. When he beheld the Ruins thereof, but eſpecially of the Church, 'tis ſaid he wept bitterly, ſaying, *Who will ever truſt the Iriſh again, who have neither kept their promiſes to God, nor proteſtations to men?* When he (*viz.* Captain *Alexander Hovenden*) ſaw Sir *Phelim's* Warrant for the laſt general Maſſacre, after the taking of the *Newry*, he ſolemnly ſwore he would never draw his Sword again in Sir *Phelim's* quarrel or cauſe, curſing (in his paſſion) the Britiſh, if ever they ſpared Iriſh man, woman, or child. He was deſirous to ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy upon the Lord *Montgomery* his protection, offering to root out that bloody Sept of the *Huges*, with his own Followers and Arms, out of *Ireland:* But the motion was rejected; perhaps worſe will be admitted. He never had his hand in blood out of Battel. That this Deponent knoweth he is not yet (which may plead ſome favour) full two and twenty years of age, and doth not pretend to one foot of Inheritance. Dr. *Dally* preached ſo vehemently againſt murthering, that in the end he was forced to fly himſelf for a ſafeguard of his life. *Patrick Kelly*, and *Gilduffe mac Tynny*, would ſuffer nothing robbed from the Britiſh to come within their doors. And this Deponent further ſaith, That very many of the Britiſh Proteſtants, the Rebels buried alive, and took a great pleaſure to hear them ſpeak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them. Except thoſe, whom they thus buried, they (the Rebels) buried none of the Proteſtants, neither would permit any, who ſurvived, to perform the duty for them. And further ſaith, That the Rebels would ſend their Children abroad in great Troops, and eſpecially near unto *Kynard*, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat mens bodies about their privy Members, until they beat, or rather thraſhed them off; then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for ſuch ſervice, as it were in triumph. And further ſaith, If any women were found dead, lying with their faces downward, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks go unto them, cenſuring all parts of their bodies, but eſpecially ſuch as are not to be named, which afterwards they abuſed ſo many ways ſo filthily, as chaſt ears would not endure the very naming thereof. And further ſaith, That many of the Proteſtants the Rebels would not kill outright, but being half dead, would leave them, intreating for no greater favour at their hands, two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which ſometimes was granted, ſometimes denied. A young youth having his backbone broken, was found in a field, having

Captain *Alex. Hovenden's* good Service.

The Proteſtants truſting to Convoys, were betray'd.

Some ſenſible of the Proteſtants condition.

Dead women abuſed.

having like a beaſt eaten all the graſs round about him. The Depo- One not able to ſtir forced to eat graſs.
nent could not learn that they killed him, but that they removed him to a place of better paſture: ſo that in theſe moſt bloody and execrable wretches, that of the Holy Ghoſt is clearly verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty.* And further ſaith, That the Rebels themſelves told him, this Deponent, that they murthered nine hundred fifty and four in one morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that beſides them, they ſuppoſed they had killed above eleven or twelve hundred more in that County. They told him likewiſe that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* killed about one thouſand in the County of *Downe*, beſides three hundred killed near *Killeleagh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both thoſe Counties. At Sir *Phelim's* return from *Liſnegarvy* ſome of his Souldiers forced about four and Some burned alive.
twenty Britiſh into a Houſe, where they burned them alive, whoſe terrible out-cries they delighted very much to imitate and expreſs unto others; and ſaith, that he heard Sir *Phelim* likewiſe report, that he killed ſix hundred Engliſh at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*, and that he had neither left man, woman, nor child alive in the Barony of *Muntulony* in the County of *Tyrone*, and that betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry* in the ſeveral Lands and Plantations of Sir *Arthur Atcheſon*, *John Hamilton* Eſq. the Lord *Cawfield*, and the Lord *Mountnorris*. And ſaith alſo, that there were above two thouſand of the Britiſh murther'd in their own Houſes, for the moſt part, and that he was informed hereof by a Scotchman, who was in theſe parts with Sir *Phelim*, and ſaw their Houſes filled with their dead bodies. In the *Glenwood*, towards *Drummore*, there were ſlaughtered (as the Rebels told the Deponent) upwards of twelve hundred, who were all killed in their flight to the County of *Downe*. The number of people drowned at the Bridge of *Portadowne* are diverſly reported, according as men ſtayed among the Rebels. The Deponent (who ſtayed as long as any, and had better intelligence then moſt of the Engliſh amongſt them) had better reaſon to know the truth, and Drown'd at *Portadown* Bridge.
ſaith there were by their own report one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*. At another time they threw one hundred and forty over the ſaid Bridge; at another time ſix or ſeven and thirty; and ſo continued drowning every day, more or fewer, for ſeven or eight weeks, ſo that the feweſt, which can be ſuppoſed there to have periſhed, muſt needs be above one thouſand, beſides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great Lough of *Mountjoy*, beſides thoſe who periſhed by the Sword, Fire, and Famine in *Clanbrazill*, and the Engliſh Plantation adjacent, which in regard there eſcaped not three hundred out of all thoſe quarters, muſt needs amount to many thouſands. Near unto the Deponents own Houſe, ſix and thirty perſons were thrown from the *Currbridge* at one time; at ano- Drown'd in other places.
ther time eighteen or nineteen; at another time ſix and fifty men, women, and children, all of them being taken out of the Deponents own Houſe; and at ſeveral other times ſeveral other numbers beſides theſe, who were drowned in the *Blackwater* at *Kynard*: In which Town and Pariſh of *Tynon*, whereof the Deponent was Rector, there were drowned, ſlaughtered, and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about ſix hundred. And ſaith, he might add to theſe ma- many thouſands more, but the Diary, which he the Deponent wrote amongſt

amongſt the Rebels, being burned with his Houſe, Books, and all his Papers, he referreth himſelf to the number in groſs, which the Rebels themſelves have upon enquiry found out and acknowledged, which notwithſtanding will come ſhort of all that have been murthered in *Ireland*, there being above One hundred fifty and four thouſand now wanting of the Britiſh within the very Precinct of *Ulſter*. And the Deponent further ſaith, that it was common Table-talk amongſt the *Rebels*, that the Ghoſts of Mr. *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the moſt of thoſe who were thrown over *Portadown* Bridge, were daily and nightly ſeen to walk upon the River, ſometimes ſinging of Pſalms, ſometimes brandiſhing of naked Swords, and ſometimes ſcreeching in a moſt hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the ſame at firſt, and yet is doubtful whether to believe it or not; but ſaith, that divers of the Rebels aſſured him, that they themſelves did dwell near to the ſaid River, and being daily frighted with thoſe apparitions (but eſpecially with their horrible ſcreeching) were in concluſion forced to remove further into the Country. Their own Prieſts and Friars could not deny the truth thereof, but as oft as it was by the Deponent objected unto them, they ſaid, *That it was but a cunning ſlight of the Devil to hinder this great work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by witchcraft.* The Deponent himſelf lived within thirteen miles of the Bridge, and never heard any man ſo much as doubt of the truth thereof; howſoever the Deponent obligeth no man's faith, in regard he ſaw it not with his own eyes, otherwiſe he had as much certainty as morally could be required of ſuch a matter. And the Deponent further ſaith, *That the Degenerated Pale-Engliſh were moſt cruel amongſt the Britiſh Proteſtants, being beaten from their own Lands, and were never ſatisfied with their blood, until they had in a manner ſeen the laſt drop thereof, affrighting Sir* Phelim O Neil *every day with their numbers, perſwading him that while they* (meaning the Proteſtants) *lived, there would neither be room for them, nor ſafety for him.* It was eaſie to ſpur on the cowardly bloody Rebel; yet no ſooner were the Proteſtants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer Iriſh took preſent poſſeſſions of their Lands and Houſes, whereat they (of the Pale) very much grumbled, and ſaid Sir *Phelim* had not kept promiſe with * them; howſoever they were forced to ſwallow thoſe and many other injuries. And further ſaith, That he knew one boy near unto himſelf, not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at *Kynard* in one night fifteen able ſtrong men with his Skean, they being diſarmed, and moſt of their feet in the ſtocks. Another not above twelve years of age killed two women and one man at the ſiege of *Augher*. A woman, Tenant to the Deponent, killed ſeven men and women of her Engliſh Fellow-tenants in one morning: And it was very uſual in all parts for their children to murther the Proteſtants children; and ſometimes with lath Swords, heavy and well ſharpned, they would venture upon men and women of riper years; cruelties not to be believed, if there were not ſo many Eye-witneſſes of them. And the Deponent further ſaith, That the firſt three days and nights of this preſent Rebellion, *viz. Octob.* 23, 24, and 25. it was generally obſerved, *That no Cock crew, or any Dogg was heard*

Apparitions of thoſe flung over *Portadown*.

Thoſe of the Pale cruel.

* How this was reſented, ſee the Hiſtory f. 69.

Cruelties in which their children were encouraged.

to

to bark, no not when the Rebels came in great multitudes unto the Proteſtants Houſes by night to rob and murther them: and about three or four nights before the ſix and fifty perſons were taken out of the Deponent's Houſe and drowned, and amongſt thoſe the Deponents brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, in the dark of the Moon, about one of the clock at night, *a Light was obſerved in manner of a long Pillar to ſhine for a long way through the Air, and refracted upon the North Gabel of the Houſe.* It gave ſo great a light about an hour together, that divers of the watch read both Letters and Books of a very ſmall Character thereby, *The former* the Deponent knoweth to be moſt true both by his own Experience, and the general obſervation of as many as the Deponent met with within the County of *Armagh*. *The later* was ſeen by all thoſe of the Deponents Family, and beſides by many of his Iriſh guard. For ſome of them at that time were drunk, and could ſee nothing, who interpreted the ſame to be an immediate expreſſion, and token of Divine Providence and watchfulneſs over the Proteſtants, affirming that many times the Rebels had purpoſed to deſtroy the Deponent, and his Family, but were always hindred and interrupted, but which way themſelves could not tell; But the Deponent (as is well known) made a far contrary interpretation thereof, which ſhortly after fell out to be the truer of the two, for (preſaging thereby that bloody Maſſacre which enſued) the Deponent (with the reſt of his Family) gave themſelves to Faſting and Prayer, expecting each hour that univerſal cutting off, which fell out very ſhortly after.

Robert Maxwell.

Depoſed 22 *Auguſt* 1642.

John Watſon.
William Aldrich.

Poſt-Information the 7th of July, 1643.

AND further this Deponent ſaith, that the Rebels having expoſed the murthered bodies of the Britiſh ſo long unto the publick view and cenſure, that they began to ſtink, and infect the Air (which commonly being a thing very ſtrange, would not ſometimes happen until four or five weeks after the murthers committed) they uſually permitted ſome of their bodies to be removed, and caſt into Ditches, but ſo, as they muſt ever be laid with their faces downward; the reaſon whereof this Deponent not underſtanding, asked the Rebels themſelves what was meant thereby, who readily anſwered that they ſo placed them to the intent they might have a proſpect and ſight of Hell only, and therefore, when they killed any of us, they uſed always theſe words, *Anima Dewll*, which is, thy ſoul to the Devil. And this Deponent further ſaith, That notwithſtanding all the moderation formerly pretended by the forenamed *Alexander Hovenden*, and the many real favours done by him unto many of the Britiſh, and in particular to this Deponent, that yet he heard him both ſay and ſwear, *That he wiſhed them all damned, both body and ſoul, who were againſt them in this cauſe.* Further, this Deponent ſaith, That it was uſual ſport with one *mac Mahon*, Capt. of the Caſtle and Town of *Monaghan* (as he ſaid Mr. *Mahon* confeſſed before Mr. *Hugh Echline* and many others) to take a wooden Prick or Broach, and thruſt it up into the Fundament of an Engliſh or Scotchman, and then after drive him about the Room with a Joynt-ſtool, until through extream pain he either fainted or gave content to the Spectators by ſome notable skips and friſks, which rare invention he offered to put in practice at the ſame time, and in the ſame place where he boaſted thereof, but that the ſaid Mr. *Echline* prevailed with him to omit it, as ſufficiently (without any further demonſtration) believing the excellency of the ſport. And it is further of undeniable truth, That the ſaid *mac Mahon*, and other Rebels in the Caſtle of *Monaghan*, after a great Feaſt there held, took an Engliſh or Welſhman, and bound him naked upon the Table, at which they drank after dinner, and at every Health gave him a gaſh or wound (but not mortal) until his whole body became (as it were) one continued wound, and thereafter flung him out upon the Dunghill, where he died, partly of his ſaid wounds, and partly of famine, none daring to relieve him.

Robert Maxwell.

Jurat. ut ſupra.

William Aldrich.
John Watſon.

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